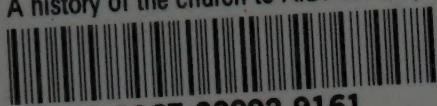


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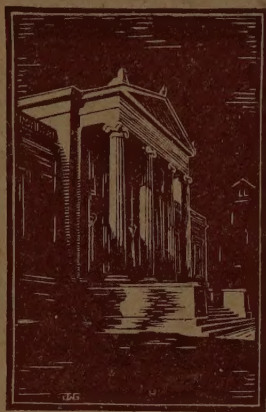
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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

TO A.D. 461

BY

B. J. KIDD, D.D.

WARDEN OF KEBLE COLLEGE; HONORARY CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH
AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

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TO A.D. 313

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PREFATORY NOTE

It is a rash thing to venture another Church History. But, after studying the subject since 1886, and lecturing on it, for the Honour School of Theology, since 1902, I feel there is room for it. There are books of first-rate merit in the field by Dr. Gwatkin, Dr. Bigg, Dr. Bright, and Mgr. Duchesne. But none of them cover the whole field, in English; and none give references in any fullness. It was Dr. Bright who, in his lectures, taught me the value of references; but he ruled them out of his *Age of the Fathers*. Such references it has been my object to supply; and so to do for others what he did for me, by putting students into direct contact with the sources and enabling them to use the originals for themselves. As a further help to those who cannot make use of the originals, I have added references to such sources in translation as are contained in my *Documents illustrative of the History of the Church to A.D. 461* (S.P.C.K.).

B. J. K.

KEBLE COLLEGE,
OXFORD, 1921.

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PART I

**THE CHURCH IN THE HEATHEN
EMPIRE**

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ON the day of Pentecost, when the Church set out on its mission to the world, the field that lay immediately before it was the Roman Empire.

§ 1. In extent the Empire consisted, towards the end of the reign of its founder Augustus, 31 B.C.—A.D. 14, of eight and twenty provinces.¹ By the incorporation of dependencies such as Mauritania, 40, and Arabia, 105, by subdivision and re-arrangement, the twenty-eight had become ninety-nine² at the opening of the reign of Diocletian, 284–305, its second founder. During the interval, no permanent acquisition of territory took place, save that Britain was annexed between the reigns of Claudius, 41–†54, and Domitian, 81–†96. The southern part of our island was occupied after the campaigns, 43–7, of Aulus Plautius. Then Julius Agricola, 78–85, extended the province to the line of forts which he built between the Forth and the Clyde. He would have brought Ireland also within the sway of Rome, had he not been refused an extra legion.³ But his conquests were abandoned, and the frontier withdrawn to the Wall of Hadrian, 122, from the Tyne to the Solway. An attempt was made, indeed, under Antoninus Pius, 138–†61, to recover the more northerly limit. But by the time of Septimius Severus, 193–†211, the Wall of Hadrian had come to be recognized as the boundary. Thus from the Cheviots and the lines of the Rhine and the Danube which formed the northern boundaries, a man might have travelled, without let or hindrance, some two thousand miles, to Mount Atlas or the deserts of Egypt, which bounded the Empire on the south.

¹ See list in W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, app. i.

² Ibid.

³ Tacitus, *Agricola*, xxiv, § 3.

Similarly, he might have journeyed more than three thousand from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, in crossing from West to East. In short, as 'sensible men' observed, at the funeral of Augustus, 'the ocean and remote rivers'—and deserts, they might have added—'were the boundaries of the Empire'.¹ These formed scientific frontiers. And later Emperors (the venturesome Trajan, 98–†117, alone excepted) saw the wisdom of not overpassing them : so statesmanlike was the 'counsel' contained in the last testament of Augustus that 'the Empire should be confined within its existing limits'.²

§ 2. The government of the Empire may be described as absolutism veiled under republican forms.

At first, every attention was called to the ancient forms. On the death of the Dictator Julius, 44 B.C., his nephew Octavian had been forced into a similarly unconstitutional position. But no sooner had he become, by the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., sole master of the Roman world, than his ambition was to go down to posterity as having restored the Republic. So he tells us in the record of 'his achievements which he desired should be inscribed on brazen tablets and set up before his mausoleum'.³ The tablets perished : but in 1555 a bilingual inscription reproducing them was discovered at Ancyra in Galatia : so that the 'Res gestae' of Augustus are now quoted as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.⁴ Here then says the founder of the Empire : 'In my sixth and seventh consulships [28–7 B.C.], when I had put an end to the civil wars, after having obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the Senate and Roman people. In return for this favour on my part, I received by decree of the Senate the title Augustus, the door-posts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, a civic crown was fixed above my door, and in the Julian Curia was placed a golden shield which by its inscription bore witness that it was given me by the Senate and Roman people, on account of my valour, clemency, justice, and piety. After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those also held who were my colleagues

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, I. ix, § 6.

² Ibid. I. xi, § 6.

³ Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, c. 101.

⁴ *Res Gestae D. Augusti ex Monumentis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi*, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1883), and Document No. 4.

in any magistracy.’¹ Coins,² inscriptions,³ and literary authorities⁴ referring to this period repeat the view which Augustus desired men to take of his own authority.

Nor was it mere pretence. The restoration to activity, 13 January 27 B.C., of the Senate and other republican institutions was complete in form: and, technically, down to the time of Diocletian, the Roman Emperor was simply *Princeps*⁵ or First Citizen of the State: holding no office separate and distinct, but invested with certain powers by Senate and people: and, as thus invested, occupying a *maius imperium* or position of ‘pre-eminence above all other authority’.⁶ The powers that secured him this pre-eminence were, in the main, two. First, he was given the *Proconsulare Imperium*. This placed in his hands control of all the provinces, command of all the legions, and mastery of the finances. It would have been enough by itself for the government of the Empire, and was the basis of the title *Imperator*, though not this title but *Princeps* remained the usual mode of address till A.D. 69. Thus if a coadjutor was taken, as Tiberius by Augustus, he was created *Collega imperii*,⁷ and his reign was reckoned from this *Dies imperii*. But the provinces only were the proper sphere of the *Proconsulare Imperium*; and since it would have been impolitic to treat Rome and Italy as on a level with the provinces by extending that *Imperium* there, a second grant was made to him: he was given the *Tribunicia Potestas*. Not that Augustus and his successors⁸ held the office of tribune: they took a lease of its privilege. This *Potestas* made him personally inviolate or

¹ *Mon. Anc.* vi. 13–23: from *Translations and Reprints from the original sources of European History*, vol. v, No. 1, 76 sqq. (Philadelphia, Pa., 1899).

² e.g. ‘Imp. Caesar divi f. cos. vi, libertatis p. R. vindex’: J. H. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vi. 83 (Vindobonae, 1796).

³ e.g. of 13 January 27 B. C.: ‘Corona quer[na uti super ianuam domus imp. Caesaris] Augusti poner[etur senatus decrevit, quod rem publicam] p(opulo) R(omano) restitui[t],’ *C. I. L.* i. 384.

⁴ e.g. ‘Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit; deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur’, Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. xxviii. 3; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 589: Velleius Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.* ii. lxxxix. 3.

⁵ Cf. ‘Non regno tamen neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam’, Tacitus, *Ann.* i. ix. 6.

⁶ ‘Id [sc. potestas tribunicia] summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret,’ Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. lvi. 2.

⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* i. iii. 3; Suetonius, *Vita Tiberii*, c. 21.

⁸ Tiberius was adopted by Augustus as ‘filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis’, Tacitus, *Ann.* i. iii. 3.

sacrosanct; it gave him the initiative and the veto, and so rendered him master of the machinery of the government. It further enabled him to extend his protection to the oppressed; and, in this way, was the source of much of the imperial jurisdiction. These two grants were supplemented by a third, bestowing on the *Princeps* minor privileges and exemptions such as those which were conferred upon Vespasian, 69, in the *Senatusconsultum de Imperio Vespasiani*.¹ It put him into complete possession of sovereign rights. Augustus therefore was an autocrat: he could afford to 'disguise his unbounded power': not till Diocletian did the ruler deem it necessary to 'display'² it.

A result of this policy of self-restraint on the part of the Emperor was that a dignified sphere remained to the Senate, and ample powers of self-government to local bodies.

Thus the provinces were divided into senatorial and imperial; and, while the Emperor in virtue of his *maius imperium* had as real a control of the one as of the other, the Senate carried on the government, in the provinces reserved to it, through officers appointed by, and responsible to, itself. They were the provinces of the interior, situate on the peaceful coasts of the Mediterranean so that they required no garrison³: and they were governed by a *proconsul*, who held office, as a rule, but for a year. Thus Sergius Paulus was proconsul of Cyprus⁴ and Gallio of Achaia⁵—both senatorial provinces at the time. In such provinces, however, the Emperor had additional control through a *procurator* of his own appointment, in nominal charge of the finances but really to keep an eye on the proconsul. More in number and of greater importance were the imperial provinces.⁶ They were administered by a governor of the Emperor's appointment. Unlike the proconsul, he had no *imperium* of his own, for he was simply the Emperor's deputy: but he exercised military as well as civil authority. His full title was *legatus Augusti propraetore*, or in common usage, *propraetor*: and with the historians "propraetors and proconsuls" is an exhaustive classification of provincial

¹ q. v., in a fragmentary condition, in C. G. Bruns, *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui*, § 53 (Mohr, Lipsiae, 1893).

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xiii (i. 383, ed. Bury), Methuen, 1897.

³ 'Inermes provinciae atque ipsa in primis Italia,' Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 11.

⁴ Acts xiii. 7.

⁵ Ibid. xviii. 12.

⁶ 'Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit,' Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, 47.

governors'.¹ The imperial provinces were situate on the frontiers, and had standing armies quartered in them. Such a province, for instance, was Syria, where Publius Sulpicius Quirinius² was legate, A.D. 6-7, after he had held, it would seem, an extraordinary command for the taking of the census at which our Lord was born.³ He would have had within his direct jurisdiction the region of Judaea, had not that been a country which, like Noricum,⁴ Rhaetia,⁵ and others,⁶ demanded special treatment. Judaea was the only province that broke the *Pax Romana* which began with the accession of Augustus and continued till the death of Marcus Aurelius. This it did twice: and twice was 'the rebellious and the bad city'⁷ destroyed, in 70 and in 135. Judaea, therefore, from the time that it ceased to be a dependent kingdom, was governed by a *procurator*, who, though a subordinate of the legate of Syria, had enough troops at his disposal for the maintenance of order and had also a direct relation to the Emperor. The difference between a proconsul or a legate on the one hand and one of these minor governors on the other was, in the main, one of rank: and so, not necessarily of ability but often of character. The ordinary provincial governor would have been of consular or of praetorian rank: but the *procurator*, drawn as a rule from among the Emperor's freedmen, was too often a man of meaner mould like Pontius Pilate, 26-36, or a self-made adventurer like Felix. The latter had every reason to 'be terrified' when St. Paul 'reasoned before him of righteousness and self-control and the judgment to come'⁸: for, husband of three queens, 'he had used the power of a king in the spirit of a slave'.⁹ Yet these men were capable; and in the days of Caius, Claudius, and Nero, under mad or weak rulers, they ignored the Emperor¹⁰ and saved the State.

¹ W. T. Arnold, *Roman provincial administration*, 120, n. 2: quoting Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. xxii. ² Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48. ³ Luke ii. 2.

⁴ *Noricum* = 'the east of modern Bavaria, with Upper and part of Lower Austria, and was bounded on the north by the Danube,' W. T. Arnold, *op. cit.* 274.

⁵ *Rhaetia*, 'chief town Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), ... corresponded to southern Bavaria, part of the Tyrol, and the country round Lake Constance,' *ibid.* 274.

⁶ 'Duae Mauritaniae, Rhaetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur,' Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 11. ⁷ Ezra iv. 12.

⁸ Acts xxiv. 25: for his avarice and sycophancy see 26, 27: and for the sycophancy of Festus, xxv. 9.

⁹ 'Claudius ... Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit, e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit,' Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

¹⁰ In the satire on the *apotheosis* (*Ἀποκοκύντωσις* or Pumpkinification)

More pleasing is the picture of local self-government in the towns of the Empire. Chief in rank among them were the *Coloniae* and the *Municipia*, the difference between which was, in the main, one of history rather than of privilege.¹ The Roman town, or the 'colony' such as Philippi,² was a Rome in miniature. It had senate and citizens—an *ordo* and a *plebs*—who, during the first century, at any rate, regularly elected their magistrates.³ These were four, and were called, in a colony, *duoviri iuri dicundo* and *duoviri aediles*; in a *municipium*, *quattuorviri*; and at Philippi the *duoviri*,⁴ like the consuls, had lictors⁵ to precede them. They presided in the Town Council or *Curia*: whose members, called *decuriones*, supported an office of dignity kept select by a property qualification. Afterwards, the dignity sank under the burdens of the office; for the *decuriones* became corporately and individually responsible to the Treasury for the collection of the taxes; and, as early as the time of Marcus Aurelius, we find the local magnate taking office only if subsidized, as afterwards he anticipated election by flight. Towns with such privileges as these were common in the West: and they received them under a charter like that preserved in the *Leges Salpensanae et Malacitanae*⁶ of A.D. 81–4 in which Domitian bestowed a constitution upon the Spanish cities of Salpesa, near Seville, and Malaga. Nor were the Greek cities less autonomous: their constitution followed the Greek type. Thus at Thessalonica, St. Luke refers to a college of five or six politarchs⁷ like the nine archons at Athens; while at Ephesus, though it became the seat of the Proconsul⁸ of Asia and the Romans might interfere to put down disorder promptly, the immediate handling of 'the assembly'⁹ was left to, and deftly done, by the Town Clerk.¹⁰ So far was absolutism, in its early prime, from incompatibility with a vigorous self-government in local affairs.

§ 3. The civilization of the Empire, radiating as it did from the towns, next demands a brief survey. They were the centres of

of Claudius, Seneca represents the gods as taking no notice of him on his arrival in Olympus: 'putares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat,' *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vi. 2 (*Opera*, i. 268: Teubner, 1898).

¹ W. T. Arnold, *op. cit.* 241. There were no *municipia* east of the Balkan peninsula. ² Acts xvi. 12. ³ *Lex Malacitana*, § 52.

⁴ οἱ στρατηγοί, Acts xvi. 20. ⁵ οἱ παβδούχοι, Acts xvi. 38.

⁶ C. G. Bruns, *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui*, §§ 29, 30.

⁷ Acts xviii. 6, 8; for their number see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (s.v. 'Rulers of the city'), iv. 315.

⁸ Acts xix. 38.

⁹ Acts xix. 32.

¹⁰ Acts xix. 35.

Hellenism ; and Hellenism ' meant (1) fusion of races, (2) unity of language, (3) union of cities in a great monarchy, (4) religious toleration and comprehension '.¹ It was the legacy which Alexander the Great, †323 B.C., bequeathed to the greater empire that rose in the East upon the ruins of his own. The Roman Empire provided the means of communication ; it made and kept up ² the roads ; it maintained the posting service ³ and policed the seas ; it minted and circulated a universal coinage.⁴ But what travelled by these means was Greek. It was Hellenism, a force at once solvent and unifying, for it broke down all local traditions and supplied a common language and a common culture to the ordinary man, if he was educated at all.

Travel ⁵ was at its safest in the epoch of St. Paul's missionary journeys, 47-64. There were, of course, ' perils of robbers ',⁶ as on the trade-route ' from Jerusalem to Jericho ',⁷ as well as ' perils in the sea '.⁶ But in passing from one part of the Empire to another, a traveller could have planned out his journey ⁸ with fair confidence of reaching his destination by a fixed time : as St. Paul arranged first to ' sail away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread ',⁹ then to arrive at intermediate points¹⁰ and stay over ' the first day of the week ' for the celebration of the Eucharist¹¹ at which he would meet the Faithful, and finally ' to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost '.¹² The traveller, too, would have had choice, from East to West, of more than one well-known route. Thus, from Caesarea in Palestine to Rome, there was open to him the central route, largely by sea and in favour with merchants and tourists. Passing by Antioch in Syria, the road lay, through Tarsus and the Cilician Gates, to Kybistra ; thence by ' the

¹ E. L. Hicks, ' St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 2 sq. (Oxford, 1896).

² The *cura viarum* was set up 20 B. C. The *curator* of a main road from Rome to the Italian frontier was a senator of praetorian rank.

³ Called the *cursus publicus*, provided for by the tax called *vehiculatio*.

⁴ Mark xii. 16. The penny at that date, A. D. 29, would have been minted by the Senate ; for about 15 B. C. Augustus reserved to himself the right of minting gold and silver, leaving copper to the Senate. Nero robbed the Senate of this privilege.

⁵ Cf. W. M. Ramsay, s.v. ' Roads and Travel in N.T.' in *H. D. B.* v. 375 sqq.

⁶ 2 Cor. xi. 26.

⁷ Luke x. 30.

⁸ e. g. the plan to leave, and return to, Ephesus ' through the region of Galatia and Phrygia ', after a visit to Antioch, Acts xviii. 21-3, and cf. *H. D. B.* v. 397.

⁹ Acts xx. 6.

¹⁰ For the diary of the journey see Rackham, *Acts*, 402 sq.

¹¹ Acts xx. 7-11.

¹² Acts xx. 16.

upper country', i. e. the route that ran north of the Sultan Dagħ, one 'came to Ephesus'.¹ Or, from Kybistra, one could have varied the journey and, after taking Derbe and either Lystra or Iconium on the way, gone south of the Sultan Dagħ, through Antioch in Pisidia, to Apamea; thence past Colossae and Laodicea, down the valley of the Lycus and the Maeander through Tralles and Magnesia to Ephesus. In so choosing his route a traveller would have gone through churches to which St. Paul² and St. Ignatius³ paid no visit but wrote instead. Once at Ephesus he picked up the main artery of commerce again; and, sailing, if on tour for pleasure, to Athens, or on business, to Corinth, he crossed the isthmus and reached Rome either by the straits of Messina so as to land at Puteoli⁴ (Pozzuoli) or else by a voyage up the coast of Epirus. Here he touched at Nicopolis⁵ (Prevesa) and Aulona (Avlona). Thence crossing to Brundisium (Brindisi) he passed along the Appian Way, through Tarentum (Taranto), Venusia (Venosa), Beneventum (Benevento), Capua (Sta Maria di Capua), Tarracina (Terracina), and so to Rome. But the sea route, beloved of trader and sightseer whose main object was to get there quickly, was too risky for the official whose business was only to arrive without fail. So the Imperial Post Roads, from East to West, played perhaps a more important part in binding the Empire together. Of these there were two, dating from the first and the fourth century respectively. By the older of these overland routes the traveller would start from Antioch and thence, by Tarsus and Kybistra, he would reach Laodicea Katakekaumene, where the eastern trade-route came in from the Upper Euphrates, through Caesarea Cappadocia. From Laodicea he kept north of 'the upper country' till Philadelphia. Thence by Sardis and Pergamus to Troas,⁶ whence St. Paul made his first attempt upon Europe and St. Ignatius wrote back to Philadelphia and Smyrna and to its bishop, St. Polycarp. A three days' crossing brought him to Neapolis,⁷ the port of Philippi⁸: whence, through Amphipolis and Apollonia, he came to Thessalonica⁹ and

¹ Acts xix. 1.

² 'You [at Colossae] and them at Laodicea . . . have not seen my face in the flesh,' Col. ii. 1.

³ 'The Roman officer' in charge of Ignatius probably 'followed the direct path west from Julia straight through Prynnessus . . . to Philadelphia and Pergamus,' *H. D. B.* v. 385.

⁴ Acts xxviii. 13.

⁵ Titus iii. 12.

⁶ Acts xvi. 8 sqq.

⁷ Acts xvi. 11.

⁸ Acts xvi. 12.

⁹ Acts xvii. 1.

so, by the *Via Egnatia*, across the Balkan Peninsula to one or other of the two ports on the Adriatic, Dyrrachium (Durazzo) or Aulona: thence to Brundisium and so, by the *Via Appia*, to Rome. But by the fourth century Rome had ceased to be the centre of government. Constantinople, half-way between the frontiers of the Danube and the Euphrates, took its place: and the later overland-route or Post Road passed accordingly through Caesarea Cappadocia on its way from the East, thence by Ancyra (Angora) and Dorylaeum to Nicaea and Nicomedia, and so, by the suburb of Chalcedon and the ferry over the Bosphorus, to Constantinople. As the central route in Asia was the route of St. Paul and St. Ignatius, of Apostles and Martyrs, so now this imperial post-road, from Constantinople to Milan, was the route of Emperors and armies, of creeds¹ and liturgies,² of Councils and missionaries,³ of Christian hymns⁴ and of barbarian invaders.⁵ Leaving the capital, the traveller going west came first to Adrianople and Philippopolis; thence to Sardica (Sofia), Naissus (Nish), and so to Singidunum (Belgrade) at the junction of the Save and the Danube. The road then followed up the valley of the Save, and passing through Sirmium (Mitrowitz), it came by Siscia (Sissek) and Aemona (Laibach) to the Pass of the Pear Tree⁶—the lowest and easiest pass over the Alps—and so into Italy through Aquileia and Verona to Milan.

From Verona or Milan the roads of the Western Empire radiated outwards north and west, after first joining up with the well-known roads from Rome—the *Via Flaminia* from Rome to Ariminum (Rimini) and Ravenna; and its continuation, the *Via Aemilia*, through Bononia (Bologna), Mutina (Modena), and Placentia (Piacenza) to Milan. Thus from Verona the road ran over the Brenner⁷ to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) and Upper Germany; and from Milan to Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), and thence, either by the Col de Genève⁸ and Vappincum (Gap

¹ e. g. the Creed commented on by Niceta of Remesia, *De Symbolo* (*Life and Works*, 38 sqq., ed. A. E. Burn) and the 'Fides Hieronymi' in Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III. iii. 200, both of c. A. D. 375.

² e. g. the 'Gallican' rite, according to Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁵ 91 sqq. This is doubtful; but for this route as a pathway for creeds and liturgies, see *Journal of Theological Studies*, iii. 14 (October 1901) and vii. 503 (July 1906).

³ e. g. Niceta.

⁴ e. g. The *Te Deum*.

⁵ e. g. Alaric.

⁶ On this pass cf. W. A. B. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, 197.

⁷ Coolidge, *op. cit.* 187 sqq.

⁸ For this pass see Coolidge, *op. cit.* 163.

in Dauphiné) to Arelate (Arles) and the cities of Provence, or by Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and the Little St. Bernard¹ to Vienna (Vienne) and Lugdunum (Lyons) on the Upper Rhone, and so, ultimately, by the valley of its tributary the Saône, to Remi (Rheims), Suessiones (Soissons), Ambianis (Amiens), and Bononia (Boulogne) to Britain. Here soldier or merchant or missionary would land at Rutupiae, under the cliff on which the ruins of the Roman Castle of Richborough still stand; and thence he might travel, through London, by the Watling Street to Chester, or by the great north road through Lincoln and York to Hadrian's Wall.

Here, as on other frontiers, travel to the Roman came to an end. Comparatively free of bodily dangers, it was anything but free of moral risks. The inns were not pleasant to decent people²: and hence the great value attached, when Christians began to travel, to letters of commendation³ and to hospitality.⁴ But travel was swift, as speed then went, and sure. A man could have done his journey of 1,250 miles from Rome to the Channel without misadventure or delay: and never again, till our own age, would a feat like that have been open to him. But then he could have also done what is still impossible to us, for one language and one coinage would have carried him all the way.

A common language and culture penetrated everywhere by these great routes. Juvenal, 55-†c. 135, had a supreme contempt for the Greek adventurer.⁵ But there was 'a nobler Hellenism which had furnished models and inspiration to the great writers of the Augustan age, and which was destined to refashion Italian culture in the generation following his death. The Emperors from Julius Caesar to M. Aurelius were, with few exceptions, trained in the literature of Greece.' Even 'the bluff soldier Vespasian had an adequate command of the Greek language. . . . From the close of the first century . . . classical Latin literature . . . came to a mysterious end. The only authors of any merit in the second century wrote in both languages indifferently.'⁶ Greek occupied parts of the West, and was widely spoken in Sicily,

¹ For this pass see Coolidge, *op. cit.* 167.

² Tertullian, *De fuga*, c. xiii.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1 and J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, II. iv. 5.

⁴ Cf. Rom. xii. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 8; 1 Peter iv. 9; Heb. xiii. 2; and 1 Clem. *ad Cor* cc. x, xii, xxxv. 5.

⁵ Juvenal, *Satira*, iii. 58 sqq.

⁶ S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 88 sqq.

South Italy, and Marseilles. East of the Adriatic seaboard of the Balkan peninsula it was the dominant tongue as far as the Tigris; and further still it bade fair to take a hold until Greek influence was destroyed in those regions by the rise of Persia at the opening of the second quarter of the third century. Some districts, however, remained 'impervious to, and even jealous of, its inroads. Just as Keltic tongues held out in Gaul,¹ and the Punic tongue in Africa² against the prevalent Latin, so Coptic³ in Egypt, and Aramaic⁴ in Syria, and Armenian⁵ on the Upper Euphrates, besides 'the speech of Lycaonia'⁶ near Lystra, resisted the invading Greek. The vernacular never gave ground in the hinterland of the Greek cities of Alexandria, Antioch, or Caesarea Cappadocia: and, in the fifth and sixth centuries, Egypt, Syria, and Armenia became Monophysite not so much for theological reasons as because nationalism and the native tongue set barriers as always to Greek Imperialism so now to Greek orthodoxy. But elsewhere in the Eastern empire and with the educated of the West, a single tongue was current in the *κοινή* or common Greek spoken, or at least understood, by the ordinary man.⁷ An Egyptian papyrus letter and a New Testament epistle would both have been written in it; and the Christian Scriptures have this unique distinction that, written as they were in the language of the people, they represent 'the first earnest and really magnificent attempt to employ the spoken language of the time for literary purposes'.⁸ By the fifth century East and West no longer enjoyed intercourse

¹ Irenaeus says that he lived among Kelts and usually had to talk [not in Greek but] in a barbarous tongue, *Adv. Haer.*, Praef. § 3.

² Augustine, in filling up the see of Fussala in Numidia, sought a bishop 'qui et Punica lingua esset instructus', *Ep.* ccix [A. D. 423], § 3 (*Op.* ii. 777 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 953).

³ Whence the Coptic versions, dating from the fourth century, *H. D. B.*, i. 670.

⁴ Whence the Peshitta, or Syriac Vulgate, dating from after 411, *H. D. B.* iv. 740; while Josephus tells us, A. D. 75, that he wrote his *History of the Jewish War* originally in Aramaic in order that it might be understood by 'the upper barbarians', i. e. 'Parthians, Babylonians and Arabs', Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*, Prooemium, §§ 3, 6.

⁵ Whence the Armenian version, dating from the fifth century, *H. D. B.* i. 152.

⁶ Acts xiv. 11.

⁷ 'In Acts xxi. 40 ff. . . . it is obvious that the Jerusalem mob whom St. Paul addressed from the stairs of Antonia expected that he would have addressed them in Greek,' G. Milligan, *The N. T. Documents*, 42.

⁸ A. Thumb, s. v. 'Hellenistic and Biblical Greek' in *A Standard Bible Dictionary*, edd. M. W. Jacobus, E. E. Nourse, and A. C. Zenos, 331 (Funk & Wagnalls, 1909).

in a common tongue. Augustine, for instance, knew next to no Greek¹: and Pelagius had the advantage over his judges in Palestine of being able to speak and write in both Latin and Greek, whereas they understood no Latin.² The loss of the common tongue was, in fact, a chief cause why the Empire had ceased to maintain its organic unity.

§ 4. The religious situation may be described as manifesting, on the whole, during the first three centuries of the Empire, a recovery, where it had been lost, of belief in the gods.

It is true that the ancient religion of the State³ had little vitality. The official classes either allowed its ceremonies to fall into desuetude or, if bound to be present, they attended them with the respectful deference that might now be accorded to an Assize sermon. But the significance of the ancient rites had for a long time been little but political; they betokened veneration less for the gods than for Rome; they stood for patriotism, or even for good form.

It is true, secondly, that the old worships of other peoples had similarly broken down. Not that they were put down by the State: for Rome was consistently tolerant of other religions 'in so far as they did not (1) injure the national religion [of Rome], (2) encourage gross immoralities, or (3) seem likely to lead to political disaffection'.⁴ Druidism the Romans suppressed, but Judaism they let alone⁵; for, in spite of its proselytizing zeal, it never became, like Christianity, a religion 'claiming to overstep all limits of nationality'.⁶ It simply stood alone among national religions in retaining its distinctiveness and vitality: the rest, if ever dangerous, were now of diminishing danger. A breakdown of their exclusiveness was setting in under the action of a religious syncretism due to rapidity and security of communications throughout the Empire.

It is true, thirdly, that there had been a decline in the public profession of religion, on the part of the cultivated classes, since the last days of the Republic. 'Men like Pliny the Elder, 23-†79, and Seneca, †65, scoffed at anthropomorphic religion. Men like

¹ Aug. *Conf.* i. xiv. 23 (*Op.* i. 78; *P. L.* xxxii. 671).

² Aug. *De gestis Pelagii*, § 3 (*Op.* x. 193 c; *P. L.* xlv. 321).

³ Cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., bk. iv, c. iii, 'The old Roman religion'.

⁴ Gibbon, ii. 543 [app. 8] (ed. Bury), summarizing E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, 26-8.

⁵ Hardy, c. ii.

⁶ *Ibid.* 28.

Juvenal and Tacitus, †*aft.* 117, maintained a wavering attitude with probably a receding faith.¹

But religion as a whole, whether of the cultivated, of the provincial, or of the State, received remarkable impetus under Augustus and his successors.

The scepticism of the literary man was then, as often as not, accompanied by superstition as with the elder Pliny, Suetonius, †*aft.* 117, and Tacitus. And the distance travelled between two generations in their attitude to religion can be measured in the contrast between the elder and the younger Pliny, 61–†113. The elder 'rejected almost with scorn the popular religion',² denying the existence of the gods, and identifying God with nature. But Pliny the younger believed firmly in dreams: he built two temples, and had a lively interest in everything religious. Indeed, the second century, to which his activity belonged, is marked, in contrast with the first, by a general return on the part of educated men to the old religion. Writers, both Latin and Greek, like the Athenian populace addressed by St. Paul, were almost 'too religious'.³ Of such was Plutarch, ? 46–†*aft.* 120. Lucian, the man of letters, *c.* 120–†*c.* 200, and Galen, 130–†200, the physician of M. Aurelius, are the two exceptions; and the wit of Lucian could have found neither target nor market had not his age been one of credulous superstition.

Side by side with this reversion from scepticism to superstition among the educated classes, there is evidence of the continued popularity of old cults and the steady assimilation of new ones among the masses. The inscriptions⁴ show that the old Latin deities had plenty of votaries at a time when rivals were coming in great profusion from the East: and if it be the case that to the indiscriminating 'all religions are equally true,' that was the measure of the strength of the old religion. 'Its vitality is proved by its power of assimilating elements from oriental creeds'⁵; its elasticity by the use that it made of the doctrine of demons, or intermediary beings, derived from the philosophy of Plato,⁶ in order to find a niche for any new deity simply as one of these *genii*: and its sense of a mission to the soul by its welcome

¹ S. Dill, 535.

² S. Dill, 451.

³ Acts xvii. 22 marg.

⁴ Their evidence is summarized in Dill, 538 sq.

⁵ J. B. Bury, *The Student's Roman Empire*, 575.

⁶ Plato, *Symposium*, *c.* xxiii (*Opera*, iii. 202 E); and Document No. 1,

to the Mysteries of the East. Thus Cybele, the Magna Mater,¹ came from Pessinus in Galatia at the end of the third century B.C., with her *taurobolium* or baptism of blood, and continued till the triumph of the Church. For a Roman aristocrat of the fourth century would still record himself as, by participation in her rites, 'renatus in aeternum': and, in the fifth century, Augustine describes her procession as he had seen it pass along the streets of Carthage.² Again, the temples of Isis³ at Pompeii and Serapis³ at Puteoli belong to the second century B.C.; and indicate the date at which a second oriental worship took root, when it landed at Puteoli with other merchandise from Alexandria. In an inscription of about the time of Hadrian, officers of the Sixth Legion are found worshipping Serapis at York.⁴ Most powerful of all, the cult of Mithra⁵ came from Persia c. A.D. 70; and after establishing itself in the West under the Flavian Emperors, was carried by legions which had fought in the East to the camps on the Danube, the Rhine, and along Hadrian's Wall. It was, *par excellence*, the soldier's religion.

Finally, the religion of the State took on a new form at the hands of Augustus and his successors. Not only did they lend their aid to the revival of the old Latin religion⁶ as by discharging the office of *Pontifex Maximus* and by patronizing the ancient colleges of the *Salii* and the *Fratres Arvales*, but the founder of the Empire instituted a new and universal State Religion in the worship of the Augustus. On 1 August, 12 B.C., Drusus, the son of the Empress Livia, dedicated an altar to Rome and the Genius of Augustus at Lugdunum. Here the priest of the 'three Gauls', i. e. the three Imperial Provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica, was to be elected annually by their representatives in a national council, and then to sacrifice yearly to these deities. A similar body appears to have existed in the Council of Asia,⁷ some of whose members, or Asiarchs,⁸ gave friendly warning to

¹ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., bk. iv, c. iv.

² Aug. *De civitate Dei*, II. iv sqq. (*Op.* vii. 34 sq.; *P. L.* xli. 49 sqq.).

³ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., bk. iv, c. v.

⁴ 'DEO • SANCTO • SERAPI • TEMPLVM • A SOLO • CL • HIERONYMIANVS • LEG[atus] LEG[ionis] • VI • VICT[ricis].' J. C. Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, vol. iii (ed. G. Henzen), No. 5,836, from *Archaeologia*, iii. 151 sq. (London, 1775).

⁵ Dill, bk. iv, c. vi.

⁶ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c. 534 sqq.

⁷ τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας or *Commune Asiae*.

⁸ Acts xix. 31. For 'Asiarchs' see *H. D. B.* i. 172; and 'On the Asiarchate', see J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II. ii. 2, pp. 987-98.

St. Paul to keep out of sight when crowds were assembling, possibly for the worship of the Augustus. Pergamum was its centre in Asia and here stood the *Augusteum*: while 'Ephesus, not to be outdone by her neighbour, erected an *Augusteum*, probably to Claudius, and thus acquired the title of *Neocorus*¹ of the Imperial Worship'.² At Pergamum this worship first came into conflict with the Church by claiming for Caesar an allegiance which Antipas,³ a martyr of Pergamum, held to be due only to Christ. A like collision between Christ and Caesar, at the assembly of the 'three Gauls' on 1 August, 177, was the occasion of the persecution of Lyons and Vienne.⁴ Associations less distinguished than the Council of Asia, but, no doubt, as effective for promoting the worship of the Augustus, were the fraternities of 'the *Augustales*—a plebeian institution for the cult of Augustus, modelled on the aristocratic order of the *Sodales Augustales* which was established by Tiberius in the capital. The *Augustales* were elected by vote of the local *Curia*, without regard to social rank, although probably with due respect to wealth.'⁵ Many of them were freedmen and *nouveaux riches*, and to rank as they did next to the magnates of the *Curia* gave them a position of dignity and made them proud to bear the expenses of the sacrifices and festivities celebrated on certain days in honour of departed Emperors.⁶

Occasionally, Emperors permitted divine honours to be paid to them during their lifetime; and when the people of Pergamum wished to build a temple in honour of Tiberius, they quoted the precedent set by his predecessor, and alleged that 'the Divine Augustus had not forbidden the founding of a temple at Pergamum to himself and to the City of Rome'.⁷ But what Augustus permitted in Asia, Tiberius refused in Spain; and the rule came to be, save for its breach by a madman like Gaius or a tyrant like Domitian,⁸ that 'divine honours were not paid to an Emperor till he had ceased to live among men'. Thus Claudius, on his

¹ For this title of honour see Acts xix. 35, where Ephesus is described as 'temple-keeper of the great Diana'.

² H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, lxxxv.

³ Rev. ii. 13.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. i, §§ 3-63; for the date, 'at the public festival', § 47.

⁵ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c. 216.

⁶ Ibid. 217, 275.

⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 37.

⁸ 'Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: *Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet*. Unde institutum posthac ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter,' Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xiii, § 2.

death, was 'reckoned among the gods',¹ and Seneca poked fun at his reception in Olympus. Vespasian made a jest of the process in his own case: 'Ah!' he exclaimed, as he lay dying, 'I think I am becoming a god.'² But the provincials took it seriously enough. Indeed, they owed everything to the Genius of Rome and the Emperor—peace instead of anarchy and prosperity after years of misery. So the apotheosis or *consecratio* of a deceased Emperor superseded the worship of an Emperor during his lifetime as occasionally conceded to the East, and passed into the worship of an abstract Caesar or of the Genius of Augustus. This worship overshadowed all other religious rites, and became the symbol of the unity of the Empire and of all that its eighty-five million subjects owed to its beneficent sway.

§ 5. Of the moral condition of the Roman world it is difficult to give a summary that shall be fair. The satirist and sometimes the historian fail us, for the object of the satirist is to show up the foibles of mankind; while Juvenal, the satirist³ of the period under review, shares also the disqualifications of its historian Tacitus that both disparage the Empire by comparison with the Republic and neither is interested in the provinces. We must therefore discount the hard things they say of the Court and the City, and refrain from applying them unchecked to the Empire at large. Further, apart from the probability that corruption would be found at its worst in the capital where wealth and power were concentrated, there is evidence that in the circle of a country-gentleman like the younger Pliny,⁴ as well as in the humbler society of slaves and freedmen, there existed pure homes and sound ideals. But a passion for amusement⁵ ran riot throughout the Roman world; and as, in Rome or in the provincial cities alike, amusement centred in the debasing shows of the amphitheatre and the theatre, hardheartedness and sensuality ate deep into Roman character. Nor was this low level of morals raised by religion. On the contrary, the shows themselves were religious festivities; and so far from religion providing a sanction for morality, the two were quite distinct in the ancient world, except where religion actually consecrated vice.⁶

¹ 'In numerum deorum relatus,' Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, xlv.

² 'Vae,' inquit, 'puto deus fio,' Suetonius, *Vita Vespasiani*, xxiii.

³ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., bk. I, c. ii.

⁴ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., bk. II, c. i.

⁵ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, &c., 234 sqq.

⁶ See the *O. T.*, *passim*, or, for instance, 2 Macc. vi. 4, 5.

We must turn then, for a just impression of heathen morals, to a brief notice of the points at which they contrast with the Christian standard. Not, of course, with the 'ideal standard'¹ of the Gospel; though of that contrast we have a detailed review by St. Paul in the first chapter of his *Epistle to the Romans*,² and a telling summary by St. John when he says that 'the whole world lieth in the evil one'.³ Such a picture is dark enough: and so are other passages in the New Testament which make it clear that pagan sensuality⁴ was the disease with which the Christian teacher found it most difficult to deal in his converts. Yet St. Paul recognizes a moral standard to have been at work among the heathen, 'in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith'.⁵ It is from a comparison of this average standard of morality in vogue before and since Christianity began its work that a safe impression will soonest be gained.

'In heathen times', then, 'a man would have been regarded as of exceptional goodness if he practised those homely duties which an ordinary Christian gentleman would now count himself disgraced if he failed in. When Pliny set himself to inquire what was the *sacramentum* administered to Christians at their meetings before daylight, the information given him no doubt truly told him the nature of the instructions given on these occasions. And what we learn that the disciples then pledged themselves to was what seems to us very elementary morality, viz. that they were not to rob or steal, not to commit adultery, not to break their word, and if the money of others were entrusted to them, not to appropriate it to themselves.'⁶ It was, no doubt, a pleasant exaggeration of Juvenal to represent the faithful return of a friend's deposit as in his time such a rarity, that its occurrence might be regarded as a portentous event, demanding the offering of an expiatory sacrifice.⁷ Yet we need not doubt that by the Christian discipline the honesty of the disciples was raised to a

¹ 'The standard which St. Paul applies is not that of the historian but of the preacher. He does not judge by the average level of moral attainment at different epochs but by the ideal standard of that which ought to be attained,' W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *Romans*, 51.

² Rom. i. 18 sqq., and see the note on 'St. Paul's description of the Condition of the Heathen world' in S. and H., *Romans*, 49 sq. ³ 1 John v. 19.

⁴ e. g. 1 Thess. iv. 2-8; 1 Cor. v. 9-13 and vi. 9-20; Eph. iv. 17-19, v. 3-12; 1 Pet. ii. 11, iv. 2-4.

⁵ Rom. ii. 15.

⁶ *C. Plini et Traiani Epist.* x., xcvi, § 7; Doc. No. 14.

⁷ Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 60-3.

marked superiority over the ordinary heathen level, and that a Christian came to be known as one whose word was as good as another man's oath—who would not lie nor cheat nor take an unfair advantage. We are warranted in thinking this, because Justin Martyr enumerates among the common causes of conversions to Christianity the impression which the honesty of Christians made on those who did business with them.¹

'We have further evidence of the low state of heathen morality in another class of precepts which we find much dwelt on. . . . In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, for instance, the disciple is instructed that he must neither destroy the life of his unborn child nor kill it after birth ; and that he must not practise abominations² which in those days were confessed without shame, but of which we now loathe to speak. . . . In such matters Jewish morality was higher than that of the heathen world.' But 'St. Paul, in his letters addressed to Churches in which Gentiles predominated, finds it impossible to be silent on such topics. How much the moral standard of society was raised by these instructions, and by the Christian rule of expelling as a disgrace to their community those who transgressed them, we have evidence in the fact that three centuries later the Emperor Julian is scandalized³ by the revelation as to the previous character of Paul's converts, made in the confession "And such were some of you".⁴'⁵ Imagine, then, what it would have been like to live in a society where the contrary of each element of common decency or duty was the usual thing, and we have a fair picture of the moral condition of the Roman world.

§ 6. Of the extent, the unity, the civilization, the religion and the morality of the Roman Empire we have now taken a survey, brief, indeed, but sufficient to indicate the conditions, favourable or otherwise, to the Church's task.

Rarely has any great enterprise started under circumstances more promising.

Thus, first, the Empire itself was an asset, not merely in the fact of its existence as an element in 'the fulness of the time'⁶

¹ Justin, *Apol.* i. xvi, § 4 (*Op.* 53 ; *P. G.* vi. 352 D) ; Doc. No. 40.

² *Didache*, ii, § 2, in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (smaller edition, ed. J. R. Harmer), 218 ; Doc. No. 13.

³ Cyril Al. *Adv. Iulianum*, vii (*Op.* ix. 244 ; *P. G.* lxxvi. 873 D).

⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 11.

⁵ G. Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*⁷, c. xxiii, 467 sq. (Murray, 1894).

⁶ Gal. iv. 4.

for the Christ to appear, but in its character as 'that which restraineth',¹ and so gave a fair field, at least for a generation, to the preachers of the Gospel about Him.

Secondly, the Empire maintained universal peace: the *Pax Romana* continued unbroken, save for a brief interval after the death of Nero, till the end of the second century. .

Thirdly, means of communication were rapid and safe. In the *Acts of the Apostles* we have a record of the passage of the Gospel from Jerusalem the capital of the Jewish world,² through Antioch a chief city of the Greek world,³ to Rome the capital of the whole world.⁴ All roads then led to Rome, and therefore from it. Once at Rome the way lay open to the frontiers: and there what was at first witnessed to 'both in Jerusalem and in all Judaea and Samaria' stood at what was then 'the uttermost part of the earth'.⁵

Fourthly, there was an intimate community of language and ideas between the Christian apostles and prophets and those whom they set out to convert. Certainly, the Hebrew and the Greek mind were cast in different mould. Thus, to express abstract ideas, symbolism served as the instrument of the one where philosophy came natural to the other. But the difference was as nothing compared to the gulf that separates the Oriental from the Western mind of to-day. St. Paul found no difficulty in conveying conceptions, fundamentally Jewish, to Gentile minds by the use of Greek terms, e. g. *Ecclesia*.⁶ St. John recast the Gospel message received in his youth under eschatological forms of thought and conveyed it to his contemporaries at Ephesus in conceptions like those covered by the sacramental terminology of the later church.⁷ Hellenism, in a word, supplied the medium for making a creed of Jewish origin intelligible to a wider world.

Fifthly, the world was not unwilling to listen to new teaching. For such philosophy as it had of late looked up to, whether in the agnosticism of the Epicureans or in the empiricism of the

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 6.

² For this Hebraic period see Acts i-v.

³ For this transitional period see Acts vi-xii.

⁴ For this final period see Acts xiii-xxviii, and note the increasing desire of St. Paul to get to Rome, xix. 21, xxiii. 11, xxviii. 14.

⁵ Acts i. 8.

⁶ For the meaning of *Ἐκκλησία* see F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, Lecture I.

⁷ For a sketch of this process see Canon Streeter's appendix to *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 425 sqq.

Stoics,¹ had proved at once fatal to existing religions and yet incapable of putting any better religion in their place.

Sixthly, the Mystery-Religions of the East, though rivals of the Gospel in a sense, yet really told, up to a point, in its favour. Under the older paganism religion was the State's affair. It was a corporate thing, an exercise of the governing classes and an adornment of public life. But the Mysteries, like the Church, aimed at the common man. They laid themselves out to take care of, and to provide for, the individual soul. Thus they kept the sentiment of religion alive, and, in the end, the Church took their place in satisfying it.

But before the Church thus ousted her rivals, she had to face influences mightily adverse to the progress of the Gospel.

First, the State turned persecutor²: for, in the generation which brought to a close the Apostolic age, the Government detected in the Church a centre of other loyalties, and more than one allegiance Caesarism could never tolerate.

Secondly, current philosophy became the parent of heresies,³ when, in the form of Gnosticism, it invaded and sought to capture Christianity for its own advantage.

Finally, and most adverse influence of all, pagan religion was the ally of an evil life. What chance could there be for a religion which required its adherents to be moral? What limits to the opposition which it would certainly have to face?

¹ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, 292. ² Cf. *infra*, c. ix. ³ Cf. *infra*, c. viii.

CHAPTER II

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

§ 1. For knowledge of the Apostolic age we have access fortunately to literature belonging to it. In Tacitus, Suetonius,¹ and Pliny, three heathen authors of the second century, there are a few allusions to Christianity. But these do not go further than to make it matter of history that there were men 'called Christians'; that 'Christ, from whom the name was given, had been put to death, in the reign of Tiberius, by the procurator Pontius Pilate'²; that Christians were persecuted; and that they worshipped 'Christ as a god'.³ The Christian literature of the age of the Apostles goes further, for it is considerable, both in bulk and in detail. It includes letters, records, and a 'prophecy'.⁴ The 'prophecy' we may leave for the present, merely noting that it is attached to letters to the seven churches of Asia,⁵ and is traditionally assigned to about A.D. 95; for, says Irenaeus, 'the revelation was seen not long ago but almost in our generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian.'⁶ This statement may mean no more than that the *Revelation* of St. John 'took its present form' at that time; and it is not incompatible with the theory that 'the writer . . . embodied certain portions of earlier works whether his own or another's which seemed appropriate for his purpose'.⁷

The Apostolic letters, however, are of first importance, as is any collection of letters for the history of the period to which they belong. As the letters of contemporaries, nay of actual participators in the events, they supply firsthand evidence both

¹ 'Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit,' Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, xxv; Document No. 37.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44: see Document No. 22.

³ *C. Plini et Traiani Epistulae*, x. xcvi.7: see Document No. 14.

⁴ Rev. i. 3.

⁵ Rev. i-iii.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haereses*, v. xxx. 3 (*Op.* 330; *P. G.* vii. 1207 A).

⁷ W. C. Allen and L. W. Grensted, *Introduction to the Books of the N. T.* 280 (T. & T. Clark, 1913). Messrs. Allen and Grensted have been followed in this summary account of the dates of the N. T. books, as theirs is the latest and most convenient guide. The more usual dating is given by Dr. Headlam in *St. Margaret's Lectures on N. T. Criticism*, ed. H. H. Henson, 145 sqq. (Murray, 1902).

of what the first Christians did and of what they believed, within a generation, about Jesus. Again, as epistolary writings, they possess, in addition, the evidential value peculiar to letters and arising from the fact that whatever is asserted by writer and accepted by recipient simply by way of allusion is taken for granted by both. It follows that, given other indication of a doctrine or a practice prevalent in the Church, an allusion to it in an Apostolic epistle is of stronger value as evidence in its favour than any series of proof-texts.¹ First, then, among such weighty letters come the thirteen *Epistles of St. Paul*: none are now seriously disputed, and they fall between 51 and 64. Next, the *Epistle of St. James*, perhaps a homily under the form of an epistle, to be dated either 'between 44 and 50',² or, if it 'betrays a dependence upon the work of St. Paul',³ shortly before the death of the author in 62. Thirdly, the *First Epistle of St. Peter*, written probably not long before the Apostle's death, c. 64. Fourthly, the *Epistle of St. Jude*: it may belong to 'the later years of the first century',⁴ unless the genuineness of *2 Peter* dependent upon it be allowed, in which case *Jude* will be put back to a period within the lifetime of St. Peter.⁵ Fifthly, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, which, 'if written to a Christian community in Palestine, may most naturally be placed between the years 62 and 70'.⁶ Lastly, the *Epistles of St. John*, which belong to the closing years of the first century.

But letters, however precious as authorities, have one defect. Taken as a series they leave gaps between them, and, taking any one letter by itself, it fails to give a connected account of the things to which it refers. At this point come in the records, already mentioned, as further authority for the history of the Apostolic age. They fill up the gaps, and give an account of the situation as a whole. They are the first three Gospels, the *Acts*, and the Fourth Gospel. If the *Acts* was written within a year or two of its close,⁷ then its date will be about 60; and the date of its author's 'former treatise', the *Gospel of St. Luke* a little earlier. Unlike its sources, St. Luke's is a complete Gospel, and gives an account of 'all that Jesus began both to do and to teach'⁸; whereas they concerned themselves either

¹ On this point cf. R. W. Dale, *The Atonement* ⁹, 21 sq. (ed. 1884).

² R. J. Knowling, *The Epistle of St. James*, xxxviii.

³ Allen and Grensted, 234.

⁴ *Ibid.* 260.

⁵ *Ibid.* 260.

⁶ *Ibid.* 223.

⁷ *Ibid.* 61.

⁸ *Acts* i. 1.

with the teaching or with the doings of our Lord. *Q*¹ confined itself to His teaching. It was an incomplete Gospel and perished. *St. Mark* confines itself to His acts and, for a similar incompleteness, was neglected, and nearly lost. Both were in fact drawn upon and then superseded by the more comprehensive works of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*. The latter wrote about A.D. 50 for a Gentile of rank named Theophilus ; perhaps, but not certainly a Christian.² Similar teaching, covering both the discourses and the acts of Jesus, was given in catechetical form³ to candidates for baptism in churches of Jewish Christians ; and this is preserved for us in the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, probably the work, in its present form, of some Greek-speaking Christian of Jewish extraction who had joined the Church, perhaps at Antioch, in the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the long-promised Messiah, and wrote, about A.D. 50, to leave this conviction on record.⁴ The Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* presuppose as their common basis *St. Mark* : and since *St. Mark*, beyond a doubt, has preserved for us the account of our Lord's life as *St. Peter* was in the habit of rehearsing it to his hearers,⁵ the second Gospel may have been composed about A.D. 44 when *St. Peter* withdrew from Jerusalem.⁶ *St. Mark*, at that time, was drawn into the circle of *St. Paul*,⁷ and went with him to Antioch, which was becoming the headquarters of missions to the Gentiles. There *St. Mark* may have put his Gospel into its present form ; and there it may have become the basis both of *St. Matthew's* Gospel and of *St. Luke's*,⁸ for each of these authors has a connexion with Antioch about A.D. 50-60, the author of the first Gospel in the way already suggested, and *St. Luke* as the companion of *St. Paul*. Thus the Synoptic Gospels, all radiating from Antioch, give us the mind of the Church about her Lord as reflected there about the same time as *St. Paul's* Epistles were written ; the Fourth Gospel,

¹ *Q* [German *Quelle* = 'well' or 'source'] is the symbol used for the main source, other than *St. Mark*, that is held to lie behind the Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*. For *Q* see *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, esp. 119-29, 212-15.

² *κατηχηθης* of *Luke* i. 4 need not mean 'instructed' as a catechumen for baptism. In *Acts* xxi. 21, 24 the same word merely means 'informed'.

³ The 'numerical arrangements' and 'the Formulas' characteristic of *St. Matthew* seem to suggest this. For these characteristics see Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 131 sqq.

⁴ Allen and Grensted, 36.

⁵ So Papias in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. xxxix. 15 : see Document No. 27.

⁶ *Acts* xii. 17.

⁷ *Acts* xii. 25.

⁸ Allen and Grensted, 13.

emanating from Ephesus a generation later, preserves for us the more matured view of His Person as taught by St. John in Asia, c. 100.¹

But the literature of the Apostolic age, many-sided as it is, does not stand by itself. Letter, Apocalypse, or Record—each book bears traces² of having been primarily addressed to those who were already acquainted with the Faith and the order of the Church.³ Behind the books of the New Testament we have thus a further *stratum* of evidence in the common belief and practice of Christians, to which the author of each work merely calls attention for his immediate purpose. There are ‘traditions’⁴ touching morals; there is ‘the faith’⁵ or ‘the form of teaching whereunto’ converts ‘were delivered’⁶; there are ‘the first principles’.⁷ And the writings of the Apostolic age already presuppose standards, whether of Creed, Worship, or Discipline, which can be easily discerned behind them.

§ 2. The extension of the Church, from Jerusalem through Antioch to Rome, is the theme of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to be filled out from St. Paul’s *Epistles*: and St. Luke regards it as taking place in three stages. At the end of each he stops to summarize the progress made.

There is, first, the Hebraic period of *Acts* i–v, the length of which it is difficult to determine. It centred at Jerusalem where the Church was composed, as one would expect, of Jews, mainly ‘Hebrews’, i. e. Aramaic-speaking Jews, though with a minority of Hellenists,⁸ Jews also by birth but Greek in speech. The converts were drawn chiefly from ‘the people’⁹: and this early preponderance of the masses in the Church may have its connexion, as in Christendom other than Anglican to-day, with the fact

¹ Allen and Grensted, 77.

² e. g. Luke i. 4; 1 Cor. xi. 23, xv. 3; Gal. i. 6–8; Heb. v. 12; Jas. i. 19 [R.V.]; 2 Pet. i. 12, iii. 1; 1 John ii. 20; Jude 3.

³ Cf. C. Gore, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, 189 sqq. (Murray, 1891); and on the contents of this teaching which all would have received, cf. C. Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, 157 sq. (Murray, 1892).

⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 1 sq.; 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 2.

⁵ Gal. i. 23; Eph. iv. 5; 1 Tim. i. 19, vi. 10, 21; 2 Tim. iii. 8, iv. 7; Jude 3, 20. St. Jude’s use of ‘the faith’ as of ‘a formulated and systematized body of doctrine’ is thus traceable as far back as the second group of St. Paul’s *Epistles*. If Galatians belongs to about 56, then such a body of doctrine was in existence before that date; if Galatians was written before the Council of Acts xv, as is thought by e. g. C. W. Emmet, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, xiv sqq. (Scott, 1912), then it was in existence before A. D. 48–9.

⁶ Rom. vi. 17.

⁷ Heb. v. 12, vi. 1.

⁸ Acts vi. 1.

⁹ Acts ii. 47, iv. 21 v. 13.

that the ministry was then of the peasant or, at most, of the tradesman class.¹ The Church, here represented as prior to its individual members,² received an 'addition' of 'three thousand souls'³ on the day of Pentecost; and, after the first conflict of Peter and John with the Jewish hierarchy 'the number of the men', exclusive of women and children, 'came to be about five thousand'.⁴ They were thus a formidable body, in numbers as well as through popular favour. With the adhesion of Barnabas⁵ and others⁶ of the wealthier classes, of Hellenists⁷ and priests,⁸ the representatives at that time of wider education and of property respectively, it might have been thought that the Church would have become more formidable still. But wealth marred the simplicity, and differences of outlook the unity, of her common life: and troubles began. The less important consisted of opposition from without. It arose from the Sadducaic Priesthood only⁹: and, in spite of it, according to St. Luke's first summary of progress, 'they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ'.¹⁰

A transitional period, described in Acts vi-xii, opened with trouble from within. As a result of it, the centre of Christendom was pushed forward to Antioch. Divisions arose between Hebrew and Hellenist¹¹ in the Church of Jerusalem; which Stephen, champion of the Hellenists, accentuated.¹² The drift of his defence was to show that as God's covenant with mankind began before the Law and His dealings with them had been independent of the Temple, so it was to be in the near future again.¹³ No stiffer challenge could have been thrown down to men who, whether within or outside the Church at Jerusalem, still held that 'the Law was the expression of the Wisdom of God and pre-existed from eternity; and that it is the final revelation of God for all time'.¹⁴ Persecution followed: and as refugees from it travelled not only 'to Judaea and Samaria'¹⁵ but 'as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch'¹⁶ in Syria, there followed too the extension

¹ Acts iv. 13.

² On the church as prior to its members in N. T., see the quotations in C. Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, n. 2, pp. 152 sqq.

³ Acts ii. 41.

⁴ Acts iv. 4.

⁵ Acts iv. 36 sq.

⁶ Acts v. 1-11.

⁷ Acts vi. 1.

⁸ Acts vi. 7.

⁹ Acts iv. 1, 6, v. 17.

¹⁰ Acts v. 42.

¹¹ Acts vi. 1-6.

¹² Acts vi. 8-14.

¹³ Acts vii. 1 sqq.

¹⁴ Emmet, *Galatians*, xxii: he refers to *Wisdom* xviii. 4; *Baruch* iv. 1; and to W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*², c. vii (Pitman, 1911).

¹⁵ Acts viii. 1.

¹⁶ Acts xi. 19.

of the Church to the last of these limits. Thus the Church came to include persons of mixed race and religion ; such as the Samaritans,¹ who were half-Jews ; the eunuch, ' a man of Ethiopia ' but ' come to Jerusalem for to worship ' ² ; and Saul of Tarsus,³ a Jew by birth,⁴ an ' Hebrew of the Hebrews ' ⁵ by training, a Greek by education, and a Roman citizen.⁶ The conversion of Saul is probably to be dated 35-6 ⁷ ; and his adhesion to, and welcome by, the Apostles at Jerusalem ⁸ is regarded by St. Luke as a well-defined stage in the extension of the Church. For thus it was that ' the church throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria had peace . . . and was multiplied ' ⁹ . But a final stage in the transition from the Jewish to the Gentile centre at Antioch, had yet to be traversed. It began with the conversion of Cornelius, ' one that feared God ' ¹⁰ . The title is descriptive of a class to be distinguished indeed from proselytes ¹¹ ; as the ' God-fearer ' was neither baptized nor circumcized like the proselyte ; but he was permitted to attend the service of the Synagogue (though no strict Jew would eat with him) ¹² and belonged by association to Judaism, for he had forsaken idolatry in favour of the one true God.¹³ Such a man was Cornelius, when received into the Church, at the Gentiles' Pentecost, by St. Peter. It was an event that forced the Apostles to face the question of the admission of the Gentiles, and so to apprehend the universal mission of the Church. But not before their decision had been in practice forestalled by the opening of its doors to ' Greeks ' ¹⁴ at Antioch, i. e. to heathen, pure and simple. Here a flourishing church was built up by Barnabas and Saul.¹⁵ Its members came sufficiently into notice to acquire the name of ' Christians ' ¹⁶ : for the Antiochenes were quick at nicknames, and by this they meant to gibe at the ' soldiers of Christ ', as Christians afterwards flung back the gibe at the heathen by calling them ' pagans ', i. e. in barrack-room slang, mere ' civilians ' ¹⁷ who repudiate His service.

¹ Acts viii. 4-25.

² Acts viii. 27.

³ Acts ix. 1 sqq.

⁴ Acts xxi. 39, xxii. 3.

⁵ Phil. iii. 5, 6 ; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 22.

⁶ Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 26-8.

⁷ So C. H. Turner, s.v. ' Chronology of N. T. ' in *H. D. B.* i. 424, where also other reckonings are given, in tabular form.

⁸ Acts ix. 27-9.

⁹ Acts ix. 31.

¹⁰ Acts x. 2.

¹¹ Such as Nicolas of Antioch, one of the Seven, vi. 5.

¹² Acts x. 28, xi. 3.

¹³ Acts x. 2, 22, xiii. 16, 26.

¹⁴ Acts xi. 20.

¹⁵ Acts xi. 22-6.

¹⁶ Acts xi. 26.

¹⁷ Cf. ' Apud hunc (Iesum) tam miles est paganus fidelis quam paganus est miles infidelis ', Tertullian, *De corona militis*, c. xi (*Op.* ii ; *P. L.* ii. 93A).

At Antioch also the ministry of 'prophets' and others that elsewhere was itinerant, was apparently fixed¹: as in a strong church centre. News of such expansion, owing to the work of 'Philip the evangelist'² in Samaria³; of Peter, following upon the heels of Philip,⁴ as far as Caesarea⁵; and of Barnabas and Saul in Antioch⁶ may have alarmed 'the Jews'. To 'please' them,⁷ Herod Agrippa I, at Easter 44, seized and put to death James who, perhaps as oldest and nearest kinsman of the Lord,⁸ held the position of leader in the local church at Jerusalem. Herod's outbreak, apparently, was of short duration; but it had lasting effects. It dispersed the Apostolic College,⁹ and left a more distant kinsman, James, 'the Lord's brother',¹⁰ to succeed to the command left vacant by the martyrdom of His cousin James, 'the brother of John'.¹¹ It also made it easier for Gentile churches, such as that now firmly rooted at Antioch, to break loose from the supervision of the church of Jerusalem and from the Temple. And a third summary of progress tells us how, in spite of Herod, 'the word of God grew and multiplied'.¹²

The third, or Gentile, period occupies the remainder of the Acts: for, in cc. xiii-xxviii, the author records how the Gospel was carried from Antioch to Rome. This goal St. Paul reached not, at first, deliberately (for Ephesus seems to have been his earliest objective), but by successive indications of the Divine will. The earlier diverted him from his own immediate projects.¹³ The later made known to him the Divine plan.¹⁴

Thus, after a service of valediction at Antioch, Barnabas and Saul set out for 'the work'¹⁵ of evangelizing Cyprus and the cities that lay upon the great road¹⁶ running through the south of the Province of Galatia.¹⁷ This was the first missionary journey,¹⁸

¹ Acts xiii. 1.² Acts xxi. 8.³ Acts viii. 5-25.⁴ Acts viii. 26-40.⁵ Acts ix. 32-43, x. 24.⁶ Acts xi. 22-6.⁷ Acts xi. 3.⁸ Salome (Mark xv. 40) = 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee' (Matt. xxvii. 56) = 'His mother's sister' (John xix. 25). James and John were therefore cousins to our Lord.⁹ For the second-century tradition that 'the Saviour commanded His Apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years', see Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii. 13.¹⁰ Gal. i. 19; for his position in the church of Jerusalem, see Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, 19, xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9.¹¹ Acts xii. 2.¹² Acts xii. 24.¹³ Acts xvi. 6 sq.¹⁴ Acts xvi. 9 sq., xviii. 10, xxiii. 11.¹⁵ Acts xiii. 2, xv. 38.¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, c. i.¹⁷ For the theory that the churches of the first missionary journey were those to which the *Epistle to the Galatians* was addressed, see Emmet, *Galatians*, pp. ix sqq.¹⁸ Acts xiii. 1-xiv. 26.

47, and they returned to Antioch. Its outstanding feature was the free admission of the Gentiles into the Church, and its result to invite opposition from the Judaizers who would only admit the Gentile on condition that he became a Jew first.¹ This party so nearly won back the Apostles' converts to 'a different gospel which is not another',² that St. Paul had to head off their attack at once in the *Epistle to the Galatians* which, on his showing, was written c. 48, and is the earliest of his extant letters.³ But the question was not so easily to be set at rest; and the Council at Jerusalem⁴ met to deal with it, 49. The Council appears to have required no more of the Gentiles than a strict observance of the commandments which forbade idolatry, sins of the flesh, which so often went with it, and murder.⁵ With these decisions to greet the converts of Syria and Cilicia,⁶ St. Paul set forth, on a second missionary journey, with Silas. Passing through the 'region of Phrygia-Galatia'⁷ again, the mission was diverted first from Asia⁸ and then from Bithynia.⁹ Ephesus could wait, and Bithynia lay off the high-road till the founding of Constantinople and the consequent development of neighbouring regions in the fourth century. Thus the outstanding feature of the second journey came to be that the Church passed over into what afterwards was called Europe. Here the power of Judaism was weaker¹⁰ and the hold of Rome stronger.¹¹ But Judaism proved strong enough to resist, from the point of view of a national exclusiveness, any preaching to the Gentiles¹²: and that, though the Gospel preached was still largely taken up after the manner of contemporary Judaism, with eschatology. The advent¹³ seems to have occupied the prominent place, if not in St. Paul's teaching at least in the minds of those who heard it, at Thessalonica. He had scarcely left the city when he learnt of disorders¹⁴ there akin to those that in later days have accompanied revivalism

¹ Acts xv. 1; Gal. v. 2 sq.

² Gal. i. 6 sq.

³ Emmet, *Galatians*, xiv sqq.

⁴ Acts xv.

⁵ i. e. omitting *καὶ πνικτοῦ*, with D, in Acts xv. 20, 29. See the 'additional note' in C. Knapp, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 208.

⁶ Acts xv. 41, xvi. 4.

⁷ Acts xvi. 6.

⁸ Acts.

⁹ Acts xvi. 7.

¹⁰ e. g. 'a place of prayer', not a synagogue, Acts xvi. 13; worshippers not men but 'women', xvi. 13; anti-Jewish prejudice, xvi. 20.

¹¹ Cf. Acts xvi. 21, xvii. 7.

¹² 'Forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved', 1 Thess. ii. 16.

¹³ *Παρουσία*—1 Thess. ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 1, 8, 9.

¹⁴ With this *Παρουσία* connect *ἀτακτεῖν*, 1 Thess. v. 14; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 7, 11.

and the ardent expectation of the Coming. So, to steady¹ his converts, he sent off in quick succession *1 and 2 Thessalonians*. They are written in a simple style, and contain no direct quotations from the Old Testament. They hint but a modicum of Church organization.² But the limited outlook they imply may have had something to do with the lack of appreciation the Apostle experienced from intellectual heathenism at Athens.³ Eighteen months at Corinth⁴ opened out wider horizons: and, more than compensated for previous failure by success with commercial heathenism, St. Paul returned at length to Antioch,⁵ probably in the summer of 52.

In the autumn he set out again on his third missionary journey,⁶ 52-6. Its great achievement was the planting of the church at Ephesus, where heathenism was very strong.⁷ It was also the period of St. Paul's greatest suffering, bodily⁸ and mental,⁹ as well as of his greatest vigour. For to these years belong the four palmary epistles—*1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians* (if, after all, it is to be reckoned here,¹⁰ in view of its affinities to the last of this group), and *Romans*. The four form the second group of his epistles. In style they are impassioned, because his Gospel was attacked¹¹ and his authority questioned.¹² They contain between eighty and ninety quotations from the Old Testament, as one would expect where the opposition, with which the writer has to deal, came from Judaizing Christians¹³ and from the point of view of a legal exclusiveness. The doctrines most prominent are those on which rests the Christian's independence of the Law—the Divinity of our Lord,¹⁴ His Atonement,¹⁵ and the present relation of the Christian to Him.¹⁶ The organization of the Church is beginning to take shape: for twice the Church appears, in this group of epistles, under the figure of a body, and members¹⁷

¹ Whence, frequently, *στηρίζειν*; 1 Thess. iii. 2, 13; 2 Thess. ii. 17, iii. 3. ² 1 Thess. v. 12-14. ³ Acts xvii. 16-34. ⁴ Acts xviii. 10 sq.

⁵ Acts xviii. 22.

⁶ Acts xviii. 23-xxi. 18.

⁷ Acts xix, xx.

⁸ e. g. The 'thorn in the flesh', 2 Cor. xii. 7; Gal. iv. 14; and Judaizing plots, Acts xx. 3, 23; Rom. xv. 31.

⁹ 2 Cor., *passim*.

¹⁰ As by Dr. Lukyn Williams, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, in 'Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools', 1910, who also upholds the North Galatian theory.

¹¹ Gal. i. 7, iii. 1, &c.

¹² 1 Cor. ix; 2 Cor. x-xiii.

¹³ Gal. v. 2, vi. 11-16, &c.

¹⁴ 2 Cor. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 3, 32, ix. 5, x. 9, 11, 13.

¹⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 3; 2 Cor. v. 14; Rom. iii. 24-6.

¹⁶ Cf. 'In Christ Jesus'—a phrase never used of the historic, but always of the Risen and Glorified Christ; on which see Rom. vi. 11, and W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *ad loc.*

¹⁷ 1 Cor. xii. 12-29; Rom. xii. 5-8.

each with a differentiation of function; and while the general ministry of Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers¹ appears to belong to the Church as a whole,² there are also local ministries³ though less defined. But the most marked characteristic of these years of conflict is the widening of St. Paul's horizon under stress of the work done. As soon as the controversy with the Judaizers was dying down, we hear no more of the Second Coming. A long vista is opening out. There is repeated anticipation of seeing Rome⁴: of the conquest of the capital, and so of the world.

At last, after his arrest⁵ at Jerusalem, 56, his imprisonment by Felix, 56-8,⁶ and his trial before Festus,⁷ St. Paul reached Rome.⁸ For two years,⁹ 59-61, he awaited the hearing of his appeal to Caesar: and, while waiting, wrote the third group of his Epistles. They are known as the Epistles of the Captivity: and consist of two letters to local churches, *Philippians* and *Colossians*; of a letter to a friend, *Philemon*; and of an encyclical to the churches of Asia, inscribed in our copy as to the *Ephesians*.¹⁰ Their style is quieter than that of the previous group of letters, less argumentative, and more sublime. The writer rarely quotes the Old Testament¹¹: for the question is not now with the opposition from Palestinian Judaizers, though he once recurs to them¹²; he quotes Christian hymns,¹³ and this suggests that not without his knowledge the first expansion of Christian worship was then taking place. But Judaizers, other than Palestinian, were still to be reckoned with. Jewish traditions¹⁴ and observances¹⁵ formed the basis¹⁶ in Colossae of a theosophy which, in opposition to the Gospel, had its attraction: for it sprang from, and appealed to the temper of, an intellectual exclusiveness. But we come

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28.

² For ἐκκλησία, in this group of Epistles, of the Church Universal, cf. Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. xii. 28. ³ Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 16 with 1 Thess. v. 12-14.

⁴ Acts xix. 21, xxiii. 11; cf. Rom. i. 13, xv. 24, 28.

⁵ Acts xxi. 33.

⁶ Acts xxiv. 27.

⁷ Acts xxv-xxvi.

⁸ Acts xxviii. 14.

⁹ Acts xxviii. 30.

¹⁰ 'The words "in Ephesus" (i. 1) are absent from some of our oldest and best MSS. . . . There are good reasons for believing that the epistle was intended as a circular letter, to go the round of many churches in Asia Minor', J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, 11.

¹¹ Apart from natural reminiscences of O. T. language, there are only two clear quotations of O. T., viz. Eph. iv. 8, v. 31.

¹² Phil. iii. 2 sqq.

¹³ Eph. v. 14.

¹⁴ Col. ii. 8, 22, with which cf. Mark vii. 5, 7. ¹⁵ Col. ii. 16, 18, 21, 23.

¹⁶ That Judaism rather than, as J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 71 sqq., Gnosticism was at the root of the Colossian heresy, see F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 116 sqq.

into relation with God—if that is what the superior people at Colossae wanted to secure—not through an elaborate hierarchy of angelic intermediaries¹ and a showy² self-abnegation,³ but, directly and simply, through our union with the one mediator Jesus Christ. The Christology of these Epistles is therefore concentrated upon the thought of Christ as God⁴ in His present relation, not, as in the second group, to the individual Christian, but to the Universe⁵ and so to the Church.⁶ The organization of the Church has advanced a step by the time of these Epistles. In the salutation to the Philippians, the first mention occurs, by the definite title, of ‘the bishops and deacons’⁷ as the officers of the local church, though no description is given of their position or their work. In regard to the general ministry, it is reckoned, in *Ephesians*, as a ‘gift’⁸ from above and to the whole Church: and, as given, in the form of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, it is viewed as a gift for founding.⁹

Between his acquittal at the tribunal of the Augustus and his second appearance before it,¹⁰ St. Paul visited some of his churches¹¹ again. Afterwards, he addressed to their leaders, Timothy and Titus, the fourth and last group of his letters, called the Pastoral Epistles. The name well indicates their subject-matter: for they deal not as the first group with Christ the Judge, nor as the second with Christ the Redeemer, nor as the third with Christ the Lord, but with the organization of the Church.¹² In style they often strike the reader as abrupt, or as jottings: they abound in words not elsewhere used by the writer.¹³ There are also stereotyped, and perhaps technical, phrases,¹⁴ pointing to the rapid crystallization in recent years of catechetical and liturgical forms. There are but two references to the Old Testament¹⁵; but, as in the third group, several quotations of Christian

¹ Col. ii. 18.² Col. ii. 8a, 23.³ Col. ii. 16, 21, 23.⁴ Col. i. 15, 16; Phil. ii. 6.⁵ Phil. ii. 6–11; Col. i. 15, 16, ii. 9, 10, iii. 1, 4; Eph. i. 10, 20–22.⁶ Eph. i. 23, iv. 15, v. 23, vi. 9.⁷ Phil. i. 1.⁸ Eph. iv. 8, 11.⁹ Eph. iv. 11–13, and see J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 148 sq.¹⁰ On this point see ‘The place of the Pastoral Epistles in St. Paul’s life’ in J. H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles* (C. G. T. S.), xxi sqq.¹¹ e. g. Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3; Crete, Titus i. 5.¹² 1 Tim. iii. 15.¹³ For these and the problem they raise, see *H. D. B.* iv. 772; Bernard, xxxv. sqq.¹⁴ e. g. ‘Faithful is the saying’ (five times), 1 Tim. i. 15, &c.; the ‘doctrine’ or ‘teaching’ (thirteen times), 1 Tim. i. 10, &c.; the ‘deposit’, 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 12, 14.¹⁵ 1 Tim. v. 18; Titus ii. 14.

hymns.¹ Perhaps these are the marks of communities that had already made their own tradition: for the opposition which St. Paul has to meet seems to be that of coteries or tendencies within the Christian community which he would assist it to throw out. The tendencies were those of a scholastic and ascetic exclusiveness, such as appears to have resulted from a Rabbinic speculative Judaism² which had planted itself within the Church and won its way among Christians by playing with legends,³ trifling with casuistry,⁴ and displaying a rigour of asceticism,⁵ as if these things were religion. Little in the way of Christology is developed by St. Paul to counteract opposition of this frivolous but yet mischievous type. He feels it sufficient to counsel sanity, in the two directions of soundness⁶ of faith and sobriety⁷ of conduct. The doctrine and the discipline of the Church, in fact, were strong enough by this time, if the Christian would only abide by them, to enable him to throw off any attractive, but unhealthy, allurements. But a strengthening of the organization of the Church would second his powers of resistance: and hence, in the Pastoral Epistles, much detail indicating the development of the local ministry under direction of the Apostolic. There is a clear distinction between 'bishop'⁸ and 'deacon',⁹ as in *Philippians*; and an apparent identification of 'bishop' with 'presbyter',¹⁰ as at Ephesus¹¹; though it is curious, perhaps prophetic, that in the Pastoral Epistles 'bishop' always occurs in the singular and 'presbyters' in the plural.¹² 'The presbytery'¹³ is mentioned so as to suggest that the presbyters formed a college or order. The method of ordination is also noticeable, by laying on of hands,¹⁴ and those the hands of the Apostle or his delegate; for whereas the hands of the Apostle in ordaining are described as those of an agent¹⁵ in the bestowal of a gift,¹⁶ the laying on of

¹ A hymn of the Incarnation, 1 Tim. iii. 16; of Baptism, Titus iii. 4; of Martyrdom, 2 Tim. ii. 12.

² Cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, c. vii, and Bernard, lii, for the Judaistic basis of the false teaching at Ephesus and Crete, and see 1 Tim. i. 7.

³ 1 Tim. i. 4; Titus i. 14, iii. 9; 2 Tim. iii. 8.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 1-6.

⁶ The words *ὑγιής* and *ὑγιαίνειν* occur only in *Past. Epp.*

⁷ So *κόσμος* and *σώφρων*: see the *Index Graecitatis* in Bernard, 184 sqq.

⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 1 sqq.; Titus i. 5 sqq.

⁹ 1 Tim. iii. 8 sqq.

¹⁰ Rules for *ἐπίσκοπος* in 1 Tim. iii. 1 sqq. = rules for *πρεσβύτερος* in Titus i. 5 sqq.; he passes straight from 'bishop' to 'deacon' in 1 Tim. iii. 8, and there is clear identification in Titus i. 5-7.

¹¹ Acts xx. 17, 28.

¹² *H. D. B.* iv. 771.

¹³ 1 Tim. iv. 14.

¹⁴ 1 Tim. v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6.

¹⁵ *Διά*, 2 Tim. i. 6.

¹⁶ *Χάρισμα*, 2 Tim. i. 6.

the hands of the presbytery is so defined as to suggest simply consent.¹ In between the Apostle and the presbyters comes his delegate—Timothy, in the old and well-to-do church of Ephesus aided therefore by deacons² as well as ‘bishops’; and Titus, in the new and poor church of Crete, with no deacons therefore, as there were no alms but presbyters or ‘bishops’³ only. The position of Timothy and Titus is unique: they stand midway between the Apostle of early days and the later diocesan bishop. They appear to be ‘instruments of an absent rather than wielders of an inherent authority’.⁴ But it is a plenary authority—to teach,⁵ to govern,⁶ and to ordain⁷: they do all that has to be done for the churches under their care.

§ 3. The life of the Church, without which an extension so rapid could scarcely have taken place, must now be considered to complete this outline of the Apostolic age.

Every Christian stood in a double relation—to the local church and to the Church as a whole. So long as he lived in this or that place he had a necessary but temporary relation to the local church. This might be the church of a house,⁸ of a city,⁹ or of a province. ‘The churches of Judaea’¹⁰ would tend to group themselves round Jerusalem; ‘the churches of Asia’¹¹ round Ephesus, while the churches of Achaia would find their natural centre at Corinth.¹² This tendency of the ecclesiastical to follow the secular association may be deemed the beginning of such later developments as Jurisdiction and Rite.¹³ But as such groupings were simply dictated by convenience, so the relation of the Christian to his local church was accidental. By baptism he became a member not of the local church but of the Church: nor of the Church through the local church, but directly. The Church was not an aggregate of local churches, nor an after-thought of St. Paul’s belonging only to the days when, after captivity in Rome, he had been sufficiently impressed by the unity and the universality of the Empire to seek to reproduce

¹ *Metá*, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

² 1 Tim. iii. 8 sqq.

³ Titus i. 5 sqq.

⁴ R. C. Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood* (Murray, 1899), 151.

⁵ 1 Tim. i. 3, iv. 6, 12; Titus i. 13, ii. 15; 2 Tim. i. 13, iv. 2.

⁶ In things liturgical, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11; judicial, 1 Tim. v. 19.

⁷ 1 Tim. v. 22; Titus i. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 2.

⁸ Acts xii. 12; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 3–5; Col. iv. 15.

⁹ 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; Col. iv. 16.

¹⁰ 1 Thess. ii. 14.

¹¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

¹² 2 Cor. i. 1.

¹³ On this point see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, c. i (S.P.C.K., 1919).

it in Christendom. St. Paul was well acquainted with the notion of the Church universal by the time that he wrote the second group of his Epistles.¹ Here it is treated as a visible society, composed of Christians who 'in one Spirit were all baptised into one body'.² This body is 'Christ'³ or 'the body of Christ'.⁴ As such, it is animated by His Spirit; for, as with us spirit only occurs in body, so St. Paul connects the Church and the Spirit. 'There is one body and one Spirit.'⁵ Hence the notes of the Church, two of which are traced by him to the Holy Spirit. Its unity is sustained by the Spirit, though it may be marred unless Christians are 'eager to keep' it in the 'bond of peace'.⁶ Its holiness is preserved by the Holy Spirit, so that Christians are 'saints'⁷ under process of 'sanctification of the Spirit'.⁸ But the Church has other notes too: universality, in the scope of its mission as vindicated by St. Paul and the Council at Jerusalem to include the Gentiles; and apostolicity, in that it kept its eye on 'the Apostles' doctrine'⁹ and looked to Apostles or apostolic men everywhere as its founders.¹⁰ To belong to such a body was at once the mark and the pride of Christians. By contrast with the heathen, they felt that theirs was a new life¹¹ and life in the light.¹² By contrast with the Jew, if they were apt at times to pride themselves upon the Jewish nation being no longer the chosen people,¹³ still it remained true that, by its apostasy, Christians were now the Church,¹⁴ the Circumcision',¹⁵ in fact 'the Israel of God'.¹⁶

¹ It occurs in 1 Cor. x. 32, xii. 28, xv. 9; Gal. i. 13, as well as in Eph. v. 25. ² 1 Cor. xii. 13. ³ 1 Cor. xii. 12.

⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 27; Eph. iv. 12. ⁵ Eph. iv. 4. ⁶ Eph. iv. 3.

⁷ "ἅγιος means holy in destination, and is the common title of Christians; cf. Rom. i. 7 and Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.* "ὅσιος means holy in character, and never used, except of our Lord, as descriptive of what a person actually is: see Heb. vii. 26.

⁸ 2 Thess. ii. 13. ⁹ Acts ii. 42. ¹⁰ Eph. ii. 20.

¹¹ Rom. vi. 4. What was distinctive of Christianity was not novelty (νέος = 'recens ad tempus') but freshness (καινός = 'novus ad rem'). Thus our Lord's was διδαχὴ καινὴ (Mark i. 27); Christian ordinances are ἀσκοὶ καινοί (Mark ii. 22); a Christian is καινὴ κτίσις (2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15) or καινὸς ἄνθρωπος (Eph. iv. 24); Christ's the καινὴ διαθήκη (Mark xiv. 24; Heb. viii. 8, ix. 15); and love the ἐντολὴ καινὴ (John xiii. 34).

¹² Eph. v. 8, 9. ¹³ Rom. xi. 17 sqq.

¹⁴ A term taken over from the LXX, where, in the later historical books and in the prophets, it is the equivalent of *Qāhāl*, 'the congregation of the Lord', e. g. Ezra x. 1, 12, 14.

¹⁵ Phil. iii. 3, in contrast with 'the concision'.

¹⁶ Gal. vi. 16, in contrast with 'Israel after the flesh', 1 Cor. x. 18. The thought is a favourite one with St. Peter: see 1 Pet. ii. 5-10.

Association with this joyous but disciplined ¹ fraternity ² was not left to depend upon the enthusiasm begotten of the outpouring of the Spirit. Unique as that enthusiasm was, as, e. g., in bringing to birth, both in the Christian community and in the hearts of Christians,³ the new grace of love,⁴ it waned like the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. Such association depended on (1) Sacraments, for it was set up by Baptism and maintained by the Eucharist. It was therefore under control of the (2) Ministry, for Baptism and Eucharist were in their hands. It might be suspended, restored, or dissolved by the (3) Discipline which they exercised.

(1) The Sacrament of initiation was Baptism. It included, as do the later Baptismal Rites,⁵ three stages. First of these came instruction, a weapon of great value for missionary and disciplinary purposes, taken over from the Synagogue.⁶ In cases like that of the Ethiopian eunuch, where the catechumen had learned the elements of religion and morals through contact with Judaism, much might be dispensed with. The instruction would be confined to getting him to 'believe in Jesus Christ' as 'the Son of God'⁷: and the baptism could follow immediately.⁸ But, in ordinary cases, a longer course of teaching was given: and, to judge from such stray hints of it as appear in the *New Testament*, it consisted ⁹ of instruction (a) in the facts of our Lord's life, death, and resurrection¹⁰; (b) in the meaning of sacred rites,¹¹ baptism,¹² laying on of hands and Eucharist,¹³ with, perhaps, the Lord's Prayer; (c) in the moral obligations of 'the way'¹⁴ and in 'the last things'; finally (d) in the meaning of 'the

¹ 'The saints' (Rom. i. 7) or 'them that are [being] sanctified' (Heb. ii. 11, x. 14) suggests discipline: it was a title of the Christian community.

² Cf. the title, 'the brethren', 1 Thess. v. 26, &c.

³ Rom. v. 5.

⁴ On the grace of love (*ἀγάπη*) as a new virtue, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 374 sqq.

⁵ For which see Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, c. ix.

⁶ For the synagogue as school cf. W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*², 298 sqq. On Jewish religious education, see s.v. 'Education' in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ed. I. Singer, v. 42 sqq.

⁷ Acts viii. 37: if not genuine, at any rate, an early addition to the text.

⁸ Acts viii. 38.

⁹ For the contents of this earliest Christian 'tradition' cf. C. Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, n. 5, p. 157.

¹⁰ Luke i. 1-4; 1 Cor. xi. 23, xv. 3, 4.

¹¹ Heb. vi. 1-6.

¹² Rom. vi. 3.

¹³ 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, xi. 23 sqq.

¹⁴ For Christianity as the way of life or 'the Way' see Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 14, 22; and cf. the first six chapters of the *Didaché* on 'the Two Ways', which were probably a Jewish manual of instruction for proselytes before they were taken over for the instruction of Christians.

Name'. It was to this instruction, specially in regard to what is right and wrong in the matter of conduct, that the rapid growth of Christianity was largely due. For, Jews excluded, Christians were the only people to whom right conduct was part of religion and whose religion had taught them what conduct was right, and why. The second stage in Christian initiation was the actual Baptism, a short ceremony with renunciation,¹ and profession of belief² before witnesses³; by water⁴ though not necessarily with immersion⁵; and 'into the Name'—ordinarily into or 'in the Name of Jesus',⁶ or into the Threefold Name. But this is not to pronounce in favour of either phrase as the formula employed in the act of baptizing.⁷ 'Into the name' may mean into 'the allegiance of' or 'into union with', for we cannot suppose that by 'Were ye baptised into the name of Paul?'⁸ the Apostle means to ask whether his name had been recited over them as 'the form' of baptism: though we can well understand how, if baptism was 'into the allegiance of Jesus' or of the Holy Trinity, the Trinitarian formula came to be adopted as 'the form' of baptism. The third stage was the laying on of hands and the gift of the Holy Ghost.⁹ It followed the actual baptism immediately¹⁰ if the Apostle were within reach¹¹; or if not—the baptism having been done at his command¹² or by an inferior minister¹³—then, after an interval.¹⁴ But it followed. For Baptism looked backward: upon faith and repentance¹⁵ it gave remission of

¹ Implied in ἐπερώτημα, 1 Pet. iii. 21.

² Rom. x. 9, where the simplest form of the Creed professed occurs, viz. Κύριον Ἰησοῦν. For this cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3, and contrast its opposites, Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς and Κύριος Καῖσαρ, both of which were asked of Polycarp. Cf. *Martyrium Polycarpi*, viii, § 2 and ix, § 3.

³ 1 Tim. vi. : Doc. No. 36. 12.

⁴ Acts viii. 36, x. 47; Eph. v. 26; Heb. x. 22.

⁵ Immersion may be implied by the figures of Rom. vi. 3 sqq.; but (1) βαπτίζειν does not necessarily mean immersion: it cannot in Luke xi. 38; (2) immersion was not the early practice, as has been shown by C. F. Rogers in *Studia Biblica*, vol. v, § 4; and (3) 'Immersion did not imply that the person baptised was entirely plunged in the water', Duchesne *Christian Worship*⁵, 313.

⁶ Acts ii. 38, viii. 16. Both forms 'into the name of the Lord' and into the name of the Father, &c., occur in the *Didaché*, vii. 1, ix. 5.

⁷ On which point see *Journal of Theological Studies*, vii. 173, where it is held that 'name' = 'person' and so 'baptising into the name of Christ' = 'baptizing into Christ', simply.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 13.

⁹ Acts viii. 14 sqq., xix. 5 sq.; Heb. vi. 1, 2.

¹⁰ Acts ii. 38.

¹¹ Acts xix. 5, 6,

¹² Acts x. 48.

¹³ Perhaps by the catechist, or by an 'attendant' (Acts xiii. 5), such as Mark: at any rate not by the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 14-17.

¹⁴ Acts viii. 17, xxii. 16.

¹⁵ Acts xx. 21; Heb. vi. 1.

sins¹ and wiped out a guilty past. But it was incomplete and the Christian not fully equipped for the future without the laying on of hands and the bestowal thereby of the Holy Ghost—first of whose ‘fruits’² was ‘the love’ thus ‘shed abroad in the Christian’s heart’.³

The sacrament of maintenance in the community⁴ was the Eucharist; but this was the climax of other observances, for ‘they continued stedfastly in the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers’.⁵ The Christians at Jerusalem would be taken, at first, for an unusually pious Synagogue; and, if ‘the prayers’ were some form of the Synagogue prayers,⁶ ‘the apostles’ teaching’ came eventually to be transmitted in their writings which, as Epistle⁷ and Gospel, would be read after the lessons from the Old Testament⁸ customary in the Synagogue. These Christian lessons, interspersed with psalmody or chant, and expounded in the sermon, as the Jewish lessons in the *Midrash*,⁹ were followed by common contributions, at first in the common meal¹⁰ of ‘fellowship’, and afterwards in the almsgiving¹¹ at the Offertory; and the whole, culminating in the Eucharist, made up the permanent¹² and specifically Christian additions to the service of the Synagogue. In the church of Jerusalem and in other churches, so long as the majority remained Jewish or Jewish influences prevailed over Gentile, these two forms of religious observance went on side by side. The common meal or ‘Lord’s Supper’¹³ would be held,

¹ Acts ii. 38.

² Gal. v. 22.

³ Rom. v. 5.

⁴ Along with the ‘one body, one Spirit, . . . one baptism’ of Eph. iv. 5 should be reckoned the ‘one bread, one body’ of 1 Cor. x. 14.

⁵ Acts ii. 42. For this continuance in Gentile churches also, see Acts xx. 7–11.

⁶ For which see Oesterley and Box, c. xvii; and for the relation of the Synagogue service to the *Missa Catechumenorum* or Ante-Communion, see Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 47 sq.

⁷ Cf. Luke iv. 16–19; Acts xiii. 15, 27, xv. 21.

⁸ For the reading of St. Paul’s Epistles, cf. 1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16.

⁹ Luke iv. 21; Acts xiii. 15; on the homiletic *Midrashim*, see Oesterley and Box, 89.

¹⁰ Acts ii. 44, 45, iv. 32–5, vi. 1, 2; 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21.

¹¹ When the common ‘tables’ expressive of ‘fellowship’ were no longer possible, it received fresh expression in systematic almsgiving, proportionate to earnings, 1 Cor. xvi. 1; for the poor, Gal. ii. 10; the sick, Rom. xii. 8; widows, Acts vi. 1, ix. 39, 41; 1 Tim. v. 3–9.

¹² There was also ‘prophecy’, ‘tongues’, &c., as in 1 Cor. xiv, a true ‘liturgy of the Holy Ghost . . . with a real presence and communion’, Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 48, but it was not permanent.

¹³ 1 Cor. xi. 20. As a name for the Eucharist, ‘Lord’s Supper’ puts whole for part, just as ‘Communion’ (1 Cor. x. 16), if so used, is part for whole.

at the end of the Sabbath, and the Eucharist celebrated 'after Supper',¹ i.e. in the early hours of the first day of the week or 'Lord's day'.² But as supremacy in Christendom passed from Jew to Gentile, the Jewish elements began to disappear. The Sabbath gave way to Sunday; the Jewish mode of reckoning time from evening to evening gave way to the Roman manner of reckoning from midnight to midnight³: and while the common meal remained for a time where it was on Saturday evening, the Eucharist came to be transferred⁴ to the Sunday morning. There it has ordinarily remained since: attached, as when there was evening communion after a meal, to the earliest hours of the Lord's Day. Similarly, the Passover gave way to Easter,⁵ and what the sacrifices were to the Jew—who was also a Christian, that, and far more, the Eucharist became to the Christian who could no longer be a Jew.⁶ As 'the one great act of Christian sacrificial worship', it stepped into the place of sacrifices, Jewish or pagan.⁷ The fact that 'the Church has never yet been troubled by an attempt to erect within its pale a system of sacrifices such as most of its converts had been taught from childhood to regard as an essential of worship',⁸ is simple proof that in the Eucharist they felt that they had the supreme Sacrifice of their own.

(2) Before the Apostolic age was over, the administration of the Sacrament became, in addition to the preaching of the Word, the care of an official Ministry.

There was, indeed, a ministry of gifts⁹ as well as a ministry

¹ Luke xxii. 20.

² Rev. i. 10.

³ Traces of the gradual adoption of the Roman civil day are noticeable in the fact that 'St. Mark and St. Paul always speak of "night and day" . . . St. John . . . in the *Apocalypse* of "day and night"', J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*,² 305.

⁴ There were other reasons for this transference. Apparently, in Corinth the disorders at the Eucharist were due to holding the evening meal before it. These disorders St. Paul recognized, and said he would correct, 1 Cor. xi. 34. A year or two later, at Troas, the Eucharistic service takes place after midnight and *before* the meal (Acts xx. 11): see J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*,² 315 sq.

⁵ Cf. St. John's use of 'the passover of the Jews' (ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55), as if by his time there was a Christian Easter.

⁶ This is the argument of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. For the writer's references to the Eucharist, see Heb. x. 19–25, xii. 22–4.

⁷ St. Paul's argument in 1 Cor. x. 16–21 breaks down unless the same set of sacrificial ideas are, *mutatis mutandis*, applicable to the 'table of the Lord' and 'the table of demons', viz. that in each case the worshipper has communion with the deity by feeding upon the Sacrificial Victim.

⁸ W. W. Shirley, *The Church in the Apostolic Age*, 10.

⁹ Cf. Rom. xii. 6–8; 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

of office. It may not have been found in all churches ; yet ' the gifts of the Spirit ' are traceable at Thessalonica¹ and abounded at Corinth.² But these ' gifts ', or *charismata*, so far as they belonged to individuals,³ quickly passed away ; and, even when attached to office such as that of Apostle⁴ or Prophet, neither they nor the office endured. Only as conferred upon the ministry in process of localization,⁵ do we find them enduring. We may then put aside the ministry of gifts. It was precisely that which did not survive. Nor would one expect it : perpetuity belongs to office.

It was a ministry of office that our Lord instituted when He compared His people to a household, and, addressing Himself to Peter and the eleven, ' set ' them ' over ' it as ' stewards '.⁶ The figure, preserved by St. Paul,⁷ implies, first, that the ministry is appointed from above ; as is ever the case not only with stewards and shepherds but with the ministry in the New Testament.⁸ Preliminary to appointment there was probably, as in the case of the Seven, scrutiny of qualifications, moral, spiritual, and intellectual,⁹ election and presentation ; but for the elect of the people to possess the commission there was required appointment from above.¹⁰ Secondly, this figure of stewardship carried with it the clue to the functions of the ministry. As stewards they would have to feed¹¹ and to rule,¹² but also to

¹ 1 Thess. v. 19, 20.

² 1 Cor. i. 5, 6, xii. 4-11, xiv.

³ ' Prophecy ' sometimes was given, as we might say, to one of the congregation, 1 Cor. xiv. 30 ; or to one of the officiants, as it seems in Acts xiii. 2 ; or to one who was already a prophet, like Agabus, Acts xi. 27, 28. There were plenty of such ' spirits ' about, false as well as true, and they had to be ' proved ', 1 Thess. v. 21 ; 1 John iv. 1 sqq.

⁴ St. Paul claims three such *charismata*, ' tongues ', 1 Cor. xiv. 18 ; revelations, 2 Cor. xii. 1 ; signs, 2 Cor. xii. 12.

⁵ 2 Tim. i. 6. This passage is sufficient to show that it is a mistake (1) to identify the general with the ' charismatic ' ministry, as if the local ministry had no ' gift ', and (2) to suppose that ' the gifts ' were only given immediately, as in Acts x. 44-6. They were sometimes given, as in Ordination and Confirmation, through apostles, Rom. i. 11, or through the laying on of their hands, Acts viii. 17, 18, xix. 6.

⁶ Luke xii. 42 = Matt. xxiv. 45 : probably both from Q.

⁷ 1 Cor. iv. 1, ix. 17.

⁸ The word *καθιστάειν*, ' set over ', is used not only in Luke xii. 42 and Matt. xxiv. 45, but in Acts vi. 3 of the Seven and in Titus i. 5 of the appointment of presbyters by Titus.

⁹ Acts vi. 3 ; cf. ' faithful and wise ', Luke xii. 42, and ' faithful ', 1 Cor. iv. 2.

¹⁰ Acts vi. 3, 6.

¹¹ Luke xii. 42, and ' mysteries ', which, in 1 Cor. iv. 1, must apparently be confined to teaching.

¹² Implied in the abuse of powers of ruling, Luke xii. 45 sqq., and cf. ' tend ', John xxi. 16.

represent, both Master to household and fellow-servants to Master. The ministry, therefore, would be priestly¹: priest and steward alike mediate or intervene, and priesthood is simply stewardship *in sacris*. Finally, it is made clear in this parable, that the ministry would have its dangers in the abuse of spiritual power, but that, nevertheless, it was to continue, like the Eucharist, 'until His coming again'.² Such, in the main, was the Ministry that our Lord anticipated. But its authority was given to it gradually: by the choice and training of the Twelve³ and by the bestowal upon them, from time to time, of particular powers—to bind and loose,⁴ i. e. to legislate, to teach,⁵ to administer the Sacraments,⁶ and, by them or otherwise, to remit and retain.⁷ He left, however, no definite 'form' by which the Ministry, so called into being, was to perpetuate itself, just as He left no definite 'form' for the celebration of the Sacraments.

This, and the stages by which the Ministry which He instituted came to be that which we enjoy, were slow to develop, and are difficult to trace.⁸ The slowness was natural enough: little care would be bestowed on organization so long as it was generally expected that the end was at hand. And so long as Christians continued to worship in the Temple, they would hardly set up

¹ Hence, though *ιερεύς* is not used in N. T. of the ministerial priesthood (because it is a term which ignores any duties manward and would suggest (a) transmission from father to son, (b) association with bloodshedding sacrifice, and (c) with the immoral worship of paganism), but only of the lay priesthood (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9), Christian ministers are rightly called *Λειτουργοί* (Acts xiii. 2; Rom. xv. 16); a term used of the O. T. priesthood (Isa. lxi. 6), of our Lord as High Priest (Heb. viii. 1, 2), of the angels (Heb. i. 14), and implying by contrast with *ιερεύς*, ministry manward, and by contrast with *λατρεύειν*, priesthood in an office. No more precise term could have been found for the Christian Ministry: see R. C. Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, § xxxv.

² Luke xii. 44-6.

³ Mark iii. 13-15, where note (a) 'whom He himself would', appointment from above, (b) 'twelve', the number of the twelve patriarchs and of the 'thrones' in the Church or new 'Israel' (Matt. xix. 28), (c) 'that they might be with Him' = their training, (d) their mission, to 'preach' and to deal with evil, authoritatively. For the gradual bestowal of this 'authority', see Mark i. 22, 27, ii. 10, iii. 15, vi. 7, xi. 28, xiii. 34. It has been thought that this Gospel was 'apologetic' and was intended to answer the question that would often have been put to the Christian minister, What do you mean by going about and saying that you have authority to forgive sins? Cf. Dr. Lock, in *Miracles*, ed. H. S. Holland, 321.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18.

⁵ Luke xii. 42; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

⁷ John xx. 21. Both Baptism and Eucharist are for remission of sins: Acts ii. 38 and Matt. xxvi. 28.

⁸ For this account cf. H. F. Hamilton, *The People of God*, ii. cc. iv-vi.

a rival to the Jewish priesthood by elaborating a ministry 'at home'.¹ Nevertheless, the makings of a ministry were there. The Twelve occupied from the first a recognized pre-eminence² in the Church of Jerusalem; and Apostles and apostolic men a place of equal, because sharply assailed,³ authority in Churches converted by St. Paul. These, whether the Twelve, after their removal from Jerusalem, or Apostles like Barnabas and Paul, or Prophets such as Judas and Silas,⁴ with Evangelists like Philip,⁵ formed the general ministry during the Apostolic age. Signs of localization⁶ and the later jurisdiction⁷ appear here and there: but, in the main, Apostles and Prophets itinerated. In this way 'they kept the life-blood of the Church in circulation and preserved its unity, for it is to them we owe the fact that there is one Bible everywhere received in the Church, one Creed, one weekly Holy Day, one Baptism, and one Eucharist'.⁸ But this ministry of Apostle and Prophet was temporary. It was for founding⁹; and ceased as the foundations rose above ground. St. John was the last Apostle: while Prophets, well to the fore in the *Apocalypse*,¹⁰ have disappeared twenty years later in the Ignatian Epistles.

It was the local Ministry which, after being called into existence by appointment from the Apostles, succeeded to such functions of theirs as were not those of founding and so were capable of perpetuation.

In the Church of Jerusalem the officials were (a) the Seven,¹¹ never heard of again after the epoch of common 'tables',¹² except in so far as the mode of their appointment became the model for the arrangement of later Ordinals¹³; (b) the presbyters,¹⁴ of

¹ Acts ii. 46.

² This was denied by Dr. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 47, 84; but see the criticisms of Dr. W. Bright, *Some aspects of primitive Church life*, 14 sqq.

³ e. g. 1 Cor. ix; 2 Cor. x-xiii; Gal. i. 1.

⁴ Acts xv. 32.

⁵ Acts xxi. 8.

⁶ There was a body of 'prophets' apparently settled at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 27, and another at Antioch, xiii. 1.

⁷ Cf. Gal. ii. 8, 9; 2 Cor. x. 13-16; Rom. xv. 20.

⁸ J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, 148.

⁹ Eph. ii. 20, iv. 12.

¹⁰ Rev. i. 3, x. 7, xi. 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, 24, xxii. 6, 7; and see H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, pp. xvi. sq.

¹¹ Acts vi. 3.

¹² Acts vi. 2.

¹³ The whole proceeding governed the formation of the subsequent Ordinals of the Church, as is shown by Dr. Brightman, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. 254. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 377.

¹⁴ Acts xv. 6, xxi. 18.

whose appointment we know nothing, and can only infer that it was also from above and was due to the need for a body of men fit to preside at the breaking of the bread; and (c) James 'the Lord's brother'. His place at the head of the local Church¹ resembled more nearly that of the later diocesan bishop than did any other dignity in the New Testament: and it may have been due, as may that of James the son of Zebedee,² whom he appears to have succeeded in command of the local Church, to their both being kinsmen of the Lord.

In the Churches of St. Paul's foundation the outstanding facts are that there were no special officers at Corinth during the period *c.* 55 covered by *1 and 2 Corinthians* for the laity there were themselves rich in spiritual gifts,³ but at Ephesus, and again *c.* 59-61 at Philippi, there were 'presbyter-bishops' or 'bishops and deacons'.⁴ Now to break bread and to distribute it were the needs shared in common by these local Churches: nor were any special qualifications, beyond those of age and character, required for the purpose. A handful of presbyters or 'bishops' for celebrating the Eucharist and a larger number of deacons for distributing it were, in each place, called into existence for these purposes and, where we can trace their mode of appointment, by laying on of Apostles' hands.⁵ Considering that the earliest Christian communities were concerned primarily with worship, and that the qualifications of 'bishop' and deacons⁶ in the Pastoral Epistles are not business capacity or the like but simply such as you might expect of 'typical Christians',⁷ we may feel assured that the theory which traces the origin of 'presbyter-bishop' and deacon to the need for celebrant and assistant at the Eucharist is on the whole the simplest and the most likely to be true. Other duties, of oversight, of feeding⁸ and tending⁹ the flock, of praying over the sick¹⁰ and so forth, would naturally devolve upon them, as they do upon trusted men in office¹¹; but their *raison d'être* of this ministry was to attend upon the Eucharist.¹² As this was a permanent need,

¹ Acts xv. 13, xxi. 18.

² Acts xii. 2.

³ 1 Cor. xii-xiv.

⁴ Phil. i. 1.

⁵ Acts xiv. 23.

⁶ 1 Tim. iii. 1-13; Titus ii. 5-9.

⁷ Hamilton, ii. 116.

⁸ Acts xx. 28.

⁹ 1 Pet. v. 2.

¹⁰ Jas. v. 14.

¹¹ Hamilton, ii. 113.

¹² 'It may, perhaps, be objected that the Pastoral Epistles make no allusion to the Eucharist or to public worship in speaking of bishops and deacons. . . . To break bread at the Eucharist . . . is an act of the simplest kind. . . . Now when an act of this kind forms the essence of an office,

the ministry that lasted came to be the local rather than the general: and the sacramental succeeded to the miraculously endowed. 'The passing away' of the latter 'is part of the divine order, seen in the history of Israel as well as in that of Christendom, which tends generally to the substitution of the ordinary and continuous for the miraculous and extraordinary powers of the Kingdom of God'.¹

(3) Discipline had to be exercised by the Ministry to protect the Church from the disorders to which she was exposed. They threatened from three quarters. There were, first, the Judaizers,² especially in Galatia,³ who wished to reimpose the Law, i.e. in practice, the observance of 'the customs',⁴ circumcision, and the sabbath. Then there was Hellenism, particularly at Corinth, with its sensuality,⁵ its partisanship,⁶ and its intellectualism.⁷ Finally, Orientalism was a standing menace, tending either to licence or to a false asceticism⁸; both based on the anti-Christian principle that matter is essentially evil. Excommunication was held as a weapon in reserve, to protect the Church under such assaults. Its use was confined, as a rule, to moral disorders,⁹ to heresy,¹⁰ and schism¹¹; and its infliction was sometimes accompanied by miraculous penalties,¹² such as sickness or even death for an unworthy Communion.¹³ But as the miraculous gave way to the sacramental and the ordinary succeeded to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, the miraculous sanctions of discipline disappeared. Delivery of the body to Satan¹² ceased, and discipline 'pro salute animae' alone remained. It was administered by Apostolic authority, exercised in conjunction with the local church.¹⁴ But St. Paul claims that he derived his powers from our Lord¹⁵ and not from the church, and in some instances he

that act, though the essence of an office, is always overlooked when one is giving a list of qualifications required of candidates. . . . The one essential element which constitutes the office of President of a republic is the authority to sign certain documents. Yet, when a new president is to be elected, no one asks whether any particular candidate can write his own name.' Hamilton, ii. 115.

¹ J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*,² 149.

² Acts xv. 1.

³ Gal. v. 2, 3.

⁴ Acts xxi. 20.

⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 3-8; 1 Cor. v, vi. 12-20; Eph. iv. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 11, iv. 2-4; 2 Pet. ii. 10-22, &c.

⁶ 1 Cor. i. 10 sqq., iii. 3.

⁷ 1 Cor. i. 17 sqq.

⁸ Rom. xiv-xv. 13; Col. iii. 20-3; 1 Tim. iv. 3. For the true, or Christian, asceticism, see Mark ix. 43-8 and the Collect for the first Sunday in Lent.

⁹ 2 Thess. iii. 14.

¹⁰ 1 Tim. i. 19, 20.

¹¹ Rom. xvi. 17; Titus iii. 10.

¹² 1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20.

¹³ 1 Cor. xi. 30.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 2 Cor. ii. 6.

¹⁵ 2 Cor. x. 8; xiii. 3.

uses them on his sole authority.¹ There seems to have been a process, with 'first and second admonition',² similar to that prescribed by our Lord to the local church.³ The discipline had in view, as a rule, the object of restoring the fellowship which the offence had interrupted⁴; but it is recognized that there is a degree of sin which may put it out of the power of the church even to pray for the sinner's forgiveness.⁵

¹ 2 Thess. iii. 14; 1 Tim. i. 20.

² Titus iii. 10.

³ Matt. xviii. 15-17.

⁴ 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8, 11; Gal. vi. 1, 2.

⁵ 1 John v. 16.

CHAPTER III

THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE, A.D. 60-100

IN the last generation of the first century A.D. there died the three pillars¹ of the Church and St. Paul. St. James, the Lord's brother, was put to death in the Holy City, 62; St. Peter and St. Paul at the Capital, c. 64; while St. John died, about the year 100, at Ephesus. Thus the Apostolic age came to its close successively at Jerusalem, at Rome, and in 'Asia'.

§ 1. In Jerusalem the relations between the Church and the Synagogue constitute the chief subject of interest till its close. They passed through two stages, after 'the murmuring of the Grecian Jews against the Hebrews'.² The first was a period of some length, and may be taken to have lasted c. 36-66. It witnessed the gradual differentiation of Christianity from Judaism. The second was a crisis short and sharp: the crisis, in fact, of separation between them. It began with the Jewish War, 66, and culminated with the overthrow of Jerusalem, 70.

The process of differentiation can be traced in the work of St. Stephen and St. Paul. Stephen first made it clear that the Law and the Temple were but landmarks in the progress of God's dealings with His people; and that these landmarks had now been passed. No one who heard this announcement received it with greater exasperation than Saul the disciple of Gamaliel. But it soon appeared that Stephen rather than Gamaliel was the true teacher of St. Paul. After his conversion, it was Stephen's Gospel that the Apostle preached in Antioch³ and Galatia.⁴ This Gospel to the Gentiles of an acceptance with God, conditional on 'repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ',⁵ but unencumbered by any 'yoke'⁶ save that of abstention from idolatry and conformity to elementary morals,⁷ was confirmed by the Council at Jerusalem: and St. Paul, after 'delivering' to the converts 'the decrees for to keep which had been ordained

¹ Gal. ii. 9.

² Acts vi. 1.

³ Acts xi. 26.

⁴ Acts xiii, xiv.

⁵ Acts xx. 21.

⁶ Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1; and cf. Matt. xi. 28, 29.

⁷ Acts xv. 28, 29, omitting *καὶ πνευματικαῖς*, with the Western Text.

of the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem',¹ pressed home his advantage against the Judaizers, whether before or after the Council, in the *Epistle to the Galatians* and, after it, in the *Epistle to the Romans*. The remains of Jewish observance, decked out, however, with high-flown speculations for consumption beyond Palestine, he suppressed in the Asiatic epistles and the Pastorals. By the end of his days the churches of Gentile Christendom, though some of them still included a minority of Jewish birth and traditions among their members, had attained a religious life of their own, indebted to, but independent of, Judaism.

This differentiation, however, had been retarded by the unique position at Jerusalem of St. James. He was the Lord's brother.² Not an apostle, he yet ranked with apostles and ruled the local church with the authority of a diocesan bishop. Like his Kinsman, whom he thought of with St. Paul as 'the Lord of glory',³ he taught in the tones of a prophet; and, like Him, viewing His religion as the new law,⁴ he had sufficient influence to correct any misuse made of the doctrines of St. Paul by insisting on its requirement of good works.⁵ Nor did he regard such obedience as incompatible with loyalty to the Jewish law. Though a Christian, 'he lived under a permanent Nazarite vow',⁶ as appears from the statement of the Judæo-Christian writer Hegesippus, c. 160-90, that 'he touched neither wine nor strong drink and abstained from flesh, and let no razor come upon his head'.⁷ Such, too, was his piety in constant prayer for his nation,⁸ that he carried no less weight with his fellow-countrymen than with his fellow-Christians. It earned him the name of James the Just.⁹ A breach in the succession of Roman procurators, between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus, left the Sadducaic priesthood possessed for a brief interval of the power of life and death. St. James had reflected upon their wealth and greed¹⁰; and they seized their chance to put him to death.¹¹ But after his martyrdom, 62, his people under bishop Symeon, c. 62-†c. 104, who was also, as 'the

¹ Acts xvi. 4.

² Gal. i. 19.

³ 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory,' Jas. ii. 1; 'they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,' 1 Cor. ii. 8. For 'the Lord of glory', cf. Ps. xxiv. 7-10; and for the Christology of St. James, cf. i. 1; v. 8, 9, 14.

⁴ Jas. i. 25, ii. 8, 12.

⁵ For this view of Jas. ii. 14-26, see F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 148.

⁶ Hort, 153.

⁷ Hegesippus ap. Eus. *H. E.* ii. xxiii, § 5: see Document No. 62.

⁸ Ibid., § 6.

⁹ Ibid., § 7.

¹⁰ Jas. ii. 6, 7, v. 1-6.

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx. ix. 1: see Document No. 9.

son of Clopas', a kinsman of the Lord¹ and ruled the church of Jerusalem for forty years till he died as a martyr under Trajan,² still kept up a Christianity of the type associated with St. James. It may be described as a Christian Judaism; for while it treated Christianity in practice as a law, it stood firm in the confession of Christ as God: and not till the death of Symeon, says the orthodox Hegesippus as reported by Eusebius, was any attempt made 'to corrupt the sound standard of the preaching of salvation'.³

Symeon had scarcely succeeded to the episcopate⁴ when the crisis of separation between Church and Synagogue set in with the outbreak of the Jewish insurrection. It had been preparing for some twenty years, since the death of Herod Agrippa I⁴ in 44. Herod, by the favour of the Emperor Claudius, had ruled over all the lands included in the kingdom of his grandfather Herod the Great, †4 B.C. Thus there had been a truce between Jews and Romans: they had not been in direct contact with each other. But, on the death of the King, his son, afterwards Herod Agrippa II,⁵ 53-†100, and loyal throughout to the Romans, was as yet only seventeen. He was deemed too young to rule. So the procuratorial administration was set up again, and Judaea became once more but a minor province of the Empire. From that time the old hatred of the Roman yoke revived; but it found no occasion to break out till the procuratorship of Gessius Florus,⁶ 64-6. There were riots, ending in a massacre of the Jews, August 6, 66, in Caesarea⁷: and on the same day, as Josephus notes,⁸ the Roman garrison in Jerusalem was treacherously put to the sword by the Zealots,⁹ after the High Priest, Ananias,¹⁰ as leader of the party of order, had been slain.¹¹ So dangerous seemed the insurrection that it called at once for the intervention of the legate of Syria, Cestius Gallus. In October 66 he appeared before Jerusalem¹² with large forces, but was compelled to withdraw¹³: and, on receipt of the news,¹⁴ the Emperor Nero confided to Vespasian,¹⁵ as legate with an extraordinary command, the task of putting down the rebellion. In 67 Vespasian reduced Galilee,¹⁶

¹ For Symeon see Eus. *H. E.* III. xi, xxxii; IV. xxii. 6; for Clopas, John xix. 25.

² Hegesippus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxii. 6.

³ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxii. 7.

⁴ Acts xii. 23.

⁵ Acts xxv. 13.

⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.* v. x. 1.

⁷ Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*, II. xviii. 1.

⁸ *B. I.* II. xviii. 1.

⁹ *B. I.* II. xvii. 10.

¹⁰ He was the Ananias before whom St. Paul was tried (Acts xxiii. 2).

¹¹ *B. I.* II. xvii. 9.

¹² *B. I.* II. xix. 4.

¹³ *Ibid.* 7.

¹⁴ *B. I.* II. xx. 1.

¹⁵ *B. I.* III. i. 3.

¹⁶ *B. I.* III. vii. 36.

and the coast as far south as Joppa.¹ On March 4, 68, he took Gadara² and, after occupying the regions beyond Jordan, he took up his quarters at Jericho.³ From thence he was about to advance upon Jerusalem when news reached him of the death of Nero,⁴ June 9, 68. The civil war that followed gave the Jews a respite⁵ of nearly two years; and it was not till after the elevation of Vespasian, in July 69, by the army⁶ and in December by the Senate,⁷ that his son Titus was entrusted with the task and marched upon Jerusalem in the spring of 70. On August 10 the Temple and its treasures were burnt to the ground⁸: and a month later, September 8, Jerusalem finally passed into the hands of the Romans.⁹ With its capture priesthood and sacrifice ceased; the Jewish nation had no religious centre; and the very offering, which every Jew used to make yearly for the maintenance of the Temple, he was now forced to send as tribute to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.¹⁰

It was probably in the spring of 68, when Vespasian's conquest of Perea had opened up a safe retreat, that bishop Symeon, with the majority of his flock, withdrew from Jerusalem and took refuge in Pella,¹¹ one of the cities of that region. 'The migration', writes Dr. Hort, 'was doubtless connected with the supremacy gained by the Zealot party in Jerusalem and the tyranny which they exercised over the city. The natural effect of those terrible days would be that many of those Christians whose attachment to the Jewish state was stronger than their faith in the Gospel would become separated from the Church and lost in the mass of their fellow-countrymen. Thus the body which migrated to Pella would probably consist mainly of those who best represented the position formerly taken by St. James, and those whom the teaching of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* had persuaded to loosen their hold on the ancient observances.'¹² The separation between Church and Synagogue was at last complete. It is reflected in the contrast of tone between the Christian and the Jewish literature of the crisis. The latter is represented, first, by the *Apocalypse of Baruch*,¹³ 'a composite work' of 'the latter half of the first

¹ B. I. III. ix. 3.

² The metropolis of Perea, B. I. IV. vii. 3.

³ B. I. IV. viii. 1.

⁴ B. I. IV. ix. 2.

⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.* V. x. 3.

⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.* II. lxxix. 2.

⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. iii. 4.

⁸ B. I. VI. iv. 5-7; Document No. 8.

⁹ B. I. VI. iv. 4-5.

¹⁰ B. I. VII. vi. 6; Matt. xvii. 27.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* III. y. 3.

¹² Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 175.

¹³ Ed. R. H. Charles (Black, 1896) and in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*

century'.¹ Cheerful enough in those sections which derive from the period before the destruction of Jerusalem, the writer, in two of the sections² which date from after its fall, abandons all expectation of a Messianic Kingdom and views the world as a scene of corruption whose evils are irremediable.³ A second Jewish pamphlet—also composite—is the *Apocalypse of Ezra*,⁴ contained in cc. iii-xiv of 2 *Esdras* in our *Apocrypha* or 4 *Esdras* of the Vulgate. It is usually assigned to the reign of Domitian; but there is a last constituent part, of the year 100, called *The Apocalypse of Salathiel*,⁵ marked by a tone of 'pessimism which contrasts strongly with the hopefulness of older Jewish apocalypses'⁶ and of the *Apocalypse of St. John*. 'There be many created, but few shall be saved.'⁷ How depressed by comparison with the *Epistle to the Hebrews* which gives the Christian view of the crisis. Sad as it was for a Jewish Christian, say, on his departure to Pella, to feel that he must forgo the worship of the Temple, let him be sure that he is now in possession of something better.⁸ He can afford to part with 'the shadow'⁹ who knows that, in 'Jesus the mediator of the new covenant'¹⁰ and in the Eucharist,¹¹ he has already inherited 'the good things that were to come'.¹²

§ 2. In Rome the rise of the church to pre-eminence owes something, though by no means all, to the dispersal of a possible rival in Jerusalem.

of *O. T.* ii. 470-526 (1913); cf. his *Jewish and Christian Eschatology*² (1913), 323 sqq.

¹ Ibid., p. vii.

² e. g. *Apoc. Baruch*, c. lxxxv, with Dr. Charles's note *ad loc.*, Document No. 5.

³ Charles, *Eschatology*², 332.

⁴ Ed. G. H. Box (Pitman & Sons, 1912). Cf. Charles, *Eschatology*², 347 sqq.

⁵ *The Apocalypse of Salathiel* consists of 2 *Esdras* iii. 1-31, iv. 1-51, v. 13 B-vi. 10, vi. 30-vii. 25, vii. 45-viii. 62, ix. 13-x. 57, xii. 40-8, xiv. 28-35. The date is indicated by 'In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City', 2 *Esdras* iii. 1: see Box, p. xxix.

⁶ H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, p. xxii. Cf. Box, pp. xxxvii sqq.

⁷ 2 *Esdras* viii. 3.

⁸ The Jew also mourned the loss of the Temple, 2 *Esdras* x. 21, but 'the only consolation for the miseries of the present age' lies in the future (Box, 233), and evil must run its course till 'the measure be fulfilled', 2 *Esdras* iv. 37. See Document No. 6. Cf. Jerome, *In Sophoniam*, c. i (*Op.* vi. 692; *P. L.* xxv. 1354 A-C), and Document No. 208.

⁹ Heb. viii. 5.

¹⁰ Heb. xii. 24.

¹¹ Heb. x. 19-25, xii. 22-4, xiii. 10.

¹² Heb. x. 1: for the relation here indicated by σκιά, εἰκὼν, πράγματα between the Jewish, the Christian, and the Heavenly worship, cf. 'Umbra in lege, imago in evangelio, veritas in caelestibus', Ambrose, *In Psalm. xxxviii* [xxxix], vers. 7; *Enarratio* § 25 (*Op.* i. i. 852; *P. L.* xiv. 1051 c), and *De Officiis* i. xlviii, § 238 (*Op.* ii. i. 63; *P. L.* xvi. 94 A).

Of the origin of the Roman church we know little. 'Sojourners from Rome'¹ may have carried back thither some reminiscences of what they had heard and seen at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. But probably its growth was fortuitous, and due to the arrival from time to time of Christians from the churches founded by St. Paul in Greece and Asia.² They came to the capital on business³ or for employment; and this will explain how St. Paul knew of so many acquaintances there to salute by name in his *Epistle to the Romans*. It may also explain the apparent absence of organization in the church of Rome: for, with the possible exception of some women who 'laboured in the Lord',⁴ there is no indication in that letter of recognized office-bearers. Elsewhere the church sprang out of a mission to the synagogue. In some cases, the synagogue may have gone over in a body. It would then have taken its worship and its officers with it; and certainly, by the arrangement of its non-eucharistic service and by the name 'presbyter' for one rank of its officers, the Church, to this day, proclaims its debt to the synagogues. But the attractions of the capital were such that in Rome there were Christians by force of circumstances; and a Christian community came into being there less under the shadow of the synagogue than by simple aggregation.

The composition of the Roman church followed from its origin. Racially, it was predominantly Gentile,⁵ though there was a Jewish minority⁶ strong enough to demand consideration. St. Paul had to plead that its scruples might be respected by the Gentile majority; and, indeed, his very sending of the *Epistle to the Romans* was due to the need for conciliating this minority if, on his visit to Rome, he was to find a welcome at all. 'I am not ashamed of the gospel; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.'⁷ Socially, the members of the Roman church, to judge by the names of those to whom the Apostle sends greeting, were mainly slaves in 56. By 58 they may have been joined by a lady

¹ Acts ii. 10.

² e. g. Prisca and Aquila, Rom. xvi. 3, and others, 3-16.

³ e. g. Phoebe, Rom. xvi. 1 sq.

⁴ κοπιῶν, used of women in Rom. xvi. 12, is used of the local clergy in 1 Thess. v. 12.

⁵ Rom. i. 6, 14, 15, xi. 13 sqq., xv. 14-16.

⁶ The contrast between Jew and Gentile would, at least, be included under that between the 'weak' and the 'strong' in Rom. xiv, xv.

⁷ Rom. i. 16.

of distinction.¹ Freedmen of 'Caesar's household'² were included during St. Paul's first captivity, 59-61. By the time of his second, 63-4, Latin names, such as Pudens and Claudia,³ begin to appear. They indicate converts from the upper ranks of society.

The numbers by this time, though trifling,⁴ of course, in proportion to the population, were nevertheless considerable in the aggregate. 'Multitudes' are said, both by Clement⁵ and Tacitus,⁶ to have perished in the Neronian persecution. As of the humbler classes, most of these would be Greeks; and Greek continued, for at least two hundred years, to be the language of the Roman church.⁷

Organization by Apostles came in due course. St. Paul's arrival in Rome,⁸ probably in 59, is certain; nor is it open to doubt that by 'Babylon',⁹ from which St. Peter wrote his Epistle, is meant Rome. At the latest, therefore, St. Peter must have arrived in Rome not long after St. Paul.

But there is a tradition that he reached Rome much earlier. The tradition is stated in its fullest form by St. Jerome: 'Simon Peter . . . prince of the Apostles, in the second year of the Emperor Claudius . . . came to Rome and there for twenty-five years occupied the episcopal throne till the last year of Nero.'¹⁰ Peter then, on this showing, was bishop of Rome from 42-67. The assertion of Jerome runs back upon his translation of the *Chronicle*,¹¹ and, so far as arrival under Claudius goes, upon the *History*,¹² of Eusebius; but the episcopate of Peter was clearly accepted in the second century, being traceable in the lists of the bishops of Rome assigned to Hippolytus¹³ †235, and to Hegesippus,¹⁴ *fl. c.* 170. The tradition, it is sometimes maintained,¹⁵ is untenable, but easily accounted for: untenable, because St. Paul could never have refrained from allusion to St. Peter had the latter ever been in

¹ 'Insignis femina,' Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 32; *infra*, 55.

² Phil. iv. 22. ³ 2 Tim. iv. 21.

⁴ On St. Paul's arrival 'the brethren' went out to meet him 'as far as The Market of Appius and The Three Taverns', Acts xxviii. 15.

⁵ *πολὺ πλῆθος*, 1 Clem. ad Cor. vi. § 1; Document No. 11.

⁶ 'Multitudo ingens,' Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Document No. 22.

⁷ W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *Romans*, lii sqq.

⁸ Acts xxviii. 14. ⁹ 1 Pet. v. 13.

¹⁰ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 827; *P. L.* xxiii. 607 B. C.).

¹¹ 'Petrus apostolus, cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset, Romam mittitur, ibique Evangelium praedicans xxv annis eiusdem urbis episcopus perseverat,' Eusebius, *Chronicorum II* (*Op.* i; *P. G.* xix. 539).

¹² Eus. *H. E.* ii. xiv. 6.

¹³ Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 253, 261, 300.

¹⁴ Ibid. I. i. 329-33.

¹⁵ As by Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxx.

Rome; and simple to account for in this way. Assuming the second-century belief to be true that 'the Saviour commanded His apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years'¹ from His ascension, St. Peter may well have felt free, after his escape from the prison of Herod Agrippa I, to leave the city² in 42: subtract this date from 67, the received date of his death, and there remains the twenty-five years' episcopate.

But the tradition is not so easily to be dismissed. In the autobiographical passage in which St. Paul says that he 'made it his aim so to preach the gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation',³ the Apostle is stating what was his general rule when thinking of setting up a new mission. Hitherto, 'from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,'⁴ no 'other man' had been before him, so that he had been free to preach at will 'in these regions'.⁵ Later on, 'whenever I go unto Spain',⁶ the ground, so he anticipated, would be equally clear. Meanwhile he was going to Rome, not to start a new mission but only on a flying visit, as he hoped, 'on my way thitherward'.⁶ Rome, in short, was 'another man's foundation'. Free enough to visit his friends there, he could not consistently do more. No allusion by name to 'the other man' is wanted: the Romans knew well enough whom he meant⁷.

Who, then, was 'the other man'? The evidence is early and threefold in favour of St. Peter.⁸ (1) There is the evidence of general tradition. No other church in East or West has ever claimed that St. Peter died there or that it possessed his tomb. Churches that never have owned the Roman supremacy accept the tradition that Rome is the see of St. Peter. Local testimony, too, is strong. (2) There is the archaeological evidence. The likeness of St. Peter occurs in the *cubiculi* of the catacombs: 'Peter' is found, in the first-century catacomb of Priscilla, as a favourite Christian name; the imprisonment of Peter and his release by the angel is frequently portrayed, and 'the frequency with which this subject was chosen might be accounted for by the

¹ The anti-Montanist writer, Apollonius [c. 197], in Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii. 13.

² Acts xii. 17.

³ Rom. xv. 20.

⁴ Rom. xv. 19.

⁵ Rom. xv. 23.

⁶ Rom. xv. 24.

⁷ Cf. K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 378 sq., and G. Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the first century*, 27 sq.

⁸ For this argument, see Edmundson, *The Church in Rome*, 51 sqq.

existence of a traditional belief in a close connexion between this event and the first visit of St. Peter to Rome¹ in 42. If it be urged that Peter's presence is wanted at Antioch after 47,² the Council³ in 49, and at Corinth before 55,⁴ there is no reason why his residence at Rome or, for that matter, at Jerusalem should have been continuous.⁵ We need not accept all the Petrine legends; but if we couple with the evidence of tradition and of archaeology (3) the early literary evidence, it may be regarded as certain, e. g. from the Ebionite *Preaching of Peter*,⁶ c. 100-25, that St. Peter did preach and labour in Rome before St. Paul wrote his *Epistle to the Romans* as to a community important 'throughout the whole world',⁷ in part, perhaps, because of Peter's presence. To speak of St. Peter as 'bishop' at that date is, of course, an anachronism; but one that fell naturally from the lips of Jerome or any fourth-century writer.

An apostolate, then, not an episcopate, is what St. Peter exercised in Rome: and thither at length, without designing it, came St. Paul to exercise his apostolate too. From the way in which Clement of Rome,⁸ Ignatius,⁹ Dionysius of Corinth,¹⁰ Irenaeus¹¹ and others after them,¹² connect the names of the two Apostles not only with Rome but with one another, there can be no doubt that, before the Neronian persecution, St. Peter and St. Paul were in Rome together, and jointly organized the church in the metropolis, leaving Linus to become its first bishop. Thus the pre-eminence of the Roman church was assured from the beginning. It rested not on the civil dignity of the city, but upon the fact that the Roman church was the only church in Christendom which

¹ Ibid. 53.

² Gal. ii. 11.

³ Acts xv. 7 sqq.

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁵ For St. Peter's possible movements during the 'twenty-five years' episcopate', see Edmundson, Lecture III. Imprisonment, 42; first visit to Rome, 42-5; at Jerusalem, 46; at Antioch, 47-54; at Corinth, 54; second visit to Rome, 55-6; third, 63-5.

⁶ Origen says that the *Preaching of Peter* was known to Heracleon, the Gnostic commentator on St. John, c. 160-70 [cf. Origen, *In Ioann.* tom. xiii, § 17 (*Op.* iv. 226; *P. G.* xiv. 424 c)]; and it is referred to in the *Apology* of Aristides offered to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, 138-†61: see O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 47, 98.

⁷ Rom. i. 8.

⁸ 1 *Clem. ad Cor.*, c. v: see Lightfoot's note in *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 26 and Document No. 11.

⁹ Ignatius, *Ep. ad Rom.* iv, § 3.

¹⁰ *ap. Eus. H. E.* II. xxv. 8; see Document No. 53.

¹¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haereses*, III. iii, §§ 1-3: see Document No. 74.

¹² e. g. Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus*, c. xxxvi (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* II. 49 B); *Scorpiace*, § 15 (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* II. 151 B); and Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E.* II. xxv. 7: see Document No. 53. Gaius, the Roman presbyter, is identified with Hippolytus by Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, I. ii. 318, 377-83.

had two apostles—and those the two chief apostles—for its founders. Its bishop presided over the only Apostolic See in the West.

With the presence of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, c. 63, a change took place in the attitude of the Government to the Christian Church: toleration gave way to persecution.

The period of toleration covers St. Paul's active ministry, and toleration was what he might reasonably have expected from the authorities of the State. As a matter of policy it was usual with them to tolerate foreign cults 'in so far as they did not (1) injure the national religion, (2) encourage gross immoralities, (3) seem likely to lead to political disaffection. Various considerations led to the toleration of Judaism': and 'its toleration would by no means logically lead to that of Christianity',¹ for the latter was a religion 'claiming to overstep all limits of nationality'.² Indeed, for some period, the Church profited by its Jewish origin—till the Jews turned against it; for its existence as a separate body was slow to mature and as slow to be recognized by the Government. It is no matter for surprise, then, to find St. Paul a friend of the Empire. He enjoyed the rights of its citizenship.³ At Philippi,⁴ Thessalonica,⁵ and Corinth⁶ he was protected by its magistrates. At Ephesus its local magnates were his friends.⁷ Guided, in his missionary policy, along its roads, speaking its language, and inspired by its ideals, St. Paul seconded the Empire on its mission of civilization—in the substitution of education for barbarism, of unity for racialism, of the morality of the family for 'the lower morality of many of the Asiatic religions'.⁸ While St. Peter taught that civil society is 'an ordinance of man',⁹ St. Paul laid stress on the complementary truth that 'there is no power but of God: and the powers that be are ordained of God'.¹⁰ In particular he looked upon the Emperor as 'he that restraineth now',¹¹ and on the Empire as 'that which restraineth'¹² 'the mystery of lawlessness' in the interests of law and order. But with the animosity of

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. J. B. Bury: Methuen, 1897), ii. 543. In this note Dr. Bury accepts and summarizes the conclusions of E. G. Hardy's chapters on 'Christianity and the Roman Government, since reissued in *Studies in Roman History*, 1905.

³ Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 25.

⁴ Acts xvi. 38 sq.

⁵ Acts xvii. 8 sq.

⁶ Acts xviii. 16.

⁷ Acts xix. 31.

⁸ W. Lock, *St. Paul the Master-builder*, 24; drawing upon W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the traveller and the Roman citizen*, 130 sqq.

⁹ 1 Pet. ii. 13.

¹⁰ Rom. xiii. 1.

¹¹ 2 Thess. ii. 7.

¹² 2 Thess. ii. 6

Judaism against the Church the forces of disorder were gaining strength; and presently embroiled Christians with the State. Suetonius, in a well-known sentence, probably referring to an edict of c. 50, affirms that 'the Jews who were continually rioting at the instigation of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled from Rome'.¹ The assertion may mean that opposition between Jews and Christians over the claims of Jesus to be the Christ was, at that date, beginning to declare itself in Rome. If so, the Government would soon learn to distinguish between them, and to look upon the Church as an independent society. This would hardly prove to her advantage: and the admonitions which St. Paul addressed to the church in Rome to 'be in subjection'² and to treat the State as 'a minister of God to thee for good',³ may be not unconnected with a fear lest Christians, by gaining a reputation for turbulence like the Jews, should only have acquired a distinctive existence in the eyes of the Roman Government to have it forthwith suppressed. But, as yet, their existence constituted no crime: as may be seen from the trial of Julia Pomponia Graecina, c. 57-8, and of St. Paul himself, c. 62. 'Pomponia Graecina,' says Tacitus, 'a distinguished lady, wife of the Plautius who returned from Britian with an ovation, was accused of some foreign superstition and handed over to her husband's judicial decision. Following ancient precedent, he heard his wife's cause in the presence of kinsfolk, involving, as it did, her legal status and character, and he reported that she was innocent. This Pomponia lived a long life of unbroken melancholy. After the murder of Julia,⁴ Drusus's daughter, by Messalina's treachery, for forty years she wore only the attire of a mourner, with a heart ever sorrowful. For this, during Claudius's reign, she escaped unpunished, and it was afterwards counted a glory to her.'⁵ The 'foreign superstition' has long been taken for Christianity; and the aloofness which it would require from the coarse and cruel pleasures of society would lay her open to the charge of 'melancholy'. She could neither go out nor entertain. In recent times, the belief that she was a Christian has received remarkable support from the discovery 'in the very ancient crypts of Lucina in the catacomb of Callistus,

¹ Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, c. xxv, § 4; cf. Acts xviii. 2, and Doc. No. 37.

² Rom. xiii. 1. ³ Rom. xiii. 4.

⁴ A. D. 43: see Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 27, and Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, c. xxix.

⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 32 (tr. A. J. Church and W. G. Brodribb, 242) and Document No. 21.

of a Christian sepulchral inscription of a Pomponius Graecinus . . . of the second century'.¹ He may have been her great-nephew. Assuming, then, that Pomponia was put on her trial for professing the faith of Christ, it is remarkable that, in 57-8, Christianity was, as yet, no crime. Nor was it an offence four years later, at the first trial of St. Paul, 61-2. The question then must have been whether he was a rioter, not whether he was a Christian. For he was certainly acquitted²; and his acquittal, had he been charged with the mere profession of Christianity, would have set a precedent very awkward for the Government later on. Up to 62, then, the period of toleration continued. Christianity, not definitely regarded as other than a variety of Judaism, enjoyed the privileges accorded to Jews as adherents of a *Religio licita*. To be a Christian was no offence: nor was there any assumption as yet that a Christian was *ipso facto* a criminal. But the material for this assumption had been steadily accumulating. Jewish hostility³ knew how to take advantage of the jealousy of religious rivals⁴ and the cupidity of Gentile traders⁵ which Christian teachers provoked. It knew also how to exploit the suspicions⁶ of the Roman Government; and such suspicions, once aroused, might at any time bring to an end the first period in the relations of the Government to the Church.

The Neronian persecution, bred in such suspicion, formed the second.

Its occasion was purely accidental, for it arose out of the burning of Rome. Fires were common at Rome; but on 19 July, 64, a great conflagration broke out⁷ which consumed a large portion of the city and rendered thousands destitute.⁸ Nero left nothing undone to quell the flames, to shelter the homeless, and to relieve the sufferers.⁹ He then set to work to rebuild the city on a more splendid scale.¹⁰ But, for all that, the multitude suspected incendiarism, and even laid it to the charge of Nero. To shift the suspicion from himself the Emperor put it upon the Christians. Their creed is described by Tacitus as 'a most mischievous superstition', and they were popularly credited with 'abomina-

¹ Edmundson, *The Roman Church*, &c., 86; cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 31.

² 2 Tim. iv. 17.

³ Acts xiii. 50, xiv. 5, xvii. 5, xviii. 12, &c.

⁴ Acts xvi. 19.

⁵ Acts xix. 27.

⁶ Acts xvi. 21, xvii. 7.

⁷ 'Forte an dolo principis incertum,' Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. xxxviii. 1.

⁸ Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. xxxviii sqq.

⁹ Ibid. 39.

¹⁰ Ibid. 43.

tions' ¹ fit only to be ranked with the 'things hideous and shameful' that were perpetually making their way to Rome 'from every part of the world'. The police were set to work. Those who were known to be Christians and 'pleaded guilty' to the charge were 'put upon their trial': and some of these, under torture, gave 'information' of others who were Christians also, but in secret. 'Great numbers' were thus brought to trial; but the charge of incendiarism could not be made good against them, and they were 'convicted not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind'. They were put to death with 'mockery'. Some, wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, were torn to pieces by dogs. Others were crucified. Others, arrayed in tunics smeared with pitch, were set on fire to light up the fête in the gardens of the Vatican which Nero gave to divert the populace.² Such is the well-known and horrible story.

The range of the persecution was thus, at first, local. It was confined to Rome. But if, as seems probable, the first *Epistle of St. Peter* was written under stress of these events, the persecution soon spread to the provinces. That epistle certainly represents Christians as suffering simply for their religion³: and it is sometimes held⁴ that not until the reign of Domitian, 81-†96, were Christians thus put to death for 'the Name', and that previously some further charge, as of being criminals, was always alleged. If this be so, the date of the Epistle must be placed as late as 80. But this is thirteen years after the traditional date of St. Peter's death: nor is it likely that St. Peter—whose authorship of the first Epistle is not disputed—lived on to so great an age. Moreover, Tacitus affirms that the charge on which Christians were condemned was not incendiarism but 'hatred of mankind'; in

¹ Tacitus, by his reference to *flagitia*, seems to affirm that charges such as those of infanticide, cannibalism, and incest, otherwise known to us through the apologists of the second century (e. g. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. ix (*P. L.* iii. 262 sq.) and the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. i. 14), were already made against the Christians. He believes the charges (xv. xlv. 4): Pliny also speaks of '*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*', *Epist.* x. xcvi. 2, but owns that the evidence went the other way, *ibid.*, § 7.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. xlv: see Document No. 22; cf. Suetonius, *Vita Neronis*, xvi, § 2 (Document No. 38), and Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* ii, §§ 5-8 (Document No. 177).

³ 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20, iii. 14, 17, iv. 14-16.

⁴ As by W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 242, 279; but his theory is rejected by Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 61, and Bury, in his appendix to Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ii. 544.

other words, not for being criminals, but for being Christians. It is true that confession of 'the Name' was popularly held to carry crime; but, on the other hand, the Name by itself was better suited to Nero's purpose. It would hint criminality, and so at once divert suspicion from himself to others. To be a Christian confessed meant that the prisoner was marked down at once as member of an anti-social sect: and should it seem more natural that the Jews, who had long been objects of dislike and suspicion,¹ should have suffered, than that Christians, who had hitherto attracted but little notice, should be selected as scapegoats, the hostility of the Jews may have led them, under Nero, as later, to put forward the Christians as their substitutes. They could easily have done so: they had a friend at court in Nero's Jewish wife, Poppaea.²

Assuming, then, that Christians under Nero suffered merely for the Name, Nero's action set a precedent. The maxim at law came from his day to be as Tertullian states it to have been: 'it is not lawful for you [Christians] to exist.'³ Possibly the statement of Sulpicius Severus, c. 363-†c. 425, is also true: to the effect that 'after [the Vatican fête] laws were enacted forbidding the religion, and edicts publicly issued proclaiming that it was not lawful for a Christian to exist'.⁴ The statement of Sulpicius is late, but it has not been 'definitely disproved': and it would certainly account for the aftermath of the Roman persecution for which St. Peter wrote to prepare⁵ his converts in Asia Minor. But edict or no edict, the mere proceedings of Nero would have set the precedent. 'As soon as the Christians were once convicted of an *odium humani generis*, they were potentially outlaws and brigands, and could be treated by the police administration as such, whether in Rome or the provinces.'⁶

Nor was there any delay in applying the principle thus established to the leaders of what would be thought so dangerous

¹ The way in which the Jews are regarded in Esther iii. 8 and 1 Thess. ii. 15 shows that the charge of being the enemies of society might just as well have been used against them. For the Roman dislike of Jews cf. 'Ede, ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha?' Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 296 and xiv. 96-106; and Tacitus charges them with 'adversus omnes alios hostile odium', *Hist.* v. v. 2.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 60.

³ 'Non licet esse vos,' Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. iv (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 285 A).

⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. xxix. 3 (*C. S. E. L.* i. 83): see Document No. 205.

⁵ 1 Pet. i. 6, iv. 12.

⁶ Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 63.

a conspiracy. If traditions are well founded, St. Peter suffered martyrdom by crucifixion,¹ probably within a few months of the outbreak of the persecution²: and from the mention as early as c. 200 of his tomb on the Vatican,³ we might naturally infer that his death was somehow connected with the scenes in the Imperial gardens. St. Paul fell by the sword 'about the same time'⁴; and his tomb, in the second century, was pointed out on the Ostian Way.⁵ The Liberian Catalogue of 354 makes St. Peter and St. Paul to have perished together on the same day; but this embellishment of the story arose out of the events of 29 June, 258. On that day the bodies of the two Apostles were removed from their original resting-places to a place of safety 'in a cemetery on the Appian Way known as the Catacombs', where they might escape violation during the persecution under Valerian.⁶ The day was afterwards taken for the anniversary of the joint-martyrdom of the two Apostles; and hence its place in the Roman Calendar. These martyrdoms of the two chief Apostles brought the Apostolic age to a close in Rome, and gave to the Church of Rome a 'recognition accorded to no other Church. It was acknowledged everywhere and always that the Church of Rome had the distinction of having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and that it guarded the tombs of these "two most glorious Apostles".'⁷

§ 3. Proconsular Asia, as tradition has it, became the home of St. John the Apostle; for he left Palestine, perhaps on the outbreak of the Jewish War, and, settling at Ephesus, survived 'until the times of Trajan',⁸ 98-†117. His death is thus placed about 100.

The tradition rests, for its main supports, upon the memories of his disciple Polycarp, 70-†156, and the statements of Polycarp's pupil, Irenaeus, c. 140-†200. Two long lives therefore connect, in direct succession, the Catholic Church of the end of the second century with the last Apostle: and it is not surprising that

¹ Cf. St. John xxi. 18 sq.

² Edmundson, *The Church in Rome*, 152. He says 'summer of 65'.

³ Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E. II. xxv. 7*, and Document No. 53.

⁴ Dionysius of Corinth [c. 170], *ap. Eus. H. E. II. xxv. 8*, and Document No. 53.

⁵ Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E. II. xxv. 7*: on the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul see Edmundson, *The Church in Rome*, &c., app. E.

⁶ Edmundson, 147-50; Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, I. ii. 500.

⁷ Edmundson, 147; cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer. III. iii. 2* (*Op. 175*; *P. G. vii. 848 B*), and Document No. 74.

⁸ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer. II. xxii. 5* (*Op. 148*; *P. G. vii. 785 A*); *ap. Eus. H. E. III. xxiii. 3*.

attempts have been made to weaken the force of their testimony. To what then does it amount? We may begin with Irenaeus, and work backwards. He was brought up in 'Asia'. He was presbyter, and after 177 bishop, of the church of Lyons: so that, as well by early recollection as by familiarity with the South of Gaul which had constant intercourse with 'Asia', he had excellent opportunity of knowing what was believed there in his day. In a curious argument from 'Thou art not yet fifty years old',¹ to show that our Lord, at the time of His ministry, was between His 'fortieth and fiftieth year', Irenaeus claims the 'witness' not only of 'the Gospel' but of 'all the Elders who in Asia conferred with John the Lord's disciple', to the effect that 'John had delivered these things unto them: for he abode with them until the times of Trajan. And some of them not only saw John, but others also of the Apostles, and had this same account from them.'² In the celebrated argument from tradition, after referring to the church of Rome as the embodiment of tradition in miniature and to the church of Smyrna as secure of it through Polycarp who was 'not only instructed by Apostles . . . but was also appointed by Apostles in Asia bishop of the church of Smyrna', Irenaeus points, in conclusion, to 'the Church in Ephesus also. It was founded by Paul. Here John lived on among them till the times of Trajan. It is a faithful witness of the Apostolic tradition.'³ In the course of this argument he tells of the source of his information about the Apostle. He had it from Polycarp: for 'we too saw him in our early youth'; and 'there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath-house without bathing, crying "Let us flee, lest even the bath-house fall, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within"'.⁴ Further, in a letter to Florinus, a friend of his youth who had turned Gnostic, Irenaeus reminds him that 'such opinions the Elders before us, who also were disciples of the Apostles, did not hand down to thee. For I saw thee, when I was still a boy, in Lower Asia in company with Polycarp, while thou wast faring prosperously in the royal court, and endeavouring to stand well with him. For I distinctly remember the incidents of that time

¹ St. John viii. 57.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* II. xxii. 5, *ut sup.*

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4 (*Op.* 178; *P. G.* vii. 854 sq.).

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4 (*Op.* 176 sq.; *P. G.* vii. 851 sqq.); *ap. Eus. H. E.* IV. xiv. 3 sqq. and Document No. 74.

better than events of recent occurrence ; for the lessons received in childhood, growing with the growth of the soul, become identified with it ; so that I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words.’¹ It is difficult to imagine completer testimony to the residence of a St. John in Ephesus who, in whole-hearted aversion to the enemies of Christ and His Church, bears striking resemblance to the son of Zebedee.² If it be urged that Irenaeus was ‘ still a boy when he sat at the feet of Polycarp, and so, probably, but a casual hearer and not one of his regular disciples, the bishop of Lyons is emphatic to the contrary : ‘ I used to listen at the time with attention.’ And he is writing, it must be remembered, to a friend of his youth who had gone over to an alien faith and could easily check or discount an old man’s reminiscences had they been inaccurate or overdrawn.

We may rely, then, upon these memories of Irenaeus and Polycarp, particularly as they find further support in Asia and in the churches of Rome, Egypt, and North Africa. Justin Martyr, ? 100-†163, who had lived at Ephesus³ and afterwards went to Rome,⁴ assigns the *Apocalypse* to ‘ a man of ours named John, one of the Apostles of Christ ’⁵ : and, as it is clearly an Asiatic⁶ work, his evidence also implies that St. John the Apostle had lived in ‘ Asia ’. The Muratorian Fragment⁷ contains a list of the Scriptures accepted, c. 170, by the church of Rome as canonical. It represents ‘ the fourth of the Gospels [as written] by John, one of the disciples. When exhorted by his fellow-disciples and bishops, he said, “ Fast with me this day for three days : and what may be revealed to any of us, let us relate it to one another.” The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John was to write all things in his own name, and they were all to

¹ Irenaeus, *Fragmentum II* (*Op.* 339 ; *P. G.* vii. 1228) ; *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xx. 4 sqq., and *Doc.* No. 80. ² Cf. Mark iii. 17 ; Luke ix. 49, 54.

³ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, § 1 (*Op.* 101 ; *P. G.* vi. 472), and Eus. *H. E.* iv. xviii. 6. ⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 11.

⁵ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 81 (*Op.* 179 ; *P. G.* vi. 669 A).

⁶ ‘ John, to the seven churches which are in Asia,’ Rev. i. 4.

⁷ Text¹ in B. F. Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, app. C, and Document No. 117.

certify.' Certainly, John is here called simply a disciple. But the story reads as if he were the head of a circle which included Apostles: he could hardly be other than the Apostle John. Clement of Alexandria, c. 150–†c. 215, one of whose teachers was an Ionian¹ and so came from the regions associated with St. John, tells the famous 'story concerning John the Apostle' and the robber.² 'On the death of the tyrant [Domitian] he removed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus. On being invited, he went also to the neighbouring districts of the Gentiles; in one place appointing bishops, in another setting in order whole churches, in another ordaining a ministry, or individuals of those indicated by the Spirit.' Then follows the account of the 'young man' whom the Apostle committed to the care of a 'bishop' or 'elder', and afterwards, with characteristic vehemence, rescued from the career of a brigand to which he had fallen owing to his guardian's neglect. To this evidence, derived from the church in Egypt, must be added the traditions of the church of 'Africa'. Tertullian, 160–†? 240, in one specimen of the argument, often repeated with him, that truth is to be sought in the churches of apostolic foundation, instances that of 'the Ephesians' and others which were 'the nurslings of John: where, though Marcion may repudiate his *Apocalypse*, nevertheless the succession of bishops, if carried back to its origin, will be found to stop at John for its author'.³ Or—to take a better-known example of the same argument—'there is Rome where . . . the Apostle John was immersed in burning oil and took no hurt, before his banishment to an island'.⁴

The tradition, then, that it was St. John the Apostle who settled in Ephesus is very strong. But there are difficulties arising from the silence of important witnesses; from doubts as to whether the younger son of Zebedee did live to so great an age, after all; and from the possibility that St. John the Apostle may have been confused, quite early, with another John of Ephesus.

The silence is, first, that of the New Testament. St. John the Apostle is last mentioned there as one of the three 'pillars'⁵ of

¹ Clem. Al. *Stromateis*, I. i. (*Op.* i. 118; *P. G.* viii. 697 B).

² Clem. Al. *Quis dives salvetur*, c. xlii (*Op.* ii. 346 sqq.; *P. G.* ix. 648 sqq.), and Document No. 115.

³ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. v. (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 366 B).

⁴ Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus*, c. xxxvi (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 49 B). The story of the oil has no historical value: for its possible source, see G. Salmon, *Introduction to N. T.*², 374 (Murray, 1886).

⁵ Gal. ii. 9.

the church in Jerusalem, and there is no hint of his having visited Asia. But it is not alleged that he settled at Ephesus till quite his later days. The silence of Ignatius is more surprising. His letters were written within fifteen years of the date given for the death of the Apostle John, and included one to Ephesus. Ignatius makes no allusion to him, though he mentions St. Paul.¹ This is remarkable; but omission is not disproof, and the positive evidence of St. John's residence at Ephesus is too strong to be so lightly set aside.

But did the younger son of Zebedee so long outlive his brother? A single manuscript² of the ninth-century *Chronicon* of George 'the monk' or 'the sinner' says 'that [John] was deemed worthy of martyrdom. For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who had seen John, mentions, in the second book of *The Oracles of the Lord*, that he was put to death by the Jews'³; and corroboration of this statement is sought not only (a) in the warning which our Lord addressed to both the sons of Zebedee: 'The cup that I drink ye shall drink, and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized'⁴; but (b) in two Martyrologies,⁵ the one Syrian of 411-12 and the other Carthaginian of about a century later, both of which on December 27 commemorate 'John and James' together as martyrs; and (c) in a fragment which probably represents an eighth- or ninth-century epitome of *The Christian History*, c. 430, of Philip of Side. 'Papias, bishop of Hierapolis,' says the epitomist, 'who was a hearer of John the Divine and a companion of Polycarp wrote five books of *The Oracles of the Lord* in which . . . Papias, in the second book, says that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews.'⁶ But these

¹ *Ad. Rom.* iv. 3.

² Codex Coislinianus [P], i. e. of the collection of Henri de Coislin †1732, bishop of Metz, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris: see Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, i, p. lx (ed. C. de Boor: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1904).

³ [Ἰωάννης] μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φέσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθη, quoted as The Fragment of Papias, No. vi, in J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* [abridged edition], 519; Document No. 224. The other MSS. have for μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται the words ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο, Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, ii. 447 (ed. C. de Boor: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1904).

⁴ Mark x. 38.

⁵ Printed by Hans Lietzmann, *The three oldest Martyrologies*, in 'Materials for the use of Theological Students', No. 2 (Cambridge, 1904). On the interpretation of these texts, see J. A. Robinson, *Hist. Character*, &c., 68 sqq.

⁶ Παπίας Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ἀκουστής τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου γενόμενος, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος, πέντε λόγους κυριακῶν λογίων ἐγράψεν, ἐν οἷς κτλ. . .

assertions, when examined, melt away. The statement of George 'the sinner' has no independent value, for he is clearly borrowing from the epitomist. The epitomist, for this particular bit of information, may be drawing not direct upon Papias but upon Philip of Side; but if so he is relying upon an author whose 'history' Socrates,¹ c. 439, describes as 'an extensive but rambling work, and without chronological sequence'.² In either case, Papias is not being quoted *verbatim*, whether reproduced by the epitomist directly or through Philip. For the quotation speaks of 'John the Divine', and that is a title that Papias could not have used, for it does not appear to have come into fashion before the fourth century, when it was given³ to Gregory Nazianzen, 330-†90, as, *par excellence*, the theologian or divine of his day. Nor are the assignations of the Martyrologies as precise as they seem; for, on closer study, it becomes clear that they belong to a time when the three Christmas holy-days were devoted to the commemoration of 'the representative leaders of primitive Christianity',⁴ December 26 of St. Stephen, December 27 of St. James and St. John, December 28 of St. Peter and St. Paul: and that as St. Stephen is loosely called an 'Apostle', so St. John is spoken of as a martyr in the older and wider sense of a witness not necessarily unto death. Nor is there any reason to interpret 'The cup that I drink, ye shall drink' as a prophecy that John as well as James should bear that witness by the shedding of his blood. Thus the tradition that John the Apostle settled in Ephesus and there died in extreme old age remains still unshaken.

But what of the identity of this John? Two Asian writers seem to leave us in doubt about it. They are Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, 'an ancient worthy'⁵ as Irenaeus calls him, whose work *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord* may therefore be dated about 100; and Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, c. 190-200. Papias observes

Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεόλογος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. ii. 170, ed. De Boor; quoted in Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 518 sq. [Fragments of Papers, No. v] and Document No. 212.

¹ Socrates, *H. E.* vii. xxvii.

² O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 377.

³ In consequence of his five 'Theological Orations' as he calls them, in the second of the series, *Orat.* xxviii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 496; *P. G.* xxxvi. 25 D).

⁴ Robinson, *Hist. Character*, &c., 80.

⁵ Ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxiii. 4 *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxxix. 1. Opinions differ about the date of the extracts from Papias; but they are assigned, after discussion, to 'circa 100' by W. Sanday, *The criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 251.

that 'on any occasion when a person came [in my way] who had been a follower of the Elders, I would enquire about the discourses of the Elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'¹ As is remarked by Eusebius, to whom we owe the preservation of the fragments of Papias, 'Here it is worth while to observe that he twice enumerates the name of John. The first he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apóstles, evidently meaning the Evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval and classes with others outside the number of Apostles, placing Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him an Elder. So he hereby makes it quite evident that their statement is true who say that there were two persons of that name in Asia.'² Polycrates, in a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, c. 189-99, when he contends for the Asian as distinct from the Roman custom in the observance of Easter, reminds him that 'in Asia also great lights have fallen asleep. . . . Among these are Philip, one of the twelve Apostles,³ who fell asleep in Hierapolis; and his two daughters who grew old in virginity and his other daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit and rests at Ephesus; and, moreover, John, who was both a martyr and a teacher, who leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, and became a priest wearing the sacerdotal plate. He fell asleep at Ephesus.'⁴ Now Papias says that 'he heard the words of the Apostles from those who had followed them' and that 'he himself was a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John'.⁵ Supposing, with some modern scholars, that 'the disciple whom Jesus loved'⁶ is to be distinguished from John the Apostle and is to be regarded as the author of the Fourth Gospel, this younger disciple, who

¹ Papias *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix. 3, 4, and Document No. 27.

² Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix. 5, 6.

³ There is possibly a confusion here with 'Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven' and 'had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy', Acts xxi. 8, 9. So Gaius in his *Dialogue with Proclus* speaks of 'four prophetesses, the daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis', Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxi. 4. Lightfoot argues for Philip the Apostle in *Colossians*, 45, and G. Salmon for Philip the Evangelist, in *Introduction to N. T.*² 330 sq. (1886).

⁴ Polycrates, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxi. 3, and Document No. 82.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix. 7.

⁶ John xiii. 23, xxi. 7.

was also 'known unto', and perhaps akin to, 'the High Priest'¹ in Jerusalem, may well have become, in old age, the Elder John who 'wore the sacerdotal plate at Ephesus'.² It is possible: others³ beside Papias and Polycrates speak of John 'the disciple' and not of John the Apostle. In that case, the Johannine writings would still have emanated from an intimate of the Lord, though they would cease to carry the weight of apostolic authorship. Ingenious as this theory is, there is thus room for it. But the weight, on the whole, inclines to the direct tradition inherited by Irenaeus from Polycarp in favour of the settlement of St. John the Apostle in Asia. No part of the evidence against it is very secure: on the other hand, the evidence for it is not conclusive.

When St. John the Apostle settled in Asia, the churches there were passing out of the missionary stage into the condition of organized church life. St. Paul had planted the original stock at Ephesus.⁴ Epaphras had nurtured an offshoot at Colossae, as well as 'in Laodicea and in Hierapolis'.⁵ On the Apostle's withdrawal, Timothy had been sent 'to tarry at Ephesus',⁶ with the special 'charge',⁷ in case his chief should 'tarry long', of building up the organization of the Church in accordance with St. Paul's instructions 'how men ought to behave themselves in the church of God'.⁸ Later on, Tychicus was 'sent to Ephesus',⁹ perhaps on a similar errand or with further instructions to Timothy, who appears to have exercised only a delegated and temporary authority. But what St. Paul thus left at his death in the hands of a deputy and inchoate, was taken up and carried to a conclusion by John, the son of Zebedee. In three directions he left his mark on 'Asia'. First as Apostle succeeding to Apostles—for Peter¹⁰ also had been in communication with those regions as well as Paul—he set up the episcopate where hitherto authority had rested only with an Apostolic delegate. As 'witness and teacher'¹¹ he founded a school of Christian learning, to which he bequeathed his Gospel

¹ John xviii. 15.

² The theory is that of 'the late Dr. Delff': it is set out and discussed by W. Sanday, *The criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 99 sqq.

³ e. g. The *Muratorian Fragment*, l. 9. Irenaeus most often calls him 'the disciple of the Lord', but implies that he was an Apostle, *Iren. Adv. Haer.* II. xxii. 5, III. iii. 4. Cf. Sanday, *op. cit.* 105.

⁴ Acts xix. 1-10.

⁵ Col. i. 7, 8, iv. 12, 13.

⁶ 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁷ 1 Tim. i. 5, 18.

⁸ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁹ 2 Tim. iv. 12.

¹⁰ By Silvanus (Silas) and the letter (1 Peter) which he carried thither, 1 Pet. v. 12; cf. 1 Pet. i. 1.

¹¹ Letter of Polycrates to Victor *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv. 3, and Doc. No. 82.

and its epilogue the first Epistle. As prophet he wrote the *Apocalypse* to encourage 'the seven churches' ¹ in their conflict with the government of Domitian.

First, as to episcopacy, the evidence is, in the main, that of the *Muratorian Fragment*, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Polycrates. The Fragment represents him as surrounded by 'his fellow-disciples and bishops'.² Clement tells how he went about from city to city 'to appoint bishops'³; and though, a few lines further on in the story of St. John and the Robber, he refers to the bishop as 'the elder',⁴ nevertheless it is clear from Ignatius that, within a few years of the death of St. John, Onesimus⁵ was bishop of Ephesus, Damas⁶ bishop of Magnesia, Polybius⁷ bishop of Tralles, and Polycarp⁸ bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp himself writes as a bishop, for he distinguishes himself from his presbyters⁹: and Irenaeus, his pupil, is explicit to the effect that he had 'not only been instructed by Apostles . . . but had also been appointed by Apostles as bishop in the Church at Smyrna'.¹⁰ By Tertullian's time it was an accepted thing which he could take for granted in controversy with a heretic that the succession of bishops in 'Asia', if 'traced back to its origin', would be found 'to rest on the authority of John'.¹¹ Polycrates also, a younger contemporary of Polycarp, and himself bishop of Ephesus, designates Polycarp by the title 'bishop',¹² as does the Church of Smyrna in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom which it sent to the neighbouring church of Philomelium¹³: while Polycrates further records that seven of his relatives before him had been bishops, himself being the eighth.¹⁴ Thus the evidence for the early and wide extension of episcopacy throughout proconsular Asia, the

¹ Rev. i. 4.

² 'Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis,' *M. F.*, line 10.

³ 'Επισκόπους καταστήσων, Clem. Al. *Quis dives salvetur*, c. xlii, Document No. 115. Note καθιστάνειν, the regular word for the appointment of the ministry from above, as in Luke xii. 42; Acts vi. 3; Titus i. 5; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* i. xliv. 2 sq.

⁴ 'Ο πρεσβύτερος, Clem. Al. *Quis dives*, c. xlii, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxiii. 8.

⁵ Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* i, § 3.

⁶ *Ad Magnesios*, ii.

⁷ *Ad Trallianos*, i, § 1.

⁸ *Ad Polycarpum*, init.

⁹ Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι, *Ad Phil.* init., and Doc. No. 20.

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 4, with which cf. Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus Haereticorum*, c. xxxii.

¹¹ Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. v.

¹² Letter to Victor ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv. 4.

¹³ Πολύκαρπος, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, xvi, § 2, and Document No. 36.

¹⁴ Letter to Victor ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv. 6, and Document No. 82.

scene of St. John's latest labours, may be considered irrefragable.¹ It 'can be traced to Apostolic direction: and short of an express statement we can possess no better assurance of a divine appointment'.² For if in providing for episcopacy, confirmation, baptism of infants, and the like ordinances of which we have no record that they were instituted of our Lord, the Apostles went beyond His will, whether made known to them from His own lips or afterwards by His Spirit, then their trustworthiness is open to doubt; and, as we know nothing of Jesus except on Apostolic testimony, the Gospel itself may be their invention.

Secondly, the school of Christian learning gathered about St. John from his first settlement in Asia. Associated with him there, in firsthand knowledge of their Lord, were two other Apostles, Andrew³ and Philip⁴; as well as two original disciples who were not of the Twelve, Aristion and the Elder John.⁵ Aristion may have been responsible for the present ending of the Gospel of St. Mark.⁶ Of their hearers, in the first generation, Polycarp and his contemporary Papias carried on the tradition into the first half of the second century. The former was distinguished by a 'stedfast', not to say 'stubborn', retentiveness⁷; the latter by a matchless curiosity to know and record every scrap of what the Elders had to tell.⁸ Papias, excepting the author of the *Acts*, is accordingly the first of Christian writers to sit down and write a book for its own sake—*Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*.⁹ For hitherto no Christian author had written 'in cold blood', but only at the urgent call of circumstances, such as prompted the Epistles; or as an apologist, as did St. Mark¹⁰ and St. Matthew¹¹; or at the

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, 51 (Macmillan, 1901).

² *Ibid.* 133.

³ *Muratorian Fragment*, line 14: see Document No. 117.

⁴ Papias *ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxix. 9; Polycrates *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv. 2.

⁵ Papias *ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxix. 4.

⁶ H. B. Swete, *St. Mark*, p. cxi.

⁷ The adjectives are borrowed from J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, ii. i. 458, and are justified by Ignatius's opinion of Polycarp in *Ad Polycarpum*, i. 1 and iii. 1; by Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses*, vii. 2; and by Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 4, and *Ep. ad Florinum ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xx. 7.

⁸ Papias *ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxix. 3, 4: see Document No. 27.

⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxxiii. 4, *ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxix. 1.

¹⁰ 'What right have you to go about the world claiming to forgive sins', would be a challenge which the Christian missionary would often have to meet: see W. Lock in *Miracles*, 32 (Longmann, 1911). St. Mark's Gospel was a reply to this. It lays stress on authority received by Christ and passed on to His disciples, Mark i. 22, 27, ii. 10, iii. 15, vi. 7, xiii. 34.

¹¹ St. Matthew's Gospel indicates as by its divisions at iv. 17 and xvi. 21

demand of disciples, as did St. John.¹ Of those who sustained the tradition, after Papias, Irenaeus is the most typical in the second generation. He had been a pupil of Polycarp, and was not only well acquainted with but, in the point of chiliasm,² not uninfluenced by the writings of Papias³: while there were others of his contemporaries—Miltiades, Claudius Apollinaris, successor of Papias as bishop of Hierapolis, and Melito, bishop of Sardis—who proved fertile in literary output during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161-†80. Their names will meet us again as Apologists and as writers against Gnosticism and Montanism in the latter half of the second century. To recur to St. John, the author of the tradition which they made it their business to defend. He was the last survivor of those who had known the Lord, and he had known Him best. At the instance therefore of ‘his fellow-disciples and bishops’, according to one authority,⁴ or ‘urged by his friends,’⁵ according to another, he wrote the Gospel that bears his name: to sum up in few words the teaching that had repeatedly fallen from his lips in life. That teaching was the outcome of long years of reflection upon the Person of our Lord and His relation to the Father and the Holy Spirit. He took for granted a knowledge of what was recorded in the first three Gospels. He assumed that his readers, like himself, were living in a settled Christian community, with the sacraments in common use,⁶ and with other institutions⁷ of organized Christian life. Of all this

[‘From that time began Jesus to . . .’], that its purpose was to show (a) that Jesus was the Messiah, and (b) that, as such, He would have to suffer. Christian missionaries to Jews were constantly confronted with the objection, What do you mean by asking us to accept one who has been crucified for the Messiah? Cf. 1 Cor. i. 23; Gal. v. 11.

¹ *Muratorian Fragment*, line 10, and cf. the extract from Clement of Alexandria preserved in Eus. *H. E.* vi. xiv. 7 and quoted below.

² Chiliasm, or millenarianism, the belief in a visible reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years before the general judgement; it was based on Rev. xx. 1-6. Eusebius attributes it to Papias in *H. E.* iii. xxxix. 12.

³ Which he quotes in *Adv. Haer.* v. xxxiii. 3, and, probably, also in v. xxxvi. 1, 2 (*Op.* 333, 337; *P. G.* vii. 1213 sq., 1222 sq.), both chiliastic passages: see Document No. 28.

⁴ *Muratorian Fragment*, line 10.

⁵ Τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον, συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, Πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι Εὐαγγέλιον, Clem. Al. *Hypotyposes*, quoted in Eus. *H. E.* vi. xiv. 7.

⁶ Thus there is in the Fourth Gospel no record of the institution of either Baptism or the Eucharist, but discourses in cc. iii, vi, which, by the time it was written, would be seen to contain teaching fulfilled only in these two sacraments.

⁷ The reference to *Jewish* rites of purification, ii. 6, and to the *Jewish* passover, ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55, seem to imply Christian equivalents in Baptism and Easter.

he said nothing ; but he took seven typical miracles¹ done by the Lord, and round them arranged, in discourses spoken by Him mainly in Jerusalem, his own interpretation of who and what his Master was. St. John's was thus 'a spiritual Gospel',² and St. John 'the Divine'. St. Mark had simply recorded the facts. St. Luke and St. Matthew, but especially the latter, by their modification of the naïve language of St. Mark wherever it might seem derogatory to Jesus or to His disciples,³ give evidence that a theory about our Lord's Person was beginning to take shape in the Church. The Gospel of St. John completed this process of reflection : and the mature view of Him, thus authoritatively commended, the author committed, in the first instance, to the circle of his disciples.⁴ He expounds it, in language of his own,⁵ in the prologue to the Gospel, in his comments⁶ on the events recorded, and in the first Epistle,⁷ its epilogue. In the postscript, added to the Gospel by his disciples,⁸ we have their certificate to the truth of his testimony. In the conversational tone⁹ of the Gospel, we have the guarantee that in it the author only put into writing what he had taught orally for a lifetime.

Thirdly, St. John was a prophet, and in the *Apocalypse* we have the typical Christian 'prophecy'.¹⁰ It is best understood as an indication of that change in the attitude of the Church to the

¹ Viz. (1) The water made wine, ii. 1-11 ; (2) The nobleman's son, iv. 46-54 ; (3) The man with the infirmity at Bethesda, v. 1 sqq. ; (4) The feeding of the five thousand, vi. 1 sqq. ; (5) The 'man blind from his birth', ix. 1 sqq. ; (6) The raising of Lazarus, xi. 1 sqq. ; (7) His own resurrection, xx. 1 sqq.

² Clem. Al. *ut sup.*, 69 n. 5. For this 'spiritual' purpose see John xx. 30 sq.

³ For example of this see Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*², 117 sqq.

⁴ 'In xix. 35, xx. 31 there is a direct appeal to these disciples, for whom the whole has been written.' J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 197.

⁵ That the author, as he claimed to be (xiv. 26 and xvi. 13), was an accurate reporter is clear from the fact that, in prologue, comments, and epilogue, he has a theological vocabulary of his own which he never puts into the lips of our Lord, e. g. λόγος, John i. 1, 14 ; ἐκ [τοῦ] Θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, John i. 13, 1 John iii. 9, iv. 7, v. 1, 4, 18 ; μονογενὴς υἱός, John i. 14, 18, iii. 16, 18, 1 John iv. 9 ; χάρις, John i. 14, 16, 17 ; πλήρωμα, John i. 16 ; λασμός, 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10.

⁶ Such comments are (probably) John i. 16-18, iii. 16-21, 31-6.

⁷ 2 & 3 John are closely connected with each other, being written by 'the elder' (2 John 1, 3 John 1) before a visit (2 John 12, 3 John 14). 2 John has a warning against the same false teaching (verse 7) as is repudiated in 1 John iv. 2 and in the Gospel, i. 14. Both 2 & 3 John, therefore, may justly be ascribed to the author of the Gospel and the first Epistle.

⁸ John xxi. 24.

⁹ J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 197.

¹⁰ Rev. i. 3, xxii. 19.

Roman government which was consequent upon the Neronian persecution and flamed up into burning hatred at the close of the Apostolic age.

§ 4. The persecution of Domitian, 81-†96, marks the extent of this change.

Domitian was the second son of Vespasian, 69-†79, and brother to Titus, 79-†81. Like Mary, Queen of England, who became a persecutor, he was embittered before he came to the throne. 'The lady Mary' was kept under *surveillance* and deprived of her 'Mass' and the exercise of her religion by the Privy Council of Edward VI, whom she succeeded.¹ So Domitian was kept strictly in the background by his father Vespasian. Though loaded with empty honours by his brother Titus and recognized as his heir, he was never invested by him either with the *proconsulare imperium* or with the *tribunicia potestas*. Titus, moreover, had a brilliant military reputation which Domitian was never given the chance to emulate²; and when, 13 September 81, he reached the throne, his autocratic and imperious temper³ found fresh cause for resentment in that, with it, he had inherited his brother's debts. He proceeded steadily, having obtained supreme power, to make himself absolute. By assuming, 85, the office of *Censor*⁴ for life he put an end to the 'dyarchy' between sovereign and senate: for as *Censor* he had power to elect to, and eject from, the senate at pleasure, and so had that assembly at his mercy. By accepting the title *Dominus*⁵ he let his subjects understand that in him they had a Master and were expected to conceive of themselves as his slaves. It was a relation very different from that of citizens to First Citizen under the Principate. By raising the pay of the troops⁶ he secured the support of the army as a counterpoise to the ill-will borne him by the senate. By good government in the provinces⁷ he kept the masses of the Empire content, and by a lavish expenditure on buildings, doles, and shows⁸ he maintained his reputation with the populace, to whom despotic rule was

¹ On 'the Lady Mary's Mass', cf. R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England since the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction*, iii. 145 sqq., 298 sqq.

² Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, c. ii.

³ Ibid. xii, § 3.

⁴ Ibid. viii, § 3.

⁵ 'Domino et dominae feliciter!' was the acclamation of the crowd in the amphitheatre, Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xiii, § 1. Contrast the dislike of the title by both Augustus and Tiberius, Suet. *Vita Aug.* liii, § 1, and *Vita Tib.* xxvii.

⁶ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, vii, § 3.

⁷ Ibid. viii, § 2.

⁸ Ibid., cc. iv, v.

nothing so long as they enjoyed its benefits and others shouldered its burdens. These burdens—in particular the burden of replenishing the treasury exhausted by the debts of Titus and his own extravagance—Domitian forced the nobles to sustain by a reign of terror; and the terror, if originating in the Emperor's financial embarrassments, was increased by his childlessness. Domitia, afterwards Empress, bore him, indeed, a son,¹ but he died in childhood: and as Emperor Domitian became 'rapacious through need and cruel through fear'.² He saw in every person of distinction a possible successor, and in the meanest, sometimes, a possible rival. Thus it was that he sent for some of the kinsmen of our Lord of whom he had been told that they were of royal descent in Judaea; but, when they showed him their hands hard with honest toil, he dismissed them in contempt.³ Escape was not so easy for persons of higher rank.

In Rome the reign of terror became a persecution, for it began with rebels and ended with Christians. Early in 88 there was a rebellion in Upper Germany headed by L. Antonius Saturninus,⁴ with *senators* for his accomplices. It was promptly suppressed. The death of his niece Julia⁵ left Domitian with the feeling that there was no one near him whom he could trust, and he turned a solitary tyrant, moody and suspicious.⁶ In 93 he struck down several of the Stoic party of opposition⁷; and, in the last year of his reign, he put to death his cousin, Titus Flavius Clemens, who had been Consul in 95 and was the father of the two lads, Vespasian and Domitian, whom the Emperor had designated his heirs,⁸ while Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens and his own kinswoman, he banished to the island of Pandataria. 'The charge against both', says Dio Cassius, *†c.* 230, 'was atheism, under which many others were condemned as having run after the customs of the Jews'⁹:

¹ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, iii, § 1. The son was born in A. D. 73, the year of Domitian's second consulate.

² 'Inopia rapax, metu saevus,' *ibid.* iii, § 2.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xx. 5-7.

⁴ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, vi, § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* xvii, § 3, xxii.

⁶ 'Terribilis cunctis et invisus,' *ibid.* xiv, § 1; 'pavidus semper et anxius,' *ibid.*, § 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* x, §§ 3, 4, and Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVII. xiii. Dio Cassius was born 155, and was Consul in 229. His works have come down to us only in the *Epitome* of Joannes Xiphilinus of Trebizond, a monk of Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century: see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*², 369 sq.

⁸ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xv, § 1.

⁹ Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVII. xiv, § 2, and Document No. 116.

and Suetonius further tells us that the ex-Consul was held to be guilty of 'despicable laziness'.¹ These charges are taken to mean that Clemens was a Christian, and that his consequent disregard of the gods of Rome and distaste for public duties which involved their recognition were notorious enough to embroil him with the Emperor. He would be as glad of his kinsman's estates for the treasury as of the opportunity to vindicate the claims of the old Roman religion. M. Acilius Glabrio also, who had been Consul with Trajan in 91, was sent into exile as a revolutionary,² and then put to death on the plea that he had demeaned himself by a taste for low sports.³ That other and similar raids upon Christians had taken place in Rome is clear from the testimony of Clement, c. 95, and of Hermas, who began to write in the days of Clement. Clement apologizes for his delay in writing to the Corinthians 'by reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us'.⁴ Hermas speaks of one Maximus as having recently denied the faith.⁵ Further, that T. Flavius Clemens, with his wife Flavia Domitilla, and M. Acilius Glabrio suffered as Christians is a conclusion confirmed by archaeology. To the south-east of Rome, on the Ardeatine Way, lie the catacombs of the Torre Marancia—a name which conceals the ancient Villa Amaranthiana, once an estate of Flavia Domitilla, the wife of the Consul and the granddaughter of Vespasian. It was the *Coemeterium Domitillae*,⁶ one of the early burial places of Roman Christians, and named after its owner, herself a Christian. To the north-east, on the Salarian Way, lies the *Coemeterium Priscillae*, also of the first century. Some of its inscriptions show that of the *Gens Acilia* some were Christians also.⁷

In Asia, another trait in the character of Domitian gave rise to systematic persecution. Sudden⁸ freaks of fear or fury led to the

¹ 'Contemptissimae inertiae,' Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xv, § 1.

² Ibid. x, § 2.

³ Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, LXVII. xiv, § 3, and Document No. 116.

⁴ Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* i. 1, and Document No. 10.

⁵ Hermas, *Pastor*, Visio, II. iii. 4.

⁶ On this cemetery of Domitilla, see R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (Macmillan, 1892), 335 sq.

⁷ On the Catacombs of Priscilla, and the inscriptions to 'Manlius Acilius . . . and his wife Priscilla' and others of that family, see R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 4 sqq.; and for a map of the sites of the Catacombs near Rome, see F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, ii. 2384.

⁸ 'Erat autem non solum magnae, sed etiam callidae inopinataeque saevitiae,' Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xi, § 1, with which cf. the opening words of Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* i. 1, quoted above.

execution of prince or noble at Rome. But the Emperor consistently thought of himself as divine : and thus the officials of the Worship of Augustus in Asia, though we do not know them to have been prompted by his orders, yet certainly forestalled his wishes if they enforced it on all and sundry.¹ Asia had received this worship with acclamation. On the *apotheosis* of Julius Caesar, 29 B. C., a temple of *Dea Roma* and *Divus Iulius* was erected at Ephesus.² Augustus allowed a temple at Pergamum to be dedicated to him during his lifetime.³ But both he and Tiberius kept the cult within bounds ; and Tiberius suffered but one *Augusteum* to be founded in his honour within the province of Asia.⁴ Gaius, the madman, was only too glad to seize the handle afforded to him by the growth of the desire to worship the majesty of Rome. ‘ On being assured that he had attained an eminence far above that of princes and kings, he began from that time onwards to claim for himself divine majesty.’⁵ Claudius was saner. He gave little encouragement to the imperial cult ; and, when a temple was set up to him at Colchester, it was merely taken for a sign that the Empire had come to Britain to stay.⁶ Nero declined the title *Divus*, not from any modesty, but because he looked upon the offer of it as his death-knell ; and Nero loved life here far better than the prospect of Olympus hereafter.⁷ Not so Domitian : solitary and mistrustful, he found satisfaction in being saluted as divine, and caused his agents to send out his rescripts as from ‘ Our Lord and God ’.⁸

The worship for which Domitian thus hungered was nowhere rendered with such readiness as in Asia. It was, at that time, one of the most prosperous provinces of the Empire, and imperialism there became a religion. The old capital Pergamum led the way with its *Augusteum*. Smyrna was allowed a second, in honour of Tiberius.⁹ Ephesus, not to be outdone, set up a third, to Claudius,

¹ For what follows cf. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, lxxxii. sqq.

² Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, li. xx.

³ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. xxxvii. 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ ‘ Admonitus et principum et regum se excessisse fastigium, divinam ex eo maiestatem asserere sibi coepit,’ Suetonius, *Vita G. Caligulae*, xxii, § 2.

⁶ ‘ Templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur,’ Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. xxxi. 6.

⁷ ‘ Nam deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit,’ *ibid.* xv. lxxiv. 4.

⁸ ‘ Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit : *Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet*,’ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xiii, § 2.

⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, lv. lvi.

and so acquired the coveted title of ' temple-keeper ' ¹ as well of the Imperial Worship as ' of the great Diana '.² These centres of the cult were all under the control of a body called the *Commune Asiae*,³ whose president held the titles of ' Asiarch ' and ' High Priest [of the Guild] of Asia '.⁴ He directed the Augustal worship throughout Proconsular Asia, and presided at the games,⁵ held every five years, in cities distinguished by an *Augusteum*. Of ' the seven churches of Asia '—of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea—all but the fourth and the seventh grew up in cities which were the scenes in turn of the imperial festival.

It is not difficult to see how the pátriotic and loyal enthusiasm thus evoked might be turned against the Christians, and how the organization which evoked it might be used to crush out the Church. No such collision had taken place while St. Paul was at Ephesus : some of the Asiarchs there were his friends.⁶ A presage of it was given ' in the days of Antipas, my witness, my faithful one, who was killed among you [of Pergamum] where Satan dwelleth ' ⁷; for Pergamum was the oldest seat of Caesar-worship in Asia. But once the desire of Domitian for divine honours became known to a province whose anxiety to pay them to his predecessors had so long been repressed, Christ and Caesar were arrayed against each other as rivals, and for a Christian to refuse to take part in the Imperial Cult, as refuse he must, became disloyalty to the State. And this was the situation for which the *Apocalypse*, in the form in which we have it, sought to provide. If the crucial passages⁸ be rightly interpreted and the current beliefs about *Nero redivivus*⁹ be borne in mind, ' the beast coming up out of the sea ',¹⁰ which was ' as though it had been smitten unto death and his death-stroke was healed ',¹¹ who ' was and is not and shall come again ',¹² is Nero revived in the person of Domitian: or

¹ Νεωκόρος. For a list of the towns which possessed the Neocorate, see Victor Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, 450 sqq., in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 150 (Paris, 1904).

² Acts xix. 35.

³ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, for which see Chapot, *op. cit.* 454 sqq.

⁴ Ἀσιάρχης, Ἀρχιερεὺς [τῆς] Ἀσίας: for these titles see Chapot, *op. cit.* 468 sqq.

⁵ For these, as held in Asia, see Chapot, *op. cit.* 490 sqq.

⁶ Acts xix. 31.

⁷ Rev. ii. 13.

⁸ Rev. xiii, xvii. 7-18.

⁹ ' It is impossible to doubt that the legend of *Nero redivivus* is in full view of the Apocalyptist in more than one passage (xiii. 3, 12, 14, xvii. 8) ', Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, xcvii.

¹⁰ Rev. xiii. 1.

¹¹ Rev. xiii. 3.

¹² Rev. xvii. 8.

rather, 'the brute-strength of the persecuting World-power'¹ as impersonated by these two Emperors in succession. Counting from Julius, they were 'the fifth'² and 'the eighth'³ respectively of the line of the Caesars. 'The markets' are represented as 'already closed against buyers and sellers who did not bear' the 'mark . . . of the beast',⁴ 'and there were rumours in the air of an approaching massacre'.⁵ With this beast from over-sea the author associates a beast from the land.⁶ This is the machinery of the Imperial Worship, directed on the spot by the civil and the religious authority,⁷ i.e. the Proconsul and the *Commune Asiae*. And this second beast works miracles of magic⁸ in support of the cult of 'the first beast whose death-stroke was healed', 'making fire to come down out of heaven',⁹ and causing the statues of the Emperor to speak.¹⁰ The second beast is thus 'the False Prophet of the imperial religion, and imposes on the credulity of the populace whom he sets against the Christian recusants'.¹¹

It was the purpose¹² of 'the prophet' who wrote the *Apocalypse* to cleanse and reanimate 'the seven churches'¹³ and to sustain them¹⁴ in the struggle that he saw looming before them. The crisis was sharp, but short: for, 18 September 96, Domitian was assassinated with the connivance of the Empress Domitia.¹⁵ The churches weathered the storm: for as Ignatius passed through these regions, some fifteen or twenty years later, he was greeted on all hands by flourishing communities of Christians; and Pliny, in the letter to Trajan of about 112, though he speaks of apostasies of a date that would tally with Domitian's days,¹⁶ testifies also to the extraordinary progress of Christianity in Bithynia since.¹⁷ It may

¹ Swete, *The Apocalypse*, xcvi. ² Rev. xvii. 10. ³ Rev. xvii. 11.

⁴ Rev. xiii. 17.

⁵ Rev. xiii. 15; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, lxxxvi.

⁶ Rev. xiii. 11.

⁷ Rev. xiii. 12.

⁸ For the miracles of Anti-Christ cf. 2 Thess. ii. 9 sqq.; and for the practice of magic in company with idolatry in Asia, cf. Acts xix. 19; Gal. v. 20; Rev. xxi. 8, xxii. 15, and the well-known magical formulae called 'Εφέσια γράμματα, as in Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. viii. 46 (*Op.* ii. 242; *P. G.* ix. 72 c). ⁹ Rev. xiii. 13. ¹⁰ Rev. xiii. 15.

¹¹ Swete, *The Apocalypse*, lxxxvii, and for the instigation of persecution by the second 'beast', Rev. xiii. 12, 14 sq.

¹² On 'the purpose of the Apocalypse', see Swete, xc-xciv.

¹³ e. g. Rev. ii. 5, 16, 20, iii. 3, 15. Only two—Smyrna and Philadelphia—escape reproof, ii. 8-11 and iii. 7-13.

¹⁴ Rev. iv. sqq.

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xiv-xvii.

¹⁶ 'Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti.' Plinius Traiano, *Epp.* x. xcvi, § 6.

¹⁷ Ibid., §§ 9, 10: see Document No. 14.

be that the *Apocalypse* was not all written at one time,¹ and that some of its *data*² are best satisfied by the situation of the year 69.³ But the traditional date and place of writing ascribed to it by Irenaeus and Clement have received unexpected support in recent years.⁴ The Revelation 'was seen', says Irenaeus, 'not long ago but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian'⁵; and Clement adds that 'on the death of the tyrant, [John] 'returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus'.⁶ So tradition points also to John the Apostle as its author. Be that so or otherwise,⁷ the book is noteworthy as containing testimony to two features which marked the close of the Apostolic age. There had been a decisive change, since the days of St. Paul, in the attitude of the Church to the Roman government: it was now, and not without reason, one of fear and hatred. There was also an impending change in the respective pre-eminence of prophet and bishop. The prophet is everything⁸ and the bishop nothing in the *Apocalypse*. In Ignatius, if a prophet is mentioned, it is a prophet of the Old Testament.⁹ The Christian prophet has disappeared, and the bishop has taken his place.

¹ On the date of the *Apocalypse* cf. Swete, *op. cit.* xcv-ci; Allen and Grensted, *Introduction to the Books of the N. T.* 279.

² Thus xi. 1-13 must have been written before the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

³ Whence the Cambridge theologians—Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort—were 'unanimous in regarding it as a work of the age of Nero', Swete, xcviii, and so, apparently, W. Sanday, *Inspiration* (1893), 373.

⁴ Sanday, *Inspiration*, 372.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxx. 3, *ap. Eus. H. E.* III. xviii. 3, v. viii. 6.

⁶ Clem. Al. *Quis dices salvetur?* c. xlii. *ap. Eus. H. E.* III. xxiii. 6. For the exile to Patmos, Rev. i. 9.

⁷ 'While inclining to the traditional view which holds that the author of the *Apocalypse* was the Apostle John,' Dr. Swete 'desires to keep an open mind upon the question', *op. cit.* clxxxi. So Allen and Grensted, *Introduction, &c.*, 288.

⁸ The author is a prophet, Rev. i. 3, x. 11, xxii. 7, 10, 18 sq.; his 'brethren the prophets', xxii. 9, show that he was one of an order. 'We read of God's "servants the prophets", x. 7, of "prophets and saints", xvi. 6, of "saints, apostles and prophets", xviii. 20, but nowhere of bishops,' Swete, *op. cit.* xvi.

⁹ Ignatius, *Ad Magnesios*, viii. 2; *Ad Philadelphenses*, v. 2, ix. 1, 2.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF JEWISH CHRISTENDOM, A.D. 100-150

WITH the death of the last Apostle we reach the second century. That century covers a period in the history of the Church inferior in importance only to the Apostolic age itself. The period includes all that happened between the days of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp who, as younger contemporaries of the last Apostle are called the Apostolic Fathers (though the age to which their activities, in the main, belong is known as the sub-apostolic age) and the days of the Catholic Fathers—Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. It has been alleged that a change took place in the character of Christianity. The Gospel, which was originally ethical, became doctrinal; the Christian community which was, at birth, enthusiastic, became, as it grew up, ecclesiastical: creed, worship, and hierarchy¹—none of them, it is alleged, native to the Founder's religion—pushed in and buried it. In one word, discontinuity, and not legitimate development, has been the outstanding feature of the life of the Church. In the sixteenth century the Continental Reformers claimed that they recovered the original Gospel, for they held that it was the possession of the primitive church; that the primitive church came to an end, not as was held in England with the first five or six hundred years after Christ,² but with the Apostolic age³; that Anti-christ reigned till their days⁴; and that not till they arose was the

¹ 'There are three things of which he [A. Harnack] rarely speaks without some disparaging epithet. They are Church, Doctrine, and Worship,' W. Sanday, *An Examination of Harnack's 'What is Christianity?'* 26 (Longman, 1901).

² 'It is . . . more conformable to the common use and practice both of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension that the . . . blessed Sacrament should be ministered . . . under both the kinds,' is the phrase of 1 Edw. VI, c. i, *ap.* H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents illustrative of the history of the English Church*, 327.

³ For this identification of the primitive church with the church of the Apostolic age in Geneva, 1542, and among the Huguenots, 1555, see my *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, 625, 664.

⁴ *Ibid.* 330, 541, 618, 696 sq., 704.

light of the original Gospel rekindled.¹ They gloried in discontinuity; and it was a not unnatural view for vigorous men to take in whose age the Bible had been recovered in its original languages and by whose zeal it had been rendered available in the vulgar tongue. But the present-day successors of Protestant and Reformed in the sixteenth century are not so sure that original Christianity is not still to seek. The official Reformers found a good deal in the way of creed, hierarchy, and worship to extract from the primitive church as their model. But their successors deprecate the Institutional element in Christianity as altogether alien to its native constitution. In the nineteenth century it was the fashion to attribute the introduction of Institutionalism to the second century, and to place its appearance somewhere between the Apostolic and the Catholic Fathers. Writers of the present century put the breach in the first. Not content, like the Emperor Julian, 361-†3, to lay it at the door of 'that worthy John',² they put it down to St. Paul: he it was who gave us the corrupt Christianity we know. The brief sketch of the Apostolic age concluded in the last chapter will have supplied the means of putting this latter-day theory to the test. It will add zest, by anticipation to the study of the second century, if we approach it with our eye on the question whether, after all, the breach occurred then. Not to forestall the answer, let the facts, as they come before us, provide it themselves.

§ 1. In the literature of the period they are sufficiently, though not fully, available.

In volume, that literature, indeed, is scanty, and for two reasons. First, there was but a small amount produced. Belief in the nearness of the second Advent had not wholly died down, and this belief would tend to reduce the output of records of the past undertaken for the benefit of the future. The social status of Christians still was humble, and literary activity would not be among their accomplishments. Writing, in any case, was rare. But scanty as, for such reasons, was the amount produced, it is to be noted, secondly, that the proportion of it lost was considerable. Much was lost or destroyed with the Scriptures in the persecution of Diocletian, when, under the edict of 24 February 303,

¹ 'Redeunte Evangelii luce,' *ibid.*, 545.

² 'Ὁ χρηστός Ἰωάννης, *Iuliani Contra Christianos quae supersunt*, ed. C. I. Neumann, 223 = Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum*, lib. x (*Op.* ix. 327; *P. G.* lxxvi. 1004 A)

'the churches were to be levelled with the ground and the Scriptures destroyed by fire'.¹ Much perished accidentally, for papyrus, preserved only in the dry sands of Egypt, was the common material for writing in the first three centuries, and only in the fourth did vellum take its place.² Much again was deliberately made away with, for the suppression of unorthodox literature became the settled policy of the Byzantine Court.³

Of such literature as thus remains, the character is still, in the main, occasional. It is, for this reason, the smaller in volume no doubt, but evidentially of the greater value. For allusion is better testimony than assertion. Assertion need not emanate from more than one. But allusion implies the consentient testimony sometimes of many and at least of two; and 'two are better than one'.⁴

For classification, the literary authorities for the history of the Church in the second century may conveniently be arranged in six groups:

(1) The letters of the Apostolic Fathers⁵: Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp.⁵ They give us firsthand information about the churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Asia respectively, such as is employed in chapters iv-vi below.

(2) Apocalypses. One of the most interesting is 'the ancient Greek apocalypse' discovered in 1892 and known as the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁶ Its fragments are 'the relics of the earliest Christian Apocalypse, save one, that was ever written'⁷; and, if the reference to it in the *Muratorian Fragment* be taken as the text

¹ Eus. *H. E.* viii. ii. 4: see Document No. 185.

² 'There is every reason to suppose that to the end of the third century papyrus held its own, at any rate in Egypt, as the material on which literary works were written. . . . The fourth century is the date to which our earliest extant vellum MSS. . . . are assigned,' F. G. Kenyon, *The palaeography of Greek papyri*, 114.

³ Thus 'whole classes of Origen's writings perished as the result of the inimical edict of Justinian, 543', Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 138; for the edict, *Nobis semper*, see *P. G.* lxxxvi. 945-90, and Bardenhewer, 549.

⁴ Eccl. iv. 9.

⁵ Texts and translations in Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition).

⁶ See text and translation in *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*, edd. J. A. Robinson and M. R. James (Cambr. Univ. Press, 1892). This 'ancient Greek apocalypse' is to be distinguished from the *Apocalypsis Petri per Clementem*, preserved in Arabic and Ethiopic MSS., for which see Bardenhewer, 114. For a translation of the former see also *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. ix. 145-7, ed. A. Menzies (T. & T. Clark, 1897), and Document No. 23.

⁷ Robinson and James, 40.

stands,¹ it was accepted, c. 170, in Rome as canonical, though that estimate of it was not everywhere received. Eusebius² and Jerome³ rejected it; but it was still read in some churches of Palestine on Good Friday in the fifth century.⁴ Its contents rendered it appropriate for the day of our Lord's death and burial; for it consists of visions of Paradise and the Inferno, and has exercised an influence traceable not only in Christian literature down to Dante but in 'popular notions of heaven and hell'⁵ current to-day. *The Shepherd*⁶ of Hermas, written, in the form in which we have it, at Rome, c. 140, is also an Apocalypse. And with these works of the Christian prophets may conveniently be classed *The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*,⁷ which is neither an Epistle nor Clement's but the sermon of a Christian Homilist, of c. 140 also, in the church of Corinth.

(3) Records. Of these we may reckon four classes.

And, first, apocryphal writings,⁸ of one sort and another, such as Gospels and Acts of that character, and the Clementine Romances. The apocryphal Gospels are of two kinds. Some of them are competitors of the canonical Gospels, and, as such, written to promote some dogmatic purpose as was the *Gospel according to Peter*,⁹ c. 120, with its docetic account of the Crucifixion.¹⁰ Others are merely supplementary to them; and, written as they were for edification or to satisfy devout curiosity as, for instance, about Joseph and the mother of our Lord or about His infancy and childhood, have played an important part in the art and the theology of the Christian Church. Such are the *Protevangelium of James* which, in its older form, goes back to the second century and gives an account 'of the life of the Blessed Virgin

¹ *Muratorian Fragment*, lines 71 sq.; cf. Robinson and James, 41.

² Eus. *H. E.* III. iii. 2, xxv. 4.

³ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. i (*Op.* ii. 827; *P. L.* xxiii. 609 A).

⁴ Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. xix.

⁵ Robinson and James, 81.

⁶ Text and translation in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 297-483.

⁷ Text and tr. in *ibid.* 43-94.

⁸ Translations in (1) *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xvi, *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*, edd. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (1870), and the *Additional Volume*, ed. A. Menzies (1897); and (2) *N. T. Apocryphal Writings*, ed. James Orr (Dent, 1903). For an account of them, cf. *H. D. B.* v. 420 sqq.; G. Salmon, *Introduction to the N. T.*, cc. xi, xix; Bardenhever, *Patrology*, 85 sqq.; C. T. Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity*, i. 151-80.

⁹ Edd. Robinson and James, *ut supra*.

¹⁰ In § 5 no reference is made to 'I thirst', John xix. 28; and Matt. xxvii. 46 becomes καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀνεβόησε λέγων, 'Ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με, *ibid.* 84; and Document No. 23.

Mary up to the slaughter of the Innocents at Bethlehem'; and the *Gospel of Thomas*, originating in Gnostic circles and in use in the second century, on the miracles of our Lord's boyhood. There are also apocryphal Acts, betraying a similar desire for embellishment; and, among these, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* are perhaps of outstanding interest because, though in their present form they are a later expansion, yet originally they belong to c. 160–70¹; and, reflecting 'many traits illustrative of second-century usage and tradition',² e. g. as to the personal appearance of St. Paul—'a man small in size, bald-headed, bow-legged, well-built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, and of gracious presence'.³ Not less interesting are the *Acts of Peter*,⁴ a Gnostic narrative, in origin of the second century, and containing the celebrated story of the *Domine, quo vadis?*⁵

In a second class of records may be placed the reminiscences of Papias,⁶ bishop of Hierapolis, contained in his *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*, c. 100, and of Hegesippus,⁷ a Jewish Christian who travelled to Corinth and Rome, c. 160, and on his return to Palestine, wrote his *Memoirs* to put Gnosticism out of court by confronting it with the teaching traditional in the churches he visited, and maintained there along with their successions of bishops.

A third class of records might be styled statistical, and consists of the episcopal lists⁸ which establish that succession, and are employed as sources by Eusebius. Of these the Roman list⁹ is the most conspicuous.

A fourth class consists of accounts of martyrdoms.¹⁰ These are sometimes epistolary, as contained in the letters of Christian

¹ And, 'ultimately to a document of the first century', W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 381; q. v. (cap xvi) for a full discussion.

² *N. T. Apocryphal Writings*, edd. J. Orr, p. xxiii.

³ *Ibid.* 79.

⁴ Bardenhewer, 98 sq.

⁵ q. v. in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xvi. 275.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxvi. 1, 2, xxxix. For the fragments of Papias, text and translation, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 515–35. Cf. Documents Nos. 27, 28.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* II. xxiii, III. xx, xxxii, IV. viii. 1 sq., IV. xxii. For the extant fragments of Hegesippus, see M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*², i. 207–19. Cf. Bardenhewer, 116 sq., and Documents Nos. 62, 63.

⁸ On the bishops of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, as mentioned by Eusebius, see Eusebius, ed. McGiffert, in 'Library of N. and P-N. Fathers', 401 sq.

⁹ On 'the early Roman succession', see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 201 sqq.

¹⁰ For these see R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, and, in translation, A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*. Cf. Bardenhewer, 228 sqq.

churches, such as the letter of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomelium, known as the *Martyrium Polycarpi*,¹ 156, and the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne,² 177: sometimes literary, whether they were accounts written by Christian eye-witnesses, as were the *Acta SS. Carpi, Papyli et Agathanices*,³ c. 161-9, or copies or embellishments of the minutes of the court. Such are the *Acta SS. Iustini et sociorum*,⁴ c. 163-7, the *Passio martyrum Scillitanorum*,⁵ 180, and the *Acta S. Apollonii*,⁶ c. 180-5, where the martyr, who was a cultivated Roman gentleman, gives bold expression before his judge to the teachings of Christian faith and morality.

(4) Doctrinal works. These are such as were prompted by Gnosticism and Montanism, the two movements of c. 150 which involved doctrine. Thus the Gnostic Heracleon, c. 175-200, embodied his views in a *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*⁷; so that to Gnosticism belongs the credit of the first exegetical work on the text of the New Testament. The anti-Gnostic writers are Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, c. 178-†200, Clement of Alexandria, c. 150-†215, and Tertullian,⁸ c. 160-†240. Montanism is represented by such works of Tertullian as were written after he became a Montanist,⁹ c. 202; while specimens of the arguments of its opponents occur in the fragments of the Anonymous,¹⁰ c. 192-3, and of Apollonius,¹¹ c. 200, preserved by Eusebius.¹²

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. xv. See text and translation in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 185-211, and cf. Document No. 36.

² Eus. *H. E.* v. i; cf. Document No. 57.

³ Knopf, *Martyrerakten*; cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv. 48.

⁴ Printed in Justin, *Opera*³ ii. 266 sqq. (ed. J. C. Otto), and in Knopf, 17 sqq.; cf. Document No. 49.

⁵ Printed in *Texts and Studies*, i. ii. 112-21 (ed. J. A. Robinson); Doc. No. 67.

⁶ The *acta* of Apollonius, known to Eusebius, *H. E.* v. xxi. 5, were recovered at the end of the nineteenth century in an Armenian, and in a Greek, version. Cf. F. C. Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius*², 35-48, for the former, done into English, and for the latter, *Analecta Bollandiana* (1895), xiv. 286-94, Bardenhewer, 231 sq., and Document No. 81.

⁷ Text collected in *The Fragments of Heracleon*, ed. A. E. Brooke, for *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 4, but originally preserved by Origen, *In Joannem* (Op. iv. 1-456; *P. G.* xiv. 21-830). Origen's *Commentary on St. John* is translated in part, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, additional volume (ed. A. Menzies), 297-408.

⁸ For a list of Tertullian's anti-Gnostic writings, see H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study*, 59 sq.

⁹ For a list of these, see Swete, *Patristic Study*, 61.

¹⁰ Text collected in M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*,² ii. 183-217; translated in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vii. 335 sqq.

¹¹ Text collected in M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 463-85; tr. in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, viii. 775 sq.

¹² Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi-xviii.

(5) Apologies. These were prompted by the other pressing necessity of the second century—that of dealing not with heresy but with persecution. A detailed enumeration may be reserved for a later chapter. Enough now to observe that most of the Apologists wrote in Greek, and that there are three types of Apology addressed respectively to Jews, to the Government, and to the public at large. Of anti-Judaic Apologies the earliest was that of Aristo of Pella, *fl. c.* 135–75, who is but just mentioned by Eusebius¹; but the most famous is Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*,² *c.* 155. His *First Apology*,³ *c.* 150, is the best known of appeals of this sort addressed to the Government: while of attempts to reach the popular ear the noblest example is the *Epistola ad Diognetum*,⁴ *c.* 130–50. Only two Latin Apologists belong to this epoch. The *Octavius*⁵ of Minucius Felix, *c.* 180, may be ranked with the *Letter to Diognetus* as one of the two most captivating of appeals to the sympathies of the educated: while, by way of contrast, Tertullian's *Apology*,⁶ 197, covering appeal both to Government and to populace, is deservedly famous as the most trenchant and unrelenting of attacks delivered for the purpose of defence.

(6) Disciplinary writings complete the tale of literary authorities for the second century. They are official or semi-official; and include, first episcopal letters evoked by the need for regulating questions as they arose. Thus the correspondence of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth,⁷ with Soter, bishop of Rome, and others, *c.* 170, refers to the mutilating of the Scriptures practised by Marcion,⁸ and the letters of Serapion, bishop of Antioch, 199–†211, deal

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi. 3; fragments in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 91–7. Cf. Bardenhewer, 48.

² Justin, *Opera*³ i. ii. 1–490, ed. J. C. Otto; tr. in *The Library of the Fathers*, vol. xl. 70–243.

³ Text and notes in *The Apology of Justin Martyr*, ed. for 'Cambridge Patristic Texts' by A. W. F. Blunt. Tr. *L. F.* xl. 1–56. Cf. Bardenhewer, 50.

⁴ Text and translation in Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 485–511; or, separately, by W. S. Walford (Nisbet, 1908). Cf. Bardenhewer, 68, and Document No. 29.

⁵ Text in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ii. 1–56, ed. C. Halm; and a spirited but free translation by A. A. Brodribb, *Pagan and Puritan*. Cf. Bardenhewer, 70 sqq., and Document No. 66.

⁶ Text and notes in T. H. Bindley, *The Apology of Tertullian* (Clar. Press, 1899), and translation in *L. F.* x. 1–106. Cf. Bardenhewer, 192. For a list of Tertullian's apologetic writings, see Swete, *Patristic Study*, 58.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* ii. xxv. 8, iv. xxiii; collected in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 177–84. Cf. Bardenhewer, 125 sq., and Doc. No. 54.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 12.

with problems raised by Montanism¹ and Docetism.² The communications between Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus,³ c. 190-†200, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons,⁴ and Victor, bishop of Rome, c. 189-†198, arose out of the Easter question; and the *Muratorian Fragment*,⁵ c. 170, has been thought to be a portion of an episcopal letter on the Canon. A second class of disciplinary writings consists of 'those early Christian manuals of instruction and worship which are conveniently called *Church Orders*'.⁶ Of these the *Didaché* or *The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles*⁷ is probably of the beginning of the second, or even of the end of the first, century. In conclusion, the Christian 'Way' of life, which the *Church Orders* both reveal and regulate, has from the first been sustained by the Christian belief, and this, which began to receive formulation early in Apostolic days,⁸ now begins to find embodiment in the Creeds—catechetical and baptismal. The *Old Roman Creed*⁹ belongs to c. 100, and there is an Eastern type extant in Irenaeus.¹⁰ Whether these two types are related as mother and daughter or as sisters, both being the progeny of some common but simpler and Apostolic form, is a matter on which opinion is, at present, divided.¹¹ Though *The Apostles Creed* and *The Teaching of the Apostles* are alike pseudonymous compositions, nevertheless their date and contents are enough to indicate that for Faith and Order Christians of the second century had traditions which they attributed to Apostolic origin.

§ 2. The overthrow of Jerusalem, 70, left the Jews thirsting

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xix.

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xii. Serapion's works are collected in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 449-53. Cf. Bardenhewer, 126, and Document No. 85.

³ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii. 1-8; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 11-16.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii. 11-18.

⁵ Text in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 393-6, B. F. Westcott, *The Canon of the N. T.*, app. C, or in H. Lietzmann, *Materials, &c.*, No. 1 (Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge), 6d. net: in Document No. 117.

⁶ A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, 1.

⁷ Text and translation in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 215-35, and Document No. 13.

⁸ As in εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ . . . εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός . . . ἐν πνεύμα, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6, xii. 11. Cf. xii. 3, 13; Rom. x. 9; and Eph. iv. 4-6, where the order is reversed.

⁹ Known as The Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, and given as his in Epiphanius, *Haeresis*, lxxii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 836; *P. G.* xlii. 385 sq.), Document No. 204. Cf. H. B. Swete, *The Apostles Creed*, 16, 105; C. H. Turner, *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*², 94 sq., and A. E. Burn, *The Apostles Creed*.

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. x, § 1.

¹¹ Cf. W. Sanday in *Journal of Theological Studies*, iii. 6 (October 1901).

for revenge. Domitian probably knew their temper when he sent for the Kinsmen of the Lord to see if they were dangerous as descendants of David. He dismissed them as harmless¹; but by exacting from every Jew, as payment to Jupiter Capitolinus,² the tax which formerly Jews had paid to the maintenance of the Temple,³ and by forbidding conversions to Judaism,⁴ Domitian provoked the resentment which he feared. It found opportunity to break out when Trajan, toward the end of his reign, became entangled in his eastern campaigns. Armenia was a border country, ever oscillating in its allegiance between the Roman and the Parthian Empire, and keeping the relations of the two realms in a condition of perpetual uncertainty. Trajan determined, by way of putting an end to all friction, to convert Armenia into a Roman province; and, taking advantage of internal dissensions in Parthia, he left Rome for the East in the autumn of 113. Arrived at Antioch he spent the winter in restoring the efficiency of his armies, and took the field in the spring of 114. While *Armenia* submitted to the Emperor without a blow⁵ and was organized into a Roman province, his lieutenant Lusius Quietus, by the capture of Singara, placed in his hands the key of Mesopotamia. Early in 115 Trajan took Nisibis⁶ and added the lands between Euphrates and Tigris to the Empire. They became the province of *Mesopotamia*. A campaign, in 116, carried him, by way of the Tigris, to the shores of the Persian Gulf,⁷ and won him a third province, beyond that river, which was organized under the name of *Assyria*.⁸ The Romans might now hope to control the whole commerce that came from the East up the Persian Gulf and the two great rivers, and so to have erected a powerful barrier against the rival Empire of Parthia.

But while Trajan was thus engaged upon the far eastern frontiers, the provinces behind him broke out into revolt.⁹ It was the opportunity of the Jews, if not their doing. In Egypt

¹ Hegesippus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xx. 1-8. The descendants of David were also sought out by Vespasian [*? Hegesippus ap.*] Eus. *H. E.* III. xii, and by Trajan, Hegesippus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxii. 3, 4.

² Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, xii, § 2.

³ Matt. xvii. 24.

⁴ Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, LXVII. xiv. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* LXVIII. xviii. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* LXVIII. xxiii. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* LXVIII. xxviii. 3.

⁸ For the three provinces organized by Trajan, see H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, Map xxxiii.

⁹ Dio Cassius, LXVIII. xxix. 4.

and Cyrene, 115-16, the Jews rose under Lukuas¹ *alias* Andrew² and are said to have slain 220,000 natives with horrible barbarities³: the Prefect of Egypt was powerless, and Trajan had to send one of his generals, Q. Marcius Turbo,⁴ with adequate forces, to put down the insurrection. In Cyprus, under Artemion, they sacked Salamis, and are said to have massacred 240,000 persons: so that, when the revolt was suppressed, no Jew was allowed to set foot on the island under pain of death.⁵ In 117, after Trajan had penetrated as far as Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital on the Tigris, Mesopotamia broke out into rebellion in his rear,⁶ and the Emperor had to send Lusius Quietus to 'clear the rebels out of the province'.⁷ Thousands of Jews were put to death before order was restored, and Quietus, for his services, was made governor of Palestine.⁸

The revolt was barely crushed on the death of Trajan, 8 August 117; and the resentment remained. Thirteen years later, when Hadrian was in Syria,⁹ 130, it surged up under fresh provocation. The Emperor, without, perhaps, aiming solely at Judaism, took two measures certain to offend the Jews. He forbade mutilation,¹⁰ and he proposed to rear a magnificent shrine on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem. Ardent as were his sympathies with the promotion of morality and of art, he had not calculated upon the effect which his resolves would have in angering the Jewish people.¹¹ Suppressed resentment became flaming fanaticism. Circumcision to be put on a level with castration!¹² A heathen temple to render it for ever impossible to re-erect the Temple of Jehovah! These were intolerable outrages; and under the leadership of Bar-Cochba, whom Rabbi Akiba, c. 50-†132,

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. ii. 3.² Dio Cassius, LXVIII. xxxii. 1.³ Dio Cassius, LXVIII. xxxii. 1, 2.⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. ii. 3.⁵ Dio Cassius, LXVIII. xxxii. 2, 3.⁶ Ibid. LXVIII. xxix. 4.⁷ Eus. *H. E.* iv. ii. 5.⁸ Dio Cassius, LXVIII. xxxii. 5.⁹ Ibid. LXIX. xii. 2.¹⁰ 'Moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia.' Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, xiv, § 2 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 15, ed. H. Peter; Teubner, Lipsiae, 1884).¹¹ 'Ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτε ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθῆναι, παρόντος μὲν . . . ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἡσυχάζον . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἐγένετο, φανερώς ἀπέστησαν', Dio Cassius, LXIX. xii, §§ 1, 2.¹² Cf. E. Schürer, *A history of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ*, div. i, vol. ii, p. 293.

the most influential doctor of the Law in his time, declared to be the Messiah,¹ a rebellion broke out and spread rapidly all over Palestine,² 132. It was only put down by the dispatch of one of Hadrian's best generals, Julius Severus, who was summoned from Britain for the task; and, after three years' guerilla warfare, Bar-Cochba was taken at the fall of Bether, July 135.³ Judaea was reduced to a desert⁴; Jerusalem became a heathen city under the name of Aelia Capitolina⁵; and no Jew might set foot in it under pain of death.⁶ Jerome describes how, in his time, on the day of the capture of Jerusalem and on that day alone, the Jews were permitted to enter the city and mourn the loss of their temple, but only with the Cross and the Church of the Resurrection gleaming in triumph before their eyes, and only so long as they bribed the Roman guard for the privilege.⁷

§ 3. The consequences of this second overthrow of Jerusalem were twofold. It completed the disintegration of the national life of the Jews begun by the first. And it accelerated the decline of Judaistic Christianity.

Judaism, on the capture of the city by Titus, lost two of its national institutions, the Sanhedrim and the sacrificial worship of the Temple. With the former, Sadduceanism ceased to enjoy the prestige of office; and, as it had no native religious force, it ceased to exert influence as well. With the latter the priesthood gradually disappeared from public life.⁸ Pharisaism and Rabbinism stepped into the places of authority and pre-eminence thus vacated; the one a religious, if the other was a narrowing, movement. At Jamnia,⁹ south of Joppa, lay the *focus* of the new order of things till after 135, when it was transferred to places in Galilee, among them Tiberias. Under R. Jochanan, son of Zakkai, 70–100, and R. Akiba, 100–30,¹⁰ a band of scholars gathered at Jamnia; and the most noteworthy of their achieve-

¹ E. Schürer, p. 298, n. 83.

² Dio Cassius, LXIX. xii–xiv; Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi.

³ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi. 3.

⁴ Dio Cassius, LXIX. xiv. 2.

⁵ Ibid. LXIX. xii. 1; Schürer, i. ii. 315 sq.; and cf. Eus. *Mart. Pal.* xi. 10.

⁶ Justin, *Apology*, i, § 47 (*Op.* 71; *P. G.* vi. 400 B); *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 16 (*Op.* 116; *P. G.* vi. 509 B).

⁷ Commenting on *Dies irae, dies illa* of Zeph. i. 15; see Jerome, *Opera*, vi. 692 (*P. L.* xxv. 1354 A–C), and Document No. 208.

⁸ Schürer, i. ii. 271–3.

⁹ It appears as Jabneel (Joshua xv. 11), Jabneh (2 Chron. xxvi. 6), Jamnia (1 Macc. iv. 15, &c.), and is now Yebnah. Its harbour was Majumas.

¹⁰ For these 'typical representatives', see Abraham Israel, *A Short History of Jewish Literature*, 4.

ments is, at the Council of Jamnia, c. 90, to have settled the claim to canonicity of *Canticles* and *Ecclesiastes*, two hitherto disputed books,¹ and so to have closed the Canon of the Old Testament. This college of learned men was thus the centre of literary activity for Israel; but they also became its supreme court of law whose authority, as resting on a spiritual basis, was accepted, without any formal recognition from the Romans, by every Jew throughout the Empire. 'So great', says Origen, writing of the powers of self-government enjoyed by the Jews of his day, 'is the power of their ethnarch, that he differs in no respect from a king.'² But this self-governing community lived increasingly in the past and in isolation. Judaism, in being uprooted from its place among the nations, turned inwards upon itself; and when the Sanctuary gave place to the school and the law-court, and its worship to a book, Judaism contracted its sympathies. They called the Christians *Minim*³ or heretics. But since 'the customs'⁴ of circumcision and the sabbath remained, and the service of the synagogue, Judaism retained enough of institutionalism for vitality, and, though but a shadow of what it was, continued in the observance of its churchly life.

Jewish Christians, in their turn, found their ties of sympathy with their fellow-countrymen steadily loosening as soon as the worship of the Temple, to which both had been attached, was gone. Their ties with the Synagogues were loosening too; for finding themselves cast adrift from them, they were beginning to be treated, if not yet as heretics, at any rate as traitors. Retreating to Pella in 70 for fear of the nationalist party whom they could not support, they were roughly handled by Bar-Cochba, 130-5, because they would not acknowledge him as Messiah. They would not because they could not, 'unless they would deny

¹ *H. D. B.* iii. 607.

² Καὶ νῦν γοῦν Ῥωμαίων βασιλευόντων, καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς τελούντων, ὅσα συγχωροῦντος Καίσαρος ὁ ἐθνάρχης παρ' αὐτοῖς δύναται, ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν βασιλευόντος τοῦ ἔθνους, ἴσμεν οἱ πεπειραμένοι. γίνεται δὲ καὶ κριτήρια λεληθότως κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ καταδικάζονται τινες τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ, οὔτε μετὰ τῆς πάντῃ εἰς τοῦτο παρρησίας, οὔτε μετὰ τοῦ λανθάνειν τὸν βασιλευόντα, Origen, *Ep. ad Africanum* [A. D. 240], § 14 (*Op.* i. 28; *P. G.* xi. 81 sqq.).

³ 'Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Iudaeos haeresis est quae dicitur Minaeorum, et a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur: quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant,' Jerome, *Ep.* cxii [A. D. 404], § 13 (*Op.* i. 746; *P. L.* xxii. 924), and Document No. 210. On the 'Minim', in No. 12 of the 'Eighteen Benedictions' see s.v. 'Min' in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, viii. 594 sq., ed. Isidore Singer, and for the 'cursing', Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, §§ 16, 47, and Document No. 46.

⁴ Acts vi. 14, xxi. 21, xxviii. 17.

and blaspheme Jesus Christ'.¹ Alienated thus from their own countrymen, they were no less cut off from the general current of the life of the Church. Withdrawal to Pella meant isolation from Gentile as from Jew; and one significant example of it is that whereas between 70–135 the bishops of Jerusalem, to which, after a time, the community at Pella seems to have returned,² remained of Jewish descent,³ from the final overthrow of the city Judaistic Christianity came to be represented by individual Christians only and had no hierarchy. For the bishops of Aelia from that time forward were Gentiles,⁴ and so was its church: no circumcised person, be he Jew or Jewish Christian, might enter the city.⁵ Jewish Christians, therefore, severed from the life alike of their fellow-Jews and their fellow-Christians, were by this time a declining remnant. But they were a remnant among whom varying affinities in doctrine are discernible.

Our best authority for these doctrinal divergences is Justin. Early in the second century he was born of heathen parents⁶ at Flavia Neapolis,⁷ the ancient Shechem and the modern Nablous. Converted to the faith of Christ at Ephesus, he had a disputation there with a representative of Judaism, who may have been the celebrated R. Tarpho, shortly after the then recent Jewish War,⁸ 132–5. The disputation lies at the basis of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, where Justin is the representative of Christianity and Trypho a thin disguise, it may be, for Tarpho. After a brief account of his own conversion, §§ 1–8, Justin proceeds, in the first part of the *Dialogue*, to show that the Law has been abrogated in favour of the Gospel, §§ 10–46. 'But', objects Trypho, 'what if a Christian who accepts all this . . . should wish to keep these ordinances [*sc.* of the Law] as well? shall he be saved?'

¹ Justin, *Apol.* i, § 31 (*Op.* 62; *P. G.* vi. 376 sq.), quoted in Eus. *H. E.* iv. viii. 4.

² So says Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis 367–†403. He was born in Judaea, 315, and was abbot of a monastery there for thirty years before his elevation to the episcopate. Cf. his *De mensuris et ponderibus*, § 15 (*Op.* iii. 171; *P. G.* xliii. 261 c) for the return from Pella.

³ For the list of 'the bishops of the circumcision', see Eus. *H. E.* iv. v. 3; after James, †62 and Symeon, †107, there remain thirteen bishops for twenty-five years, to 132. Too many: some may have been bishops of other Palestinian sees.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi. 4, v. xii.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi. 3.

⁶ Justin, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, § 28 (*Op.* 126; *P. G.* vi. 536 A).

⁷ Justin, *Apol.* i, § 1 (*Op.* 44; *P. G.* vi. 329 A).

⁸ Justin, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, §§ 1, 9 (*Op.* 101, 110; *P. G.* vi. 472 A, 490 A), and Eus. *H. E.* iv. xviii. 6.

Justin, in reply, observes that there are among people of that mind, i. e. among Jewish Christians, two classes. There are some who 'through weakness of judgment wish to keep as many of these ordinances of the Mosaic Law as possible, which we consider to have been given because of the hardness of your hearts, whilst they place their hope in the same Christ, and observe the eternal and natural practices of justice and righteousness; and choose to live with those who are Christians and faithful, as I said, without persuading them to be circumcised like themselves or to keep the sabbaths and other similar observances'. There are others 'of your nation, Trypho', who 'profess to believe in this Christ, and yet at the same time endeavour to compel the faithful Christian Gentiles to live according to the Law of Moses, or refuse to hold the above kind of communication with them'.¹ It looks, then, as if it were an attenuated but orthodox minority on the one side, and, on the other, an heretical majority that divided the little world of Jewish Christians about the middle of the second century; and it is probable that, in Justin's two classes, are contained the Nazarenes and the Ebionites (of which latter there were two subdivisions distinguished by modern scholars,² as Pharisaic and Essene or Gnostic), of whom later Church writers speak, though with some confusion as to names. Of the facts, however, we need not doubt that they were as Justin states them.

The first class of Jewish Christians, then, may be identified with the Nazarenes. This title has been used in a wider and in a restricted sense. The High Priest Ananias, who charged St. Paul before Felix with being 'a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes',³ used it of Christians in general; and to this day Nozri in Jewish literature, and Al-Nasara in the *Koran*, preserve it as the common designation of Christians.⁴ It was so in the days of the Fathers. 'According to prophecy', says Tertullian, 'the Christ of the Creator had to be called a Nazarene: and so, by that very title,

¹ Justin, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, § 47 (*Op.* 143; *P. G.* vi. 577 A, B), and Document No. 46.

² For the views of modern scholars see J. B. Lightfoot, *The Epistle to the Galatians*¹⁰, 317 sqq.; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, i. 176 sqq. These two writers recognize two Christologies and a corresponding distinction of names, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 317, n. 3. F. J. A. Hort admits 'at least two grades . . . of Christological doctrine', but no distinction between 'Ebionaeans' and 'Nazaraeans', *Judaistic Christianity*, 199. All agree that we are dealing not with communities but with individuals, sects, or schools of thought.

³ Acts xxiv. 5.

⁴ Cf. *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ed. I. Singer, ix. 194 sq., s.v. 'Nazarenes'.

the Jews call us Christians Nazarenes on His account'.¹ Epiphanius² and Jerome³ also say, of a Synagogue prayer alleged to be aimed at the Christians, that, although the Jews say 'Nazarenes', they mean Christians. But any acquaintance the Rabbis may have had with Christians in general would have been indirect: the Christians they knew themselves were Judaeo-Christians. And this is the more restricted sense of Nazarenes. There is some confusion about the term as used by the Fathers of the fourth century; for Epiphanius says 'the Nazarenes are Jews and nothing else',⁴ while Jerome records that 'the Ebionites are popularly called Nazarenes'.⁵ But the details, which Epiphanius proceeds to give about the Nazarenes, show clearly enough that they were Christians of Jewish birth who, as such, observed the Jewish manner of life; and Jerome himself elsewhere distinguishes between 'the Ebionites who think that the Law, though abolished by the passion of Christ, is still to be observed' and 'the associates of Ebionites who hold that the Law is to be kept only by Jews and persons of Israelitish birth'.⁶ Apart, then, from the wide use of the term to mean Christians in general and its looser sense to cover Jewish Christians of Justin's second class, it is probable that by Nazarenes were normally meant those of his first: Christians of Jewish birth, that is, who kept the Law themselves but did not require it of others. If so, the Nazarenes were in the fourth, and the second, century what they were in the Apostolic age—Jewish Christians who occupied the standpoint of James, the Lord's brother. Save for a traditional attachment to the Law and an undeveloped apprehension of the range of the Gospel, the Nazarenes, so far as doctrine went, differed in no sense from their fellow-Christians of the Greek churches of Christendom.

¹ 'Nazaraeus vocari habebat secundum prophetiam Christus Creatoris; unde et ipso nomine nos Iudaei Nazaraeos appellant per eum,' Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 8 (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 372 B).

² 'Ἐπικατάρσασαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους, Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxix. § 9 (*Op.* i. 124; *P. G.* xli. 404 D). This clause was once inserted into 'the Prayer against Heretics' [Birkat-ha-Minim] which is the twelfth of 'The Eighteen Benedictions', for which see *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, xi. 270 sqq., s.v. 'Shemoneh 'Esreh', and cf. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, v. 131 sqq. (October, 1892), and J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, .66 and app. II.

³ Jerome, commenting on Isa. v. 18, says 'Ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathemitizent [sc. Iudaei] vocabulum Christianum', *In Isaiam*, Lib. II (*Op.* iv. 81; *P. L.* xxiv. 86 A).

⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxix, § 7 (*Op.* i. 122; *P. G.* xli. 401).

⁵ *Ep.* cxii, § 13, and Document No. 210.

⁶ Jerome, *In Isaiam*, i. 12, Comment. Lib. I (*Op.* iv. 21; *P. L.* xxiv. 34).

Jerome says of them, in a letter to Augustine of A.D. 404, that 'they believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and they affirm him to be he who suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose again, in whom we also believe'. Jerome adds, it is true, that 'in trying to be both Jews and Christians, they are really neither'¹; but what hindered them, according to him, from being Christians was only their adherence to the Jewish 'customs'; for elsewhere he is witness that they welcomed the universality of the Gospel as seen in the work of St. Paul.² Working, then, from Jerome's time backwards, we find that Epiphanius, who knew of the Nazarenes at Beroea (Aleppo) and about Pella, makes no definite allegation against their doctrine, but affirms that they combined belief in Christ with observance of the Law³: in other words, that they were in his day what Justin says some Jewish Christians—his first class—were in his. But we are not left to the general descriptions even of contemporaries for a picture of what the traditional Jewish Christian believed. Two representative men of theirs are known to us. The one is Hegesippus of Jerusalem who, c. 160-80, undertook a journey to the West in order to see whether the teaching of the Church of Jerusalem tallied with that of other churches. In the course of it he met a number of bishops, particularly those of Corinth and Rome. He found them teaching precisely what he had been taught at home—in strict conformity, as he says, with 'what is proclaimed by the Law the Prophets and the Lord'.⁴ The other is Aristo of Pella who, about the same time, wrote a dialogue entitled *A disputation between Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ*; where Jason is Aristo himself as the Christian disputant and Papiscus an Alexandrian Jew. The work is now lost; but it was translated into Latin by one Celsus, and he tells us, in his Preface, that the author 'affirmed and proved both the incarnation and the godhead of Christ'⁵: while Jerome, who also read it, notes that, instead of 'In the beginning God created the

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* cxii, § 13 (*Op.* i. 746 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 924).

² Jerome, *In Isaiam*, ix. 1, *Comment.* Lib. III (*Op.* iv. 130; *P. L.* xxiv. 125 B.C.).

³ *Uti supra*, 92, n. 4.

⁴ Quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. xxii. 3: see Document No. 63, and M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 217.

⁵ 'Iasonis asserentis et vindicantis dispositionem [= οἰκονομίαν] et plenitudinem [= πλήρωμα] Christi,' Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 97, and *Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate*, § 8, ap. S. Cypriani *Opera*, iii. 128, ed. G. Hartel (*C. S. E. L.* III. iii).

heaven and the earth', it preserved a variant which ran 'In the Son God created',¹ &c. So far, then, from the churches of Jewish Christendom having taught, as has been sometimes held,² that our Lord was a mere man, their original belief was in a pre-existent and divine Christ. It was precisely the belief of the Nazarenes, who occupied the standpoint of James the Lord's brother. For they maintained the traditional faith of Christendom, and only differed from their fellow-Christians in two points. They claimed to continue their own observance of the Law, without making such observance on the part of Gentile Christians a condition of communion with them. And they used a *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.³

Justin's second class consisted of those who by the Fathers of the next generation are called Ebionites, but are designated more precisely by modern scholars as the Pharisaic Ebionites.

The origin and meaning of the name Ebionites had already become obscure before the close of the second century. Irenaeus, who has much to tell of their opinions, nowhere explains their name. Tertullian is puzzled by it. He frankly invents an eponymous heresiarch, Ebion,⁴ to account for it. In this he is followed

¹ 'In Filio fecit Deus coelum et terram,' Jerome, *Lib. Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* i. 1 (*Op.* iii. 305; *P. L.* xxiii. 937 c), and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 95.

² Thus A. Harnack, writing of 'Teachers such as Cerinthus', says: 'When, in their Christology, they denied the miraculous birth, and saw in Jesus a chosen man on whom the Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, descended at the baptism, they were not creating any innovation, but only following the earliest Palestinian tradition,' *History of Dogma*, i. 246. And T. H. Huxley: 'But if the primitive Nazarenes of whom the Acts speaks were orthodox Jews, what sort of probability can there be that Jesus was anything else? How can he have founded the universal religion which was not heard of till twenty years after his death?' *Collected Essays*, v. 302 (Macmillan, 1894).

³ Jerome speaks [A. D. 392] of 'Evangelium . . . quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est', *De viris illustribus*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 831; *P. L.* xxiii. 611 B), and seems to regard it as the original of our St. Matthew, 'Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaraeis qui in Beroea [Aleppo] urbe Syriae hoc volumine utuntur describendi facultas fuit', *ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 833; *P. L.* xxiii. 613 B). For extracts from this Gospel see E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 3-8; and for a discussion, *H. D. B.* v. 338-43.

⁴ '[Paulus] ad Galatas scribens invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis haeresis sic est,' Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus haereticorum*, c. xxxiii (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 16 A). Cf. 'Hebioni . . . qui nudum hominem et tantum ex semine David, id est non et Dei Filium, constituit Iesum,' *De Carne Christi*, c. xiv (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 778 B), and "'Misit" inquit [sc. Paulus] "Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere", quam utique virginem constat fuisse, licet Hebion resistat,' *De virginibus velandis*, c. vi (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 897 B).

by his contemporary, the anonymous author of the *Libellus adversus omnes haereses*,¹ known as the pseudo-Tertullian. But Origen had acquaintance enough with Hebrew to recognize in 'Ebionites' the word *Ebionim*, 'which means in that language "poor"' ²; though he too was at a loss to know why it was appropriated to them. In one place he explains it as a term of reproach, applied to them because of the poverty of their understanding ³; in another, as due to them because of the poverty of the Jewish Law to which they adhered.⁴ Eusebius, an admirer of Origen, improves upon him by suggesting that the poverty of the Ebionites consisted in their mean and beggarly conceptions of the Person of our Lord.⁵ But the anti-Origenist Epiphanius gets nearer the mark by affirming that it was a name which Jewish Christians claimed for themselves in token of their voluntary poverty.⁶ That may be so; but, in Scripture, the term has associations still more honourable. *Ebionism* is akin to "the poor" (*ānī*, *lit.* humbled, esp. by oppression) and to "the humble" (*ānāw*: of one who humbles or submits himself voluntarily, esp. under the hand of God). . . . 'In meaning', writes Dr. Driver, 'the two words differ materially, that rendered "poor" denoting one humbled involuntarily by external circumstances, while this [*sc.* "humble"] denotes one who is voluntarily humble himself: nevertheless they do not differ greatly in application, especially in the Psalms, both being designations of the pious servants of Jehovah.'⁷

Now the Pharisaic Ebionites, whether or no they cultivated a voluntary poverty, were—to judge from the opinions attributed to them by Irenaeus⁸—the successors of those Judaizing Christians who were St. Paul's opponents in the second group of his Epistles.

¹ Pseudo-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.* c. iii (*Op.* ii. 759, ed. Oehler).

² Βιοῦσι γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν πάτριον νόμον), ἐπώνυμοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν πτωχείας τοῦ νόμου γεγενημένοι. Ἐβίων τε γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρὰ Ἰουδαίους καλεῖται καὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι, *Adv. Celsum*, II. i (*Op.* i. 385; *P. G.* xi. 793 A).

³ *De Principiis*, iv, § 22 (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* xi. 389 A); *Eus. H. E.* III. xxvii. 6.

⁴ *Supra*, n. 2.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* III. xxvii. 1.

⁶ Αὐτοὶ δὲ δῆθεν σεμνύνονται, ἑαυτοὺς φάσκοντες πτωχοὺς, διὰ τό, φασίν, ἐν χρόνοις τῶν ἀποστόλων πωλεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ τιθεῖναι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ εἰς πτωχείαν καὶ ἀποταξίαν μετεληλυθέναι, Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx, § 17 (*Op.* i. 141; *P. G.* xli. 433 B).

⁷ S. R. Driver, *The Parallel Psalter*, 445 sq., 451 sq., and cf. St. Matthew's version of the first Beatitude: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit', Matt. v. 3.

⁸ For their opinions see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi, § 2, and Document No. 72.

The attraction of Christianity to them lay in this, that in it they found what the pious nucleus of Israel had long sought for in vain—a reformed and spiritualized Judaism. And hence their theological position. First, in their doctrine of the Person of our Lord, they accepted Jesus simply but sincerely as the Messiah, denying His Divinity and attaching no importance to His miraculous Conception.¹ Secondly, and as a consequence of this denial, they repudiated St. Paul. His Gospel of a Catholic Church, into which Gentiles were to be admitted alongside of Jews without being required to observe the Law, depended directly on his view of the Founder of that Church being personally God: as such, possessed of an authority superior to the Law and equal to abrogating it. The practical liberalism of St. Paul's missionary policy was bound up, in fact, with that doctrine of our Lord's Person to which his opponents the Pharisaic Judaizers—and, after them, the Pharisaic Ebionites—never advanced. To men whose ideal was a spiritualized Judaism, Jesus was simply the greatest of the Prophets destined to make it the universal religion. So, thirdly, His office being thus but to reinforce and extend the Law and His authority not being equal to abrogating it, they observed the Law themselves and required it of others. And, fourthly, 'the only Gospel they use', says Irenaeus, 'is'—quite naturally—'the Gospel according to Matthew'. These are the Ebionites of Irenaeus²; of Tertullian³ and Hippolytus⁴ who depend upon him; and apparently of Origen⁵ and Eusebius⁶ too.

¹ 'Vani autem et Ebionaei, unionem Dei et hominis per fidem non recipientes in suam animam, sed in veteri generationis perseverantes fermento; neque intelligere volentes, quoniam Spiritus sanctus advenit in Mariam, et virtus altissimi obumbravit eam: quapropter et quod generatum est, sanctum est, et filius altissimi Dei Patris omnium qui operatus est incarnationem eius, et novam ostendit generationem; uti quemadmodum per priorem generationem mortem hereditavimus, sic per generationem hanc hereditaremus vitam. Reprobant itaque hi commixtionem vini caelestis, et solam aquam saecularem volunt esse non recipientes Deum ad commixtionem suam,' Iren. *Adv. Haer.* v. i. 3. Origen, however, says that some accepted and some denied the supernatural Conception—οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διττοὶ Ἑβιωναῖοι, ἧτοι ἐκ Παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἣ οὐχ οὕτω γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους, *Contra Celsum*, v. lxi (*Op.* i. 624; *P. L.* xi. 1277 c).

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi, § 2, iii. xxi, § 1, v. i, § 3.

³ See n. 4, p. 94.

⁴ Ἑβιωναῖοι δὲ . . . περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ . . . μυθεύουσιν· Ἐθεσιν Ἰουδαίοις ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιῶσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον· διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὠνόμασθαι, Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, vii. 34, edd. L. Duncker et F. G. Schneidewin.

⁵ Origen, *c. Celsum*, ii. i, v. lxi, lxx (*Op.* i. 385 sq., 624, 628; *P. G.* xi. 793 A, 1277 c, 1288 A); *In Matt.* tom xvi, § 12 (*Op.* iii. 733; *P. G.* xiii. 1412 A).

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxvii, vi. xvii.

But there was a type of Ebionism other than this Ebionism proper. St. Paul had to deal not only, as in the second group of his Epistles, with Judaizing Christians of Pharisaic or legalist sympathies, but, in the third group, with opponents who, to render their Jewish observance¹ attractive to the Greek world beyond Palestine, raised upon it a grandiose² superstructure of ascetic practice³ justified by a specious 'philosophy'.⁴ In the same way Ebionism assumed a foreign element 'half-ascetic, half-mystical'⁵, derived, in the first instance, from contact with the Essenes, but also, and almost as soon, from contact with the Gnostics. The Essene or Gnostic Ebionism thus produced is the type represented by Cerinthus, the opponent of St. John at the end of the first century, and by the system described in the *Clementine Romances* of the third, and in Epiphanius of the fourth.

Cerinthus⁶ came originally from Egypt, and was a Jew, if not by birth, at any rate by religion. He went to Asia, where he fell foul of St. John. For one day 'John, the disciple of the Lord', according to the characteristic story told of him by Polycarp, 'was going to bathe at Ephesus; and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath-house, crying, "Let us flee, lest even the bath-house fall, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within"'. What then was the system so contrary to 'the truth'?⁷ As described by Irenaeus, it began with belief in the one God supreme over all. Below Him, comes the Demiurge, who knows not the supreme God and who created the world. 'And he [Cerinthus] added', continues Irenaeus, 'that Jesus was not born of a Virgin (for that seemed to him impossible), but was the son of Joseph and Mary, [born] like all other men, and had more power than men in justice, prudence, and wisdom. And that after his Baptism there descended on him from that Royalty which is above all, Christ in the figure of a Dove, and that he then declared the unknown Father, and did mighty works, but that

¹ Col. ii. 16.² Col. ii. 18.³ Col. ii. 20-3.⁴ Col. ii. 8, and see F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 118 sqq.⁵ J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 322.⁶ For this account cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, i. 173 sq. The authorities are Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi. 1, reproduced by Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vii. 33, and by the writers on heresies dependent on Hippolytus, viz. pseudo-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. Haer.* c. iii; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxviii (*Op.* i. 110 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 577 sqq.); Philaster, *Diversarum Haereseon Liber*, § 36 (*C. S. E. L.* xxxviii. 19); and Document No. 72.⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 4, quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. xiv. 6, and see Document No. 74.

in the end Christ again soared back from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again, but that Christ remained impassible, as being spiritual.’¹ It was undoubtedly to save his flock from the seductions of this system that St. John turned not a few phrases in his Gospel and Epistles. The system centred in the distinction between ‘Jesus’ and ‘the Christ’: for Cerinthus held, as under Ebionitic influences, a psilanthropic doctrine of the person of Jesus—he was, in fact, the first Judaizing psilanthropist—and, as under Gnostic influences, the notion of a divine power that came down upon Jesus and was called ‘the Christ’. To affirm then that ‘Jesus’ and ‘Christ’ were one and the same Divine Person both before and after the Incarnation, or that ‘the Word became flesh’ was the cue of St. John, if he were to give the lie to Cerinthus: and hence so characteristic a query as ‘Who is the liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?’² Or there is a more detailed repudiation, as follows: ‘Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood; not [as Cerinthus would have us believe, in connexion] with the water [*sc.* of His Baptism] only [as if the Christ then first came down on Jesus] but [in connexion] with the water and [in connexion] with the blood’³ [*sc.* of His Cross]; for when the blood was shed there, He was God whose blood was shed, and not, as Cerinthus would have it, the mere man Jesus, already deserted of his Divinity. As to the life and worship enjoined by Cerinthus, we are told nothing by Irenaeus; but, if we may rely on the fourth-century writers on heresies, who, through his pupil Hippolytus, †236, were ultimately indebted to his *Adversus Haereses*, Cerinthus in practice was frankly a Judaizer. He recognized the Law, and ‘the customs’

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi. 1. For the close, but half-informed, fidelity of Judaizing Ebionism to the narrative of our Lord’s Baptism, see W. Sanday, *Outlines of the life of Christ*, 40. ‘The Judaizing Ebionites of the second century, who never rose above the conception of Christ as an inspired prophet, and some Gnostic sects which separated the Man Jesus from the Aeon Christ, starting from the Synoptic narrative, and combining it with *Psalms* ii. 7, dated from the Baptism the union of the human and the Divine in Christ in such a way that they are sometimes described as making the Baptism a substitute for the supernatural Birth. We can imagine how, to those who had the story of the Baptism before them, but who had not yet been reached by the tidings of those earlier events . . . which only made their way to general knowledge . . . after some length of time . . . , should regard the descent of the Holy Ghost as a first endowment with Divinity.’ Heretics are generally Scripturalists, but only partially informed.

² 1 John ii. 22; cf. iv. 2, 3, 15.

³ *Ibid.* v. 6–8.

of circumcision and sabbath. He repudiated St. Paul, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Among the Gospels he admitted only *St. Matthew*, but without its opening sections. And chiliasm, another inheritance from later Judaism,¹ is freely attributed to him by the contemporary of Hippolytus—the Roman presbyter Gaius,² fl. c. 200, and by Dionysius,³ bishop of Alexandria, 247-†65. How far the opinions thus assigned to Cerinthus were actually entertained by him, we do not know. But it is certain that similar tenets prevailed among the Judæo-Gnostics of 'Asia' against whom St. Ignatius, the contemporary of Cerinthus, warned the churches through which he passed.⁴

The Essenes are known to us from Philo,⁵ Josephus,⁶ and the elder Pliny.⁷ They were Jews; but they found no satisfaction in ceremonial or legal purity, and were probably repelled by the secularity of the higher clergy in Jerusalem. Alienated thus from Temple and Sacrifice, they retired to the region beyond Jordan; and there, in ascetic settlements, sought the more perfect life. But shortly before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jewish Christians also took flight to the same districts. The two bodies of fugitives, united in a common alienation from the religious centre of their people, may well have drawn together. Certain it is that the Ebionism of the *Clementines* and of the sectaries

¹ Chiliasm or Millenarianism began with an 'Egyptian Jew, to whom we owe the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* [A. D. 1-50]. . . . He reasons that since the earth was created in six days, its history will be accomplished in 6,000 years, evidently basing his view on the Old Testament words that "each day with the Lord is as 1,000 years"; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history will be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. This time of rest and blessedness is the Messianic period. Here for the first time the Messianic kingdom is conceived as lasting for 1,000 years, and it is to such an origin that we must trace the later Christian view of the Millennium', R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*², 315.

² As quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xxviii. 2. Eusebius speaks of him as 'a churchman, who arose under Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome' and published a disputation with the Montanist Proclus (*H. E.* II. xxv. 6), and as 'very learned' (ibid. VI. xx. 3). The works of Gaius are collected in M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* II. 125-34; Document No. 53.

³ As quoted in Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxv. 2, 3, from his *Περὶ Ἐπαγγελίων*, for which see *The letters of Dionysius of Alexandria*, ed. C. L. Feltoe, 115.

⁴ As in Ignatius, *ad Magnesios*, viii, § 1; ix, § 1; x, §§ 2, 3; *ad Philadelphenses*, vi, § 1; Document No. 17.

⁵ Philo, *Quod omnis probus sit liber*, cc. xii, xiii (*Opera*, vi, edd. L. Cohn and S. Reiter, Berolini, 1915).

⁶ Josephus, *De Bello Iudaico*, II. viii, §§ 2-13 (*Op.* v. 161 sqq. : Teubner, 1895).

⁷ Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, v, § 17 (*Op.* i. 391 sq. : Teubner, 1906).

described by Epiphanius presents this combination of elements, Christian and Essene.

God is one, according to the doctrinal system of the Clementine *Homilies*.¹ He has made all things, one against another²; first the good and then the bad; though we come to know them in the reverse order, the bad first and, afterwards, the good. Thus, for us, Cain comes before Abel, Ishmael before Isaac, Esau before Jacob, Aaron—bad because he offered sacrifice—before Moses,³ John the Baptist—born of woman⁴—before Jesus Christ the Son of man.⁵ On this principle there has existed from the beginning of the world a double series of prophets: the first, of true prophets, from Adam whose fall is denied⁶; the second of false prophets, from Eve who was inferior to Adam and created after him.⁷ But seeing that the bad become known to us first, it was the succession of prophets from Eve that first came within our ken⁸: they were deceivers, however, for they represented the element of femininity.⁹ These are they who introduced blood-shedding sacrifice, polytheism, and error¹⁰; whereas the succession from Adam, though they appeared later, are entitled to acceptance. Strictly speaking, there was but one prophet in this latter series.¹¹ He was manifested first in Adam and finally in Jesus Christ. His office was to continue the work of Adam and Moses, i. e. simply to teach; and though Son of God, He was not God.¹² Such, in brief, is the doctrinal system of the Clementines. Their *cultus* and discipline is a mixture of Essenism and Judaism, baptism and circumcision,¹³ daily ablutions,¹⁴ and vegetarianism. Early marriage is obligatory, 'as a remedy against sin and to avoid fornication'; but blood-shedding sacrifice is forbidden.

¹ The *Homilies* are selected as representing the doctrinal system of the Clementines in its earlier stage. They are printed in *P. G.* ii. 57-468; for an account of them, cf. *infra*, c. vi.

² Εἰς ὧν αὐτὸς διχῶς καὶ ἐναντίως διεῖλε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄκρων, *Hom.* i, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 52; *P. G.* ii. 85 B).

³ *Ibid.*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 53 sq.; *P. G.* ii. 85 sqq.).

⁴ *Matt.* xi. 11.

⁵ *Hom.* i, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 54; *P. G.* ii. 88 A).

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 89; *P. G.* ii. 125 A).

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 89; *P. G.* ii. 125 A).

⁸ *Ibid.* iii, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 89; *P. G.* ii. 125 B).

⁹ *Ibid.* iii, § 27 (*Op.* ii. 92; *P. G.* ii. 128 sq.).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 24; *P. G.* ii. 125 C).

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 20; *P. G.* ii. 124 C).

¹² *Ibid.* xvi, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 328; *P. G.* ii. 377 B).

¹³ *Contestatio Iacobi*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 6; *P. G.* ii. 28 sq.).

¹⁴ *Hom.* ix, § 23; x, § 26; xiv, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 213, 229, 296; *P. G.* ii. 257 D, 276 A, 345 B).

A similar system reappears, as in vogue among the Ebionites described by Epiphanius.¹ Christ and the Devil are both the work of God : to the latter belongs the world we live in, to the former the world to come.² Jesus was a mere man, born in the ordinary way,³ on whom the Christ descended.⁴ The Christ is an ethereal but created spirit who appeared successively in Adam, in the Patriarchs, and in Jesus⁵ : or rather he is the Holy Ghost himself, who came down upon Jesus at his Baptism.⁶ Jesus therefore was a prophet of the truth, whereas all the prophets to his day from Moses were impostors.⁷ So the Pentateuch, specially where it requires sacrifice and the use of flesh, is to be rejected⁸ ; only the *Gospel of St. Matthew* (which is called the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*) is acknowledged⁹ ; and St. Paul is repudiated for a deceiver.¹⁰ As for the observances of religion, baptism is the initiation into the Christian life : the Eucharist they celebrated annually in unleavened bread and with water.¹¹ Sabbath and circumcision remain,¹² but no sacrifices.¹³ Daily ablutions,¹⁴ abstinence from flesh,¹⁵ condemnation of continence and virginity,¹⁶ enforcement of marriage and at an early age, with liberty of divorce¹⁷—these elements reproduce the combination, already observed in the *Clementines*, of Judaism and Christianity. And this is Essene or Gnostic Ebionism.

In summary,¹⁸ all Ebionites alike took common ground in (1) recognizing Jesus as Messiah, or as connected with the Christ, (2) denying His Divinity, (3) affirming the universal obligation of the Law, and (4) rejecting St. Paul ; but Pharisaic and Essene or

¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx (*Op.* i. 125-62 ; *P. G.* xli. 405-74).

² *Ibid.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 140 ; *P. G.* xli. 432 B, c, and Document No. 202).

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 2, 14, 16, 17, 34 (*Op.* i. 125, 139, 140, 141, 162 ; *P. G.* xli. 408 A, 429 C, 432 C, 433 B, 472 C).

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 14 (*Op.* i. 138 sq. ; *P. G.* xli. 429 C).

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 127 ; *P. G.* xli. 409 A, B).

⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 13, 16 (*Op.* i. 138, 140 ; *P. G.* xli. 429 A, 432 C).

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 142 ; *P. G.* xli. 436 B).

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 142 ; *P. G.* xli. 436 C).

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 127 ; *P. G.* xli. 409 B, C).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 140 ; *P. G.* xli. 432 sq.).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 139, 140 ; *P. G.* xli. 432 B).

¹² *Ibid.*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 126 ; *P. G.* xli. 408 A).

¹³ *Ibid.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 140 ; *P. G.* xli. 432 C).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, §§ 2, 15, 17 (*Op.* i. 126, 139, 141 ; *P. G.* xli. 408 A, B, 432 A, 433 B, C).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, § 15 (*Op.* i. 139 ; *P. G.* xli. 432 A).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 126 ; *P. G.* xli. 408 B).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 142 ; *P. G.* xli. 436 A).

¹⁸ For this summary, cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 322, n. 2.

Gnostic Ebionism differed as to what constituted the Law and in their conception of the Person of Christ. The latter accepted neither Pentateuch nor prophet, but only a sublimated Judaism : and, while the former held, as a rule, that Jesus was born in the ordinary way, the latter admitted or denied at pleasure that He was born of a Virgin and assigned to Him supernatural endowments dating from His Baptism. It remains only to trace a special variety of Gnostic Ebionism.

The Elkasaites¹ are known to us through Origen² and Epiphanius³ in the East, and in the West by the account given in Hippolytus.⁴ He affirms that in the days of Pope Callistus, c. 217-†22, one Alcibiades of Apamea in Syria brought to Rome the book of Elkasai, or 'the hidden power' as Epiphanius correctly explains the name.⁵ It professed to date from the third year of Trajan, A.D. 100, when its contents were revealed by an angel of colossal proportions called the Son of God in company with a female of similar dimensions identified with the Holy Spirit⁶—for 'spirit' (*ruah*) is feminine in Hebrew. The date is probable enough, for it was about that time, according to Hegesippus, that 'attempts to corrupt the sound standard of the preaching of salvation' set in among Jewish Christians⁷; while the hostility of Hippolytus against the system of Elkasai was aroused by the fact that it offered an easy forgiveness such as he charged his opponent Callistus with having encouraged.⁸ The book taught that sins, even the grossest, might be remitted if the sinner submitted to be baptized anew, and would simply confess his faith in the new revelation. He was immersed in the water, clothes and all, and called upon 'the seven witnesses'.⁹ Circumcision and the observance of the Law¹⁰ formed part of the system ; which also ran on into magic, astrology, and distinctions

¹ Ἠλκασαί in Hippolytus ; Ἐλκεσαιταί in Origen ; Ἠλξαι in Epiphanius.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xxxviii.

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xix, xxx, liii (*Op.* i. 39 sqq., 125 sqq., 461 sqq. ; *P. G.* xli. 259 sqq., 405 sqq., 959 sqq.).

⁴ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, §§ 13-17 (Origen, *Opera*, vi. iii. 462 sqq. ; *P. G.* xvii. 3387 sqq.).

⁵ Δύναμιν ἀποκεκαλυμμένην, Epiphanius, *Haer.* xix, § 2 (*Op.* i. 41 ; *P. G.* xli. 264 A).

⁶ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 13 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 462-3 ; *P. G.* xvii. 3387 c).

⁷ *Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxii. 7.

⁸ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 458-9 ; *P. G.* xviii. 3385 A) ; Document No. 120.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 15 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 466-7 ; *P. G.* xvii. 3391 A).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 14 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 464-5 ; *P. G.* xvii. 3390 B).

of propitious and unfavourable days.¹ It also included the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis : for, though Christ was regarded as born in the ordinary way, His birth of Mary was held to be but one of many such experiences.² He had been incarnate before and would be incarnate again : Christianity therefore was, in no sense, the final religion. Such is the account of the Elkasaites given by Hippolytus. It is confirmed by Origen and Epiphanius. Origen adds that they reject portions of the Old Testament, presumably such as enjoin sacrifices, and of the Gospel ; they repudiate St. Paul altogether ; they claim the liberty to deny Christ with their lips, provided they confess Him in their heart.³ Epiphanius, who distributes his information about them over what he has to tell of Essenes,⁴ Ebionites,⁵ and Sampsaeans,⁶ represents the Elkasaites as but a variety of the Ebionites to be identified with the Sampsaeans whose name appears to be connected with the Essene practice of invoking the sun at dawn.⁷ 'They are neither Christians nor Jews nor heathen,' he continues, 'but something between all three—or rather, nothing at all.'⁸

So sure and yet so slow was the decline of Jewish Christendom. St. Paul dealt the Judaizers their first blow. In the next generation, isolation and diminishing numbers reduced the vitality of Jewish Christians. To judge by the letters of Ignatius, Judaizers among them retained vigour enough in his day to disturb some of the churches of Asia ; while the anti-Judaic heat of the *Epistle of Barnabas*⁹ may best be accounted for by supposing that there were Judaizing Christians, and not only Jews, who, as he contends, 'ought to have known better', in Alexandria. Such was the volume of force in Jewish Christendom at the beginning of the second century. By its end, in the days of Hippolytus, it had trickled away into non-Christian channels ; and such rills of it as, in the fourth century, still retained the flavour of the original Christian orthodoxy, excited curiosity rather than serious interest in the mind of Epiphanius or of Jerome.

¹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 16 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 468-9 ; *P. G.* xvii. 3391 sqq.).

² *Ibid.*, § 14 (Origen, *Op.* vi. iii. 464-5 ; *P. G.* xvii. 3390 B).

³ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xxxviii.

⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xix.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxx.

⁶ *Ibid.* liii.

⁷ Josephus, *De bello Iudaico*, ii. viii. 5 (*Opera*, v. 163 : Teubner), and Σαμψαῖοι γὰρ ἐρμηνεύονται Ἡλιακοί, Epiph. *Haer.* liii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 462 ; *P. G.* xli. 961 A).

⁸ Epiphanius, *Haer.* liii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 461 ; *P. G.* xli. 960 B).

⁹ Cf. Document No. 7.

CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH OF GENTILE CHRISTENDOM,

A. D. 100–150

As Jewish Christendom declined, the growth of Gentile Christendom, to *c.* 150, went on apace.

§ 1. To take, first, its extension throughout and even beyond the Empire.¹

During the reign of Trajan, 98–117, the head-quarters of Christendom lay for the East in Antioch, and for the West in Rome. These two centres of Gentile Christianity were the *terminus a quo*² and the *terminus ad quem*³ respectively of St. Paul's missionary journeys in the first century; and, in the fourth and fifth, when the liturgies of the Church appear in definite shape, their affinities suggest an ultimate classification into two groups (exclusive of the Egyptian rite) which run back the one upon Antioch and the other upon Rome as the old head-quarters of Christendom in East and West. From Antioch was christianized, by the opening of the second century, the West and the North-West of Asia Minor. There were churches in the cities to which St. John⁴ and St. Ignatius⁵ wrote, *c.* 95–115; and in Bithynia, according to the letter, A.D. 112, of Pliny to Trajan, Christian influences of long standing and strong. Some who 'had been Christians', he tells the Emperor, 'had ceased to be such some three years ago, some a good many years, and one as many as twenty'.⁶ Their 'number' included 'many of all ages and every rank and even of both sexes'; and 'the contagion of that superstition has penetrated not the cities only but the villages and the country'.⁷ He then goes on to speak of 'the temples' as 'having been deserted', of 'the ceremonies of religion' as 'long disused'; and adds that, though 'fodder for victims now finds a market, buyers

¹ Cf. A. Harnack, *The expansion of Christianity*, from which much in this section is taken.

² Acts xiii. 1, xiv. 26, xv. 35 sq., xviii. 22 sq.

³ Acts xix. 21, xxiii. 11, xxviii. 14; Rom. i. 15.

⁴ Rev. i. 4, 11, ii, iii.

⁵ See chap. viii.

⁶ *C. Plini et Traiani Epist.* xvi, § 6, and Document No. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 9.

till recently were very few'.¹ Bithynia may have been exceptional, but Christianity had penetrated further still; for in Amisus² (now Samsun), a city of Pontus on the Euxine, Christians can be shown to have been living in the last quarter of the first century.³ In the West, as well, by the end of the days of Trajan, Christianity had made good its footing. In Rome, as is evident from the Epistles of Clement and Ignatius, there was not merely an organized but an influential⁴ church; and churches, perhaps, in other places, for Ignatius writes of 'bishops' as 'settled in the farthest parts of the earth'.⁵ Elsewhere, Christians, though hardly churches as yet, made the Name known, for St. Paul probably carried out his intended visit to Spain,⁶ when, as Clement has it, 'he reached the farthest bounds of the West'.⁷

A generation later, by the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161-†80, churches, or Christians, are found not only in all the Roman provinces, but beyond the limits of the Empire; and the churches of Christendom form a united whole, under common leadership, with a well-organized polity.

Thus in Palestine, though the Jewish Christians were few and did not, even in Origen's day, amount to 144,000,⁸ and the Gentile Christians were not many, there was a bishop at Aelia, 155-6, Marcus, by name, the first Gentile bishop of that city,⁹ while the first recorded bishop of Caesarea was Theophilus,¹⁰ c. 190.

In Coele-Syria, on the other hand, there was at Antioch a strong church centre with a line of bishops from Euodius¹¹ and Ignatius onwards. They presided over 'the church of Syria'¹² and not merely of the town.¹³ And there were 'churches near' to Antioch—

¹ *C. Plini et Traiani Epist.* xcvi, § 10.

² A road from Antioch 'went north from the [Cilician] Gates by Tyana and Caesarea of Cappadocia to Amisos in Pontus, the great harbour of the Black Sea, by which the trade of Central Asia was carried to Rome', W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 10. 'The early foundation of churches in Cappadocia and Pontus (1 Pet. i. 1) was due to this line of communication,' *ibid.* 10, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.* 211, 225.

⁴ Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* iii, § 2.

⁶ Rom. xv. 24.

⁷ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* v, § 7; and Document No. 11.

⁸ Origen, *In Ioann.* tom. i, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 2; *P. G.* xiv. 24 c).

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vi. 4, v. xii. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v. xxii, xxiii. 2, xxv.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii. xxii.

¹² 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Συρίᾳ is the phrase of Ign. *ad Eph.* xxi, § 2; cf. *ad Magn.* xiv; *ad Trall.* xiii, § 1.

¹³ 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας is the phrase of Ign. *ad Philad.* x, § 1, and *ad Polycarpum*, vii, § 1.

possibly Seleucia among them—with bishops, presbyters, and deacons of their own.¹ In Antioch, too, there were rival Christian teachers, for Saturnilus, *c.* 120, one of the earlier Gnostics there,² exhibits that very Docetism³ which his bishop Ignatius had condemned.⁴ It was a Greek Christianity that ruled in Antioch, and a Greek Christian propaganda that emanated thence: Theophilus,⁵ bishop of Antioch, *c.* 180, is one of the Greek apologists.

But behind Antioch lay a Syriac-speaking hinterland, which found in Edessa, the modern Urfa,⁶ a centre for the propagation of Syriac Christianity. Under Trajan, Edessa, the capital of Osrhoene, was stormed, 116, by Lusius Quietus; but, for a hundred years afterwards, the country retained its independence. It was not incorporated into the Roman Empire till 216, when its king, Abgar IX, was sent in chains to Rome.⁷ During this interval the Church established itself in Edessa,⁸ in a Syriac-speaking city, with a native dynasty and a Syriac culture—the only example of a non-Greek culture at that period known. A Jew from Palestine named Addai took advantage of this culture, common to Edessa and his own people, to preach the Gospel there before A.D. 150, and of this preaching the legend of the correspondence between Abgar and our Lord⁹ may be regarded as a memorial. Addai died in peace, and was succeeded by Aggai the martyr, and he by Hystasp. In the days of this last the church of Edessa gained a distinguished convert in Bardaisan. He was born at Edessa, 154, and baptized, 179; but Syriac culture failed to retain him, and he died a Gnostic, 222. Meanwhile Osrhoene had been incorporated by Caracalla, 211–†17,

¹ αἱ ἑγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι, *ad Philad.* x, § 2.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, § 1 (*Op.* 100; *P. G.* vii. 673 sq.); Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii. 3; and Document No. 70.

³ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv., § 2 (*Op.* 100; *P. G.* vii. 674 B).

⁴ Specially in Tralles and in Smyrna. Cf. Ign. *ad Trall.* ix, x; *ad Smyrn.* i–vii; and Document No. 18.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xx, xxiv; for his *Ad Autolycum*, see *P. G.* vi. 1023–1168.

⁶ Edessa lay about 20 miles east of the Euphrates. Its original Aramaic name was Urhâi: whence Osrhoene (Orrhoene) for the district, and Urfa for the town. Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 6.

⁷ For the secular history of Edessa and the conquest of Osrhoene, see Gibbon, *c.* viii (ed. Bury, i. 207).

⁸ For this reconstruction of the early ecclesiastical history of Edessa, see Burkitt, *op. cit.* 34 sq. After a similar criticism of the fragmentary sources, Dr. W. A. Wigram also ‘inclines to admit . . . the traditional founding of this Church [of Edessa, and so ultimately of the Church in Persia] by Mar Adai at the close of the first century’: see W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, 30.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* i. xiii.

into the Roman Empire, and Palût, originally the leader of a mission from Antioch but afterwards represented as the disciple of Aggai, became leader of the Catholic church in Edessa. He was consecrated bishop of Edessa by Serapion,¹ bishop of Antioch, 199-†211. The churches of Osrhoene were represented, with churches as far afield as Pontus and Gaul, in synodical action over the Easter question²; while Tatian,³ 'born', as he tells us, 'in the land of the Assyrians'⁴ and sharing the Syriac culture of Osrhoene, became a pupil of Justin at Rome, c. 160, and ranks amongst Western apologists with his master.

Christianity in Egypt hardly appears at this period. There is no mention of Alexandria in the New Testament, save as the home of Apollos. To his education there he owed it that he was 'a learned man' and 'mighty in the scriptures'⁵ of the Old Testament. But they carried him 'only' as far as 'the baptism of John,'⁶ and his Christianity he owed to Prisca and Aquila.⁷ But Christians must have been present there, and in some numbers, from early days; for Eusebius has preserved a list, which is probably authentic, of bishops of Alexandria from St. Mark onwards.⁸ 'Demetrius,'⁹ however, is the first bishop of that see, 189-†232, of any importance. But in his day the Church of Alexandria is a stately church, with 'a school of sacred learning'.¹⁰ It must therefore have been well rooted by the middle of the second century. Certainly, there was opposition to the Gospel, and consequently activity there. If *the Epistle of Barnabas*¹¹ belongs to Alexandria, the tone of the church in Egypt was anti-Judaic: and this one would expect from the presence of a strong, because liberal, Judaism in Alexandria. There are traces also of a local *Gospel according to the Egyptians*¹² which was heretical, and the Gnostics, Basilides¹³ and Valentinus,¹⁴ taught there. But these influences were lived down, and the church of Alex-

¹ For Serapion see Eus. *H. E.* v. xix. 1, xxii, vi. xii.

² Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii. 2.

³ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxix.

⁴ Tatian, *Ad Graecos*, § 42 (*P. G.* vi. 888 A).

⁵ Acts xviii. 24.

⁶ Acts xviii. 25.

⁷ Acts xviii. 26.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* ii. xvi. 1, xxiv; iii. xiv, xxi. 1, 2; iv. i. 1, iv, v. 5, xi. 6, xix, and v. ix.

⁹ Ibid. v. xxii.

¹⁰ Ibid. v. x. 1.

¹¹ q. v. in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 243 sqq.

¹² For its extant fragments see E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 2 sq.

¹³ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii. 3.

¹⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxi, §§ 2, 7 (*Op.* i. 164, 171; *P. G.* xli. 476 A, 485 c).

andria is found not only in correspondence but also in agreement with other characters of Christendom, *c.* 190, over the Easter question.¹

In Asia Minor, *par excellence* the Christian country of the Apostolic age, fourteen new towns with Christian communities make their appearance between the days of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius: Sinope in Pontus, as the birthplace of Marcion where his father was bishop²; Philomelium in Pisidia as the recipient of the letter³ in which the church of Smyrna describes the martyrdom of Polycarp, 156; Parium on the Hellespont in the *Acts of Onesiphorus*⁴; Nicomedia⁵ in Bithynia and Amastris⁶ in Pontus, as recipients of letters from Dionysius of Corinth, *c.* 170; Hieropolis⁷ in Phrygia, as the see of Abercius Marcellus, who made the grand tour of the Christian world from Nisibis to Rome⁸; its neighbour Otrous⁹ which, with Ardabau in Mysia,¹⁰ and Pepuza,¹¹ Tymion,¹¹ Apamea,¹² Comana,¹² and Eumenia¹³—all in Phrygia—occur in connexion with the Montanist movement, as does Ancyra¹⁴ in Galatia. In the matter of Easter there was a synod in Pontus, *c.* 190, over which Palmas, bishop of Amastris, presided.¹⁵ Finally, Asia Minor was the scene of the exploits of the two quacks who figure in the pages of the heathen satirist, Lucian of Samosata, *c.* 120–†200. He wrote his *Peregrinus Proteus*, 165, and his *Alexander of Abunotichus*, 180. Peregrinus became a Christian, and was put into prison for it. But never in his life had he been so well off as when in gaol. His fellow-Christians tried to ‘rescue him’: then ‘when this was found to be impossible, they looked after his wants with unremitting care and zeal. In the day-time their widows and orphan children waited about the doors of his prison; their clergy, bribing the keepers, kept him company at night. Dainties were smuggled in for him, and ‘from certain of the cities of Asia deputies were sent by the Christian com-

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxv.

² Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 B).

³ *Martyrium Polycarpi*, ad init. *ap.* J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 189; and Document No. 36.

⁴ *Acta Onesiphori*, ii, § 19, *ap.* *Acta SS. Sept.* ii. 665 E.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. xxiii. 6.

⁷ To be distinguished from Hierapolis on the Maeander, of Col. iv. 13. See J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 478.

⁸ See his epitaph, text and translation in *ibid.* 480 sq., Document No. 64.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v. xvi. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.* v. xviii. 2.

¹² *Ibid.* v. xvi. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.* v. xvi. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* v. xvi. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* v. xxiii. 2.

munities to assist and advise and console the man'.¹ It is evidence, if not of great numbers, at any rate of the zeal and the simplicity of the Christians in Asia at the middle of the second century. In his sketch of the other mountebank, Alexander of Abunotichus in Pontus, Lucian bears incidental testimony to their numbers and their good sense. Alexander found 'Pontus full of atheists and Christians',² and, as a professional medium, he disliked them. They were not credulous enough for a successful seance. So 'Out with the Christians!' and 'Out with the Epicureans!'³ preceded every performance. Of the churches of proconsular Asia we have ample evidence at this period. Melito was bishop of Sardis,⁴ 160-80; Pergamum was the scene of the martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice, 161-9, of whom Papyrus describes himself as of Thyatira and, from his answers before the Proconsul, would seem to have been bishop of his church.⁵

In Crete there was a bishop at Gortyna⁶ and at the capital Cnossus⁷: both occur among the correspondents of Dionysius of Corinth.

In the Balkan peninsula Primus⁸ and, after him, Dionysius⁹ were bishops at Corinth; and the correspondence of the latter shows churches at Lacedaemon¹⁰ and at Athens, where allusion is made to its former bishop, Publius the martyr, and to its then bishop, as he probably was, Quadratus.¹¹ The Emperor Antoninus Pius, 138-†61, is asserted by Melito, bishop of Sardis, to have written to the cities about the churches of Larissa in Thessaly and Thessalonica.¹² The letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, c. 115, is still extant.¹³

¹ Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, §§ 12, 13 (*Op.* iii. 274 sq.: ed. Teubner). Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*², II. i. 130 for text, and for translation, *ibid.* 332 sq., and Document No. 51. Cf. J. A. Froude, *Short Studies in Great Subjects*, iii. 304 (ed. 1879).

² Lucian, *Alexander*, § 25 (*Op.* ii. 127: ed. Teubner), quoted in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 516: see A. M. Campbell-Davidson, *Translations from Lucian*, 187.

³ *Ibid.* § 38 (*Op.* ii. 133: ed. Teubner), quoted in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 516: see *Translations from Lucian*, 194.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, and M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, i. 113-25.

⁵ *Acta Carpi*, &c., §§ 26-32, ap. R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 13; cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, I. ii. 625.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 5, xxv.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. xxiii. 7.

⁸ Hegesippus, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxii. 2.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* § 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 2, 3.

¹² Melito, *Apology* [? 169-76], ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi. 10

¹³ q. v. in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), text and tr., 165 sqq.; and Document No. 20.

Passing to Italy, the church of Rome has the testimony of Ignatius to its influence¹ and of Dionysius of Corinth to its wealth²: the Shepherd of Hermas affords evidence of both,³ while the *Acts of Justin* bear witness to its numbers.⁴ There must have been wealthy Christians at Naples also; for Naples has its catacombs⁵ dating from a period not much later than the Cemetery of Domitilla to the south-east and of Priscilla to the north-east of Rome. These, as perhaps those of Naples, were private burial-places, legally held by wealthy patronesses, and lent to the use of their poorer co-religionists.

In the south of Gaul there had been for generations a Greek population in close touch with Asia. We have no direct proof that the church of Marseilles was Greek; but it must have been so. For otherwise the churches of Lyons and Vienne could never have been Greek, as clearly they were from the letter they wrote, A.D. 177, in Greek to 'the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia'.⁶ So too, in all probability, were the Christians of the valley of the Rhone. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, c. 180–†200, certainly mentions Keltic Christians among his flock, and thinks that he spoke more often in Keltic than in Greek.⁷ But the Marcosians,⁸ of Gnostic and therefore of Greek origin, were in force in these regions, c. 150; and the churches of southern Gaul corresponded in Greek with the other churches of Christendom, c. 190, over the matter of Easter.⁹

In Africa, also, the educated spoke Greek; but the people were largely Punic in language. A Latinizing movement was making head¹⁰ in the second century, as may be inferred from the Latin names of the martyrs from Scillium¹¹ in Numidia, 17 July

¹ Ign. *ad Rom.* i, § 2.

² q. v. in Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 9–12, and Document No. 54.

³ Hermas, *Pastor*, Mand. x. i. 4; Sim. viii. ix. 1; Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged ed.), 332, 368.

⁴ *Acta Iustini*, § 3; Document No. 49.

⁵ F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, ii. 2444.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 3–63; and Document No. 57.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* Praef., § 3 (*Op.* 4; *P. G.* vii, 444 A); i. x. 2 (*Op.* 49; *P. G.* vii. 553 A). Cf. iii. iv. 2 (*Op.* 178; *P. G.* vii. 855 c).

⁸ Ibid. i. xiii. 7 (*Op.* 65; *P. G.* vii. 592 A).

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii. 2, xxiv. 11–18.

¹⁰ Cf. 'Loquitur nunquam nisi Punice, et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat; enim Latine neque vult neque potest,' Apuleius [of Madaura, in Zeugitana, fl. c. 160], *Apologia*, § 98 (*Op.* ii. i. 109: ed. Teubner). He is here speaking of a young man.

¹¹ *Passio Martyrum Scillitanorum*, ed. J. A. Robinson, in *Texts and Studies*, i. 112–17; and Document No. 67.

180, with whom the African Church first comes into view. But the earliest African martyr, Namphamo, was, to judge by his name, of Punic origin.¹ The Christianizing of the Punic population would have meant their Latinizing, and this they resisted. The Latin colonists, however, must have yielded converts in considerable numbers, both in Carthage and throughout Africa,² by c. 200, when Tertullian wrote; though only in four other towns does he actually imply Christian churches, viz. Uthina³ in Zeugitana, Hadrumetum⁴ and Thysdrus⁵ in Byzauna, and Lambaesa,⁶ the chief military dépôt of Africa, in Numidia. The Bible probably first appeared in Latin⁷ for the use of Christians in Africa; and Africa became the home of a Latin theology and a Christian literature in Latin well-stocked with military terms,⁸ for Tertullian, its creator, was a soldier's son.⁹ Thus neither Scriptures nor worship were in Punic, and, while the Latin population became steadily Christian from the second century, the earlier colonists of Punic tongue, though here and there Christian in the fifth century, had never gone over *en masse* to the Faith, and so fell an easy prey—as did the Berber natives—to Mohammedanism in the seventh.

Spain we know to have been thoroughly Latinized in the first century; but beyond the vague and somewhat rhetorical references of Irenaeus¹⁰ to churches, and of Tertullian¹¹ to Christians, in Spain, we have no information of the extension of the Church there during the second. The same references cover Germany.

§ 2. We pass now to the chief agencies of this extension. Some of them were official, and among these, of course, the itinerant

¹ Namphamo is spoken of by a pagan correspondent of Augustine's as the 'archimartyr' of Africa, and the name as Punic by Augustine: see Aug. *Epp.* xvi, § 2, xvii, § 2 [A. D. 390] (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* xxxiii. 82 sq.).

² e. g. Tertullian, *Apology* [A. D. 197], xxxviii; *Ad Scapulam* [A. D. 212], ii. v. (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 462 sq., 700 B, 704 B, C).

³ Tert. *De Monogamia* [c. A. D. 217], c. xii (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 947 C).

⁴ Tert. *Ad Scap.*, c. iii. (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 702 B).

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. iv (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 703 A).

⁶ 'Nam et nunc a praeside legionis, et a praeside Mauretaniae vexatur hoc nomen,' *ibid.*, c. iv (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 704 A). The legion was the Third Legion, stationed at Lambaesa (now Lambessa, in Algiers), just north of Mount Aureg, the military capital of Numidia.

⁷ See s. v. 'Latin versions, The Old' in *H. D. B.* iii. 54, 56.

⁸ e. g. 'Statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit, nam et militia Dei sumus,' Tertullian, *De Oratione*, c. xix (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 1183 A).

⁹ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liii (*Op.* ii. 890; *P. L.* xxiii. 661 C).

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. x. 2 (*Op.* 49; *P. G.* vii. 552 sq.).

¹¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Iudaeos*, c. vii (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 610 sq.).

or general ministry with which the Church began. Clement of Rome tells how Apostles 'preached everywhere in country and town' 'before they appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe'.¹ The *Didaché* preserves the association of 'apostles and prophets',² as originally found in the New Testament,³ and as afterwards remembered in the *Te Deum*, which ranks together 'the glorious company of the Apostles' and 'the goodly fellowship of the [Christian] Prophets' as the agents of the spread of the Gospel in earlier days. The credit of the Prophet, however, was waning as early as the *Didaché*, for false prophets were becoming common.⁴ Moreover, his office was undergoing a change: provision is made for his settling in the community,⁵ in a word, he is passing from the general to the local ministry. Here he is associated with the teacher,⁶ and teachers, it would seem, though they belonged to the local and not to the general ministry, took, as a class, an important share in the establishment, if not in the propagation, of the faith. They were supported by the community,⁷ a custom which throws into relief the step taken by Origen when, with a view to the independence proper, as he thought to a teacher, he sold his books for a trifling annuity.⁸ But though thus dependent on the community the teacher, among Christians as among Jews, was held in high repute. It was a fine thing, in the days of our Lord on earth⁹ and His Apostles,¹⁰ to be a teacher; and in the second century, as then,¹¹ any cleric, from a bishop to a catechist, would have felt it a further distinction to be counted a teacher. The highest that can be said in the *Didaché* for bishops and deacons is that 'they are your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers'.¹² The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* claims a hearing 'not as though I were a teacher but as one of yourselves.'¹³ Hermas, in *The Shepherd*, treats teachers as authoritative,¹⁴

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlii, § 4; cf. Hermas, *Pastor*, Sim. ix. xxv, § 2.

² *Didaché*, xi, § 3.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11.

⁴ *Didaché*, xi, §§ 3-12.

⁵ Ibid. xiii, §§ 1-3.

⁶ Ibid. xiii, § 2.

⁷ Ibid. xiii, § 2; quoting Matt. x. 10; cf. Gal. vi. 6; Document No. 13.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vi. iii, § 10.

⁹ Matt. xxiii. 8.

¹⁰ Jas. iii. 1; Rom. ii. 19 sq.; 1 Tim. i. 7.

¹¹ Thus a presbyter was to be 'apt to teach', 1 Tim. iii. 2; Timothy was to give attention to teaching, 1 Tim. iv. 13, 16; presbyters who 'taught' as well as 'ruled' were to have double stipend, 1 Tim. v. 17. A layman, too, might teach, Rom. xii. 7, unless—as is hardly likely—we have here a list of office-bearers.

¹² *Didaché*, xv, § 2.

¹³ *Ep. Barn.* i, § 8.

¹⁴ *Mand.* IV, iii, § 1.

ranks them with Apostles, and says that they were inspired.¹ At Rome, in his day, in an answer to Marcion, 'presbyters and teachers' are ranked side by side.² And in Asia Polycarp was esteemed not only as 'the glorious martyr' and 'a bishop of the holy [*v. l.* Catholic] Church which is in Smyrna' but as 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our time'.³

Nor did the activity and influence of Christian teachers fall short of their reputation. They set up schools as did Justin⁴ and Tatian,⁵ or had charge of them, like Pantaenus.⁶ Here they carried on a propaganda. They found similar opportunity when serving as tutors in private houses: for so Ptolemaeus met his death for converting the wife of a pagan husband.⁷ They held public discussions, after the manner of Justin with the heathen Cresceus⁸ or with Trypho the Jew.⁹ And they both claimed¹⁰ and received the freedom accorded to philosophers¹¹: for Christianity resembled philosophy in the contempt with which it was treated by practical men—as neutralized by the multiplicity of its sects.¹¹ It was, however, neither as sophist nor as private tutor nor as public disputant that the ordinary Christian teacher found occasion; but in giving the Oral Instruction to candidates for baptism.

Such a system of instruction had been common amongst the Jews. It was given in the synagogue, which served as the village school, by 'the attendant'¹² as schoolmaster.¹³ Its subject-matter was the Law¹⁴ and 'the tradition of the elders',¹⁵ and its result that the Jews were a moral people. They often made boast of their moral superiority¹⁶ in a tone that earned them the cordial detestation of their neighbours, Christian¹⁷ and heathen.¹⁸ But the Christians paid them the compliment of requiring from

¹ *Sim.* ix, xxv. § 2.

² Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 303; *P. G.* xli. 697 A).

³ *Martyrium Polycarpi*, xvi, § 2. For the substitution of 'Catholic' for the 'holy' of Lightfoot's text, see F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, s. v. Catholique, ii. 2626.

⁴ *Acta Iustini*, § 2, Document No. 49.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxviii. § 1.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* v. x, § 1.

⁷ Justin, *Apol.* ii, § 2 (*Op.*, 89; *P. G.* vi. 445 A); and Document No. 43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* 91; *P. G.* vi. 449 B).

⁹ *Dialogus cum Tryphone*; *Op.* 101-232 (*P. G.* vi. 471-800). Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* i (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 597 A).

¹⁰ Tertullian, *Apol.* xlvi (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 502 A).

¹¹ *Ibid.* xlvii (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 519 A).

¹² Luke iv. 20.

¹³ *H. D. B.* iv. 641.

¹⁴ Rom. ii. 18.

¹⁵ Mark vii. 5; Gal. i. 14.

¹⁶ Rom. iii. 17-20.

¹⁷ 1 Thess. ii. 15.

¹⁸ Esther iii. 8.

Gentile converts the same abstentions,¹ and no more, that Jews required of their proselytes; while it is certain that, whereas personal and social purity was almost unknown with the average pagan,² the ordinary Jewish home was pure. One of the best proofs of this is that, to judge from the letters of St. Peter and St. Paul, sensuality was, in their eyes, the standing obstacle to true Christianity among their converts³; but St. James, who writes to people of Jewish birth, says hardly⁴ a word about it. He confines his warnings to such sins as those of the orthodox⁵ and the trader.⁶ And if we seek for the cause of this moral superiority of Jew to Gentile, it lies in the fact that the heathen had not, and the Jew had, received definite instruction in elementary morals as part of his religious training. He knew exactly what he ought, and ought not, to do, and he also had a clear sense of obligation about it. Of such Oral Instruction a specimen has come down to us in the Jewish manual of elementary moral teaching for proselytes, which underlies the first six chapters of the *Didaché*.⁷

§ 3. This system of Oral Instruction was taken over by the Church. St. Mark, it seems,⁸ had occupied the post of *hazzān* or 'attendant' in the synagogue before he accompanied St. Barnabas and St. Paul on their first missionary journey. Afterwards he served St. Peter, according to Papias,⁹ in a similar capacity. He represents, therefore, the continuity of the system as transplanted from Jewish to Christian soil.¹⁰ There it also found un-

¹ Acts xv. 29.

² 1 Cor. v. 10. We have only to think how, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, pre-nuptial unchastity is condoned among certain classes in England to get a mental picture of the moral condition of the heathen world.

³ e. g. 1 Pet. iv. 1-4; 2 Pet. i. 4; 1 Thess. iv. 1-8; 1 Cor. v; Eph. v. 1-14, &c.

⁴ He mentions it in i. 21, but in ii. 11 he implies that his readers took credit for keeping the seventh commandment. Cf. 'I think that the nearly complete absence of warnings against sins of the flesh in the Epistle of St. James is evidence both that this Epistle was written to Jews, and that in such matters Jewish morality was higher than that of the heathen world', G. Salmon, *Introduction to N. T.*, 468 (ed. 7, Murray, 1894).

⁵ Jas. i. 22-7, ii, iii.

⁶ Jas. iv. 1-10, 13-17, v. 1-6.

⁷ q. v. in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition): text, 217-20; tr. 229-32, and Document No. 13. For this theory of a Jewish original to cc. i-vi, see G. Salmon, *op. cit.*, 560.

⁸ If the Greek of Acts xiii. 5 means 'And they had with them also John, the synagogue attendant': so Dr. F. H. Chase in *H. D. B.* iii. 245, s. v. 'Mark (John)'; for *ὑπηρέτης* = 'the attendant', see Luke iv. 20.

⁹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxix. 15.

¹⁰ For catechist and catechumens see Gal. vi. 6.

official but none the less capable exponents. 'He that teacheth' gave himself 'to his teaching'¹; and Prisca and Aquila completed the religious education of the teacher Apollos.² It found pupils, too, as apt as Apollos: the cultivated heathen Theophilus, whose course of instruction³ is preserved in the Gospel according to St. Luke; the Greek-speaking catechumens of Jewish birth, for whose benefit the Gospel according to St. Matthew came into being; and the Romans, who followed St. Peter's instructions⁴ as reported in the Gospel according to St. Mark. Our first Gospel is marked by numerical arrangements and by repetition of formulae⁵ as aids to learning by rote. It would not have been necessary for St. Matthew's readers to learn the elements of morals in this way. That they would have done as Jews, just as the Ethiopian eunuch, by reason of his preliminary training in Judaism, needed no moral instruction but could be baptized at once.⁶ But just as they had committed to memory parts of the Law and of its expansion, ceremonial and moral, in *Halakhah* and *Haggadah* respectively, so they would now be instructed in the Gospel story and learn by heart whole sections of our Lord's teaching. The *Didaché*, on the other hand, according to its full title, represents what was given as 'the teaching of the Lord through His Twelve Apostles to the heathen'. For in cc. i-vi

¹ Rom. xii. 7.² Acts xviii. 24-6.

³ Luke i. 4. We notice that it contained the account of our Lord's miraculous conception and birth of a Virgin; and this, though absent from St. Mark and not part therefore of the original apostolic preaching to Jews or heathen, was part of the instruction given to them, once converted. So of St. Matt. i, ii, where it is told from Joseph's point of view, and may have got into the catechetical teaching of the church of Jerusalem because the earliest bishops of that see were Joseph's sons by a former marriage. In St. Luke i, ii, it is told from Mary's point of view, and may have reached St. Luke through his intimacy with the court of Herod (Luke xxiii. 8-12), and so with 'Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward'. Joanna was one of the women who 'ministered to' our Lord 'of their substance', and may well have known all from His mother (Luke viii. 3, xxiii. 49, 55).

⁴ Papias *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix. 15.

⁵ e. g. the number five, in the five blocks of discourse ending with the formula, 'And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these sayings'. in Matt. vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 11, xxvi. 1: see Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*², 163 sqq. To the reasons there adduced for the use of the number five in teaching, may be added the practical one that teacher and taught possess five fingers on each hand and five toes to each foot. A teacher of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa once explained, in the author's hearing, how her class learned to count. They sat in a half-circle round the teacher, feet inwards. You count up to twenty on your own fingers and toes; after that, you go on with the next boy's toes.

⁶ Acts viii. 38.

they would begin with instruction in Christian morals and learn, for the first time, that it is a sin 'to do murder, to commit adultery, to corrupt boys, to commit fornication, to steal, to deal in magic, to do sorcery, to murder a child by [procuring] abortion, and to kill them when born'.¹ They would then be ready to join their Jewish fellow-converts in learning what would be new to both—about the Worship, the Order, and the Future of the Church. This is contained in cc. vii–xvi which cover instruction as to Baptism, Fasting and Prayer, the Agape, the general Ministry, the Lord's Day and the Eucharist, its ministries, the local bishops and deacons, and that to which it looks forward²—His coming again. Other elements, no doubt, found a place in this oral teaching for Christians: for creeds,³ and hymns,⁴ and the Liturgy,⁵ and maxims of conduct,⁶ were evidently part of 'the tradition' of St. Paul to his Gentile churches. He refers to these things as if all his readers knew them. And the whole is commended, by contrast with 'Jewish fables and commandments of men'⁷ on the one side and on the other with 'old wives' tales'⁸ and 'the knowledge falsely so-called',⁹ as 'good'¹⁰ and 'wholesome'¹¹ teaching'; because, while concerned with doctrine in our unfortunately narrower sense of the term and with church order as means, its aim and character is moral.

§ 4. And this will account for the result of the system of Oral Instruction as seen in the rapid growth and deep impression made by the Church, out of all proportion whether to the numbers or to the rank of Christians.

Their numbers may have appeared greater than they were: for Christians corresponded and also travelled freely in the second century. Thus Clement wrote to the Corinthians: and was

¹ *Didaché*, c. 2 (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* [abridged edition], 229 sq.).

² 1 Cor. xi. 26.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 6, xv. 3 sq.; 1 Tim. i. 15, iii. 16.

⁴ For the mention of them, and that as intended for 'teaching', see Col. iii. 16; Eph. iii. 19; and cf. the didactic function of O. T. songs, such as the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) and The Song of the Bow (2 Sam. i. 19–27): see Deut. xxxi. 19, and 2 Sam. i. 18; and for specimens, note the hymns (1) On Baptism, Eph. v. 14; (2) On Redemption, 1 Tim. i. 15; (3) On the Incarnation and Exaltation, 1 Tim. iii. 16; (4) On the Glories of Martyrdom, 2 Tim. ii. 11–13; and (5) On the Way of Salvation, Titus, iii. 4–7. Cf. H. P. Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord*, 332 n.

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 23–34. This too was part of the *παράδοσις*, *ibid.* 23; for which cf. 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 2.

⁶ Titus iii. 8.

⁷ Titus i. 14.

⁸ 1 Tim. iv. 7.

⁹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

¹⁰ *καλὴ*, 1 Tim. iv. 6.

¹¹ *ὕγιαινονσα*, 1 Tim. i. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 3; and Titus i. 9, ii. 1.

expected, in the *Shepherd*, 'to send to the foreign churches, for this is his duty'¹; Ignatius, to churches in Asia, to the Romans, and to Polycarp; Polycarp himself to the Philippians; while Dionysius of Corinth positively revelled in correspondence with an 'industry' that Eusebius calls 'inspired'.² Such letters were of sufficient importance to be tampered with,³ and they had a circulation beyond their original recipients. Thus the letters of St. Paul were known to Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp,⁴ and Marcion⁵; that of Clement of Rome to Polycarp,⁶ Irenaeus,⁷ and Clement of Alexandria⁸; those of Ignatius to the Philippians,⁹ to Irenaeus,¹⁰ and to Origen¹¹; the *Didaché* circulated both in East¹² and West¹³ in the second century, while the *Shepherd* at that epoch was known at Lyons,¹⁴ Alexandria,¹⁵ and Carthage.¹⁶ The Apologists also were widely read: for Justin was familiar to Irenaeus¹⁷ and Tertullian¹⁸; Tatian at Alexandria¹⁹; and though Christian literature in the eyes of Celsus was the work of ill-bred writers, nevertheless he had quite a fair library of it before he opened his attack on Christianity, c. 175, with *The True Account* of it. Where Christian letters could penetrate the Christian traveller, who carried them, penetrated also. He

¹ Hermas, *Pastor*, Vis. II, iv. 3, ap. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged) 409.

² Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, § 12.

⁴ Clement makes use of Rom., 1 Cor., Eph., 1 Tim. ?, Titus ?; Ignatius of 1 Cor., Eph., Phil. ?, 1 Thess. ?, Philem. ?; Polycarp of Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Gal., Eph. ?, Phil., 1 Thess. ?, 2 Thess. ?, 1 & 2 Tim., B. F. Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵ 48, n. 5.

⁵ Marcion acknowledged ten, *ibid.* 314.

⁶ Cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 149 sqq.

⁷ *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 3, and *ibid.* 156 sq.

⁸ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 158 sqq.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. i. 127 sq.

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxviii. 4, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxxvi. 12; and Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ii. i. 135.

¹¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ii. i. 136.

¹² Clem. Al. cites *Didaché* iii. 5 as Scripture; *Strom.* i. xx. (*Op.* 138; *P. G.* viii. 817 c).

¹³ It is cited in the pseudo-Cyprianic homily, *Adv. aleatores*, § 4 (*Cypriani Opera*, ed. G. Hartel, iii. p. 96).

¹⁴ Irenaeus quotes it as Scripture: *Adv. Haer.* iv. xx. 2 (*Op.* 253; *P. G.* vii. 1032 c).

¹⁵ Clement of Alexandria 'made considerable use of the work and seems to have appreciated it highly', Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 41.

¹⁶ Tertullian, when a Catholic, held it to be 'Scriptura' (*De Orat.*, c. xvi; *Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 1172); but when he became a Montanist, repudiated it (*De Pudicitia*, c. x; *Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 1000 B).

¹⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. vi. 2 (*Op.*, 233; *P. G.* vii. 987 B).

¹⁸ Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos*, c. v (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 548 A).

¹⁹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. xxi (*Op.* 138; *P. G.* viii. 820 A).

would carry with him letters of commendation,¹ and find hospitality and Godspeed from church to church.² Thus from the provinces to Rome in the second century went a constant stream, as Irenaeus tells us, of 'the faithful who are from everywhere'³; and it was not so much, in his view, the truth which they found there, as the truth which they brought with them thither that made the Roman church the reservoir of Christian tradition. To Rome then journeyed Polycarp from Smyrna⁴; Valentinus from Egypt⁵; Cerdo from Syria⁶; Marcion from Sinope⁷; Justin from Samaria⁸; Tatian from Assyria; Hegesippus from Jerusalem⁹; Justin's pupils, Euelpestus from Cappadocia and Hierax from Phrygia¹⁰; Rhodon,¹¹ Irenaeus,¹² and Florinus¹³ from Asia; Proclus¹⁴ and other Montanists from Phrygia; and Praxeas, their adversary from the same region.¹⁵ But Christians also travelled from one provincial centre to another, as Melito from Sardis to Palestine¹⁶: while Clement of Alexandria is, in his own person, quite an epitome of the freedom and frequency of intercourse among Christians. As a youth he had been taught in Greece by a Christian who hailed from Ionia; in South Italy by one who came from Coele-Syria and by another from Egypt; in the East by others from Assyria and Palestine.¹⁷ Such habits of travel would tend to give an impression of ubiquity, and so to suggest that the numbers of Christians were in excess of their actual strength. In rank too they were of little account. Clement the freedman¹⁸ and Pius¹⁹ and Callistus,²⁰ who had been slaves, were bishops of Rome; though here and there a lady of distinction

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 1.

² Tertullian, *De Praescr. Heret.*, c. xx (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 32 A).

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 3 (*Op.* 176; *P. G.* vii. 849 A).

⁴ Irenaeus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv. 16.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iv. 3 (*Op.* 178; *P. G.* vii. 856 c); *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 1.

⁶ Ibid. i. xxvii. 1 (*Op.* 105; *P. G.* vii. 687 B); *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 2.

⁷ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 D).

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* iv. x. 8.

⁹ Ibid. iv. xxii. 1-3.

¹⁰ *Acta Iustini*, c. iv (R. Knopf, *Märtyrerakten*, p. 18).

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xiii, §§ 1, 8.

¹² Ibid. iv.

¹³ Ibid. v. xv, xx.

¹⁴ Ibid. ii. xxv. 6, iii. xxxi. 4, vi. xx. 3.

¹⁵ Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean*, c. i (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 155 B).

¹⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi. 14.

¹⁷ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 1 (*Op.* 118; *P. G.* viii. 697 B, 700 A).

¹⁸ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. i. 61.

¹⁹ *Muratorian Fragment*, line 75 sq.

²⁰ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix. 12; *ap.* Origen, *Opera*, vi. iii. 452-3 (*P. G.* xvii. 3379 B). The testimony of Hippolytus is that of an adversary.

as Justin tells us,¹ became a convert: or a man of wealth such as Marcion who, c. 139, made a present of some £1,700-£2,000 to the church of Rome.² But Christians admit their humble status,³ and take credit for it, as well they might.

For it was among the simple and uneducated that the system of Oral Instruction had fullest effect. It suited them: for 'the instruction', says Clement, 'is milk, the first nourishment of the soul: speculative vision is strong meat'.⁴ The *Didaché*, in particular, though 'a book not included in the Canon', was 'appointed by the Fathers', says Athanasius, 'to be read by those who are just recently coming to us and wish to be instructed in the way of godliness'.⁵ And the effect of such simple and direct instruction was seen in the changed lives of ordinary people; in their tenacious loyalty to a definite creed, in their equally clear and loyal observance of a morality as definite as the creed on which it depends. Thus, in Ignatius, while the men were heathen, their women-folk were devout adherents of the church: Gabia, the wife of the governor of Smyrna,⁶ and Alké, the sister of Nicetes, one of its opponents.⁷ Christian teaching, according to Celsus, was specially acceptable to women.⁸ Nor did they keep it to themselves. The daily life of a Christian wife was a revelation, says Tertullian, to her husband.⁹ Not less, according to Justin, the honour of a Christian in trade, to those who had dealings with him¹⁰; while Pliny assures us that such honour was the very heart of their worship. 'It was their habit', he says, 'on a fixed day to assemble before daylight, and sing by turns

¹ Justin, *Apol.* ii, § 2 (*Op.* 88 sq.; *P. L.* vi. 444 sqq.).

² 'Ducentis sestertiis,' Tertullian, *De Praescr. Haer.* c. xxx (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 42 A).

³ Cf. 'Studiorum rudes, literarum profanos, expertes artium etiam sordidarum,' Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. v (*P. L.* iii. 244 sq.); cf. cap. xii (*P. L.* iii. 271-3) and Document No. 66; Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, §§ 12, 13 (*Op.* iii. 274 sq.: ed. Teubner), and Document No. 51; Origen, c. *Celsus*, i, § 27, iii. §§ 18, 44 (*Op.* i. 346, 458, 475 sq.; *P. G.* xi. 712 B, c, 941 B, 976 sq.).

⁴ Γάλα μὲν ἡ κατήχησις, οἷον ἐν πρώτῃ ψυχῆς τροφή νοηθήσεται· βρώμα δὲ ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία, Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. x. 67 (*Op.* ii. 686; *P. G.* ix. 101 A).

⁵ Athanasius, *Festal Epistle*, xxxix, § 7 (*Select Works* 552; ed. A. Robertson, in *Lib. of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. iv).

⁶ Ignatius, *ad Smyrnaeos*, xiii, § 2, and *Ad Polycarpum*, viii, § 2.

⁷ Ibid. *ad Smyrn.* xiii, § 2; *ad Pol.* viii, § 3; and *Martyrium Polycarpi*, xvii, § 2.

⁸ Origen, c. *Celsus*, iii, § 44 (*Op.* i. 476; *P. G.* xi. 977 A).

⁹ Tertullian, *Ad Uxorem*, II, cc. iii-vi (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 1293 B sqq.).

¹⁰ Justin, *Apol.* i, § 16 (*Op.* 53; *P. G.* vi. 352. sq.), and Document No. 40.

a hymn to Christ as a god. Then they bound themselves with an oath, not for any crime, but not to commit theft or robbery or adultery, not to break their word, and not to deny a deposit when demanded.’¹ We need not be surprised that, in the opinion of the writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* ‘what the soul is in a body, this the Christians are in the world’²—its regenerating force; nor that the uneducated classes who owed most to the Gospel and its methods of oral instruction, were themselves its unofficial yet most ardent and effective missionaries. ‘We can see them’, writes Celsus, half in scorn and half in fear of this new enthusiasm, ‘in their own homes, wool-workers and shoemakers and fullers—men devoid of all culture—who will not dare to utter a syllable in the presence of their masters, men of gravity and insight; but when they get hold of the children privately, they recount all sorts of marvellous things. They tell them to pay no heed to their father or their teachers, but to obey *them*; that the former talk idle tales; that they alone can teach them how to live, and the secret of happiness. If they see any teacher or the fathers approach as they are speaking, the more cautious of them are alarmed. But those of greater impudence stimulate the children to throw off the reins, and whisper that they cannot give them any good instruction in the presence of fatuous and corrupt men who seek to punish them; but that they will attain to perfect knowledge if they go with the women and their play-mates into the women’s apartments, or into the workshop of the fuller or the shoemaker. And so saying, they persuade them.’³

¹ *C. Plini et Traiani Epist.* xvi, § 7.

² *The Epistle to Diognetus*, c. vi: ed. W. S. Walford (text and translation), Nisbet, 1908, and Document No. 29.

³ Origen, *c. Celsum*, iii, § 55 (*Op.* i. 484; *P. G.* xi. 993 A, B), trans. in John Patrick, *The Apology of Origen*, 38; and Document No. 61.

CHAPTER VI

THE GENTILE CHURCHES TO c. 150

(i) ROME

AFTER a general sketch of the growth of Gentile Christendom, we may now pass to the history of its chief churches ; and, first, of the church of Rome. Our knowledge of the Roman church during the sub-apostolic age is derived, in the main, from two sources : from the literary remains of its members, and from testimony borne to it by correspondents and visitors. Two of its members, at this period, were Clement, who sent, in its name, his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*,¹ and Hermas, the author of *The Shepherd*.² Among its friends was Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, the correspondent of Soter, bishop of Rome³ ; while both Hegesippus and Irenaeus visited the Roman church, and have left testimony to its succession of bishops.

§ 1. It will be convenient to begin with the early succession of bishops in Rome.⁴ Four lists of Roman bishops have come down to us.

First, stands the list of Hegesippus. He was of Jewish origin ; and to assure himself of the doctrinal accord between his native church and the churches of Gentile Christendom, he visited first Corinth and then Rome, c. 160. In the *Memoirs*, which he wrote on his return to Palestine, he tells us that ‘ when I went to Rome, I drew up [c. 170] a list of succession as far as Anicetus, whose deacon Eleutherus (then) was. After Anicetus, Soter succeeded, and after Soter, Eleutherus. But in every succession and in every city they adhered to the teaching of the Law and the Prophets and the Lord.’⁵ His list, it appears, was made from

¹ q. v. in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition) text, 5-40 ; transl. 57-85.

² q. v. in *ibid.* ; text, 297-402 ; transl. 405-83.

³ For the remains of this correspondence, see Eus. *H. E.* II. xxv. 8, IV. xxiii. 9-12, and M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 177-84.

⁴ Cf. ‘ The early Roman succession ’ in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 200-345, and C. H. Turner, *Studies in early Church History*, 156 sqq.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxii. 3 ; on the reading *διαδοχή* see the note in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, I. i. 154 ; Document No. 63.

an 'apologetic motive',¹ probably as a challenge to Ebionism; and he holds that sound doctrine and the succession in the episcopate go together. With this opinion, however, we are not, for the moment, concerned; but simply with his catalogue of the Roman bishops. Only its last three names have come down to us in the fragment preserved by Eusebius: but it is held by Dr. Lightfoot,² and thought 'probable' by Mr. C. H. Turner,³ that the catalogue of Hegesippus is reproduced *in extenso* by Epiphanius. 'The succession of bishops in Rome', he says in his *Panarion*, c. 375, 'runs as follows: Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement, Euarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus [Euarestus], Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus.'⁴

The second list is that of Irenaeus. This also was prompted by an apologetic motive; for, to meet the Gnostic claim to be in possession of truth by private tradition from the Apostles, Irenaeus is concerned to show how the preservation of Apostolic truth is bound up with public succession in the episcopate. He was in Rome, as the envoy of the clergy of Lyons and Vienne,⁵ c. 177-8, in the days of pope Eleutherus; and he tells us that 'the blessed Apostles [Peter and Paul] having founded and established the church [in Rome], entrusted the office of the episcopate to Linus. . . . Anencletus succeeded him and . . . in the third place from the Apostles Clement received the episcopate. . . . Euarestus succeeded Clement, and Alexander Euarestus. Then Xystus, the sixth from the Apostles, was appointed. After him Telesphorus . . . then Hyginus; then Pius; and after him Anicetus; Soter succeeded Anicetus; and now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherus holds the office of bishop.'⁶

A third list is that which lay before Eusebius,⁷ and was utilized by him for his *History*, 323, and his *Chronicle*, 325. He reckons 'after Paul and Peter',⁸ or 'after Peter',⁹ 'Linus as the first

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, I. i. 205.

² *Ibid.* 328-33.

³ C. H. Turner, *Studies in early Church History*, 157.

⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxvii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 107; *P. G.* xli. 373 B). The name of 'Euarestus' seems to have slipped in again by mistake. At the opening of this section Peter and Paul are mentioned (1) as 'apostles and bishops', and (2) separately from rest of the series. Further, Linus and Cletus are mentioned successively, not concurrently (*Op.* i. 107; *P. G.* xli. 372 B).

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* v. iv. 2.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii, § 3, Document No. 74.

⁷ For this list as restored, see Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 246.

⁸ *Eus. H. E.* III. ii; III. xxi. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* III. iv. 9.

appointed to the bishopric of the church of the Romans¹; then Anencletus²; then Clement, as 'holding the third place in succession of those who were bishops there after Paul and Peter'³; after him Euarestus⁴; and, 'fifth in succession from Peter and Paul', Alexander⁵; next Xystus⁶; then, 'seventh from the Apostles, Telesphorus⁷' and Hygginus⁸; then Pius⁹; Anicetus¹⁰; Soter¹¹; and, 'twelfth from the Apostles, Eleutherus¹²'.

The above three lists have points in common. All three are of Eastern *provenance*, preserved as they are by Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Eusebius, writers each connected with the East. All rank the Apostles, Peter and Paul, in a class by themselves. All reckon the bishops of Rome in a succession that begins after the Apostolic founders of their church. And in all, save for the substitution in the list of Epiphanius, i. e. Hegesippus, of Cletus for Anencletus, the order of the first three bishops of Rome is Linus, Anencletus, Clement. It is thus the order, traditional from the middle of the second century. It was accepted by Rufinus,¹³ 345–†410, in the West. No other order was ever current in the East.¹⁴

But a fourth list, of Western origin, presents considerable divergences. It consists of a catalogue of Roman bishops¹⁵ which forms one of several tracts collected and edited at Rome in 354. It is called sometimes the Liberian catalogue, as made during the episcopate of pope Liberius, 352–†66, for it ends with his name; sometimes the Philocalian catalogue, for the probable editor of the collection was its illuminator, Furius Dionysius Philocalus (Filocalus, he spells it), the artist who engraved the inscriptions set up in the catacombs by pope Damasus,¹⁶ 366–†84, next successor to Liberius. This Western catalogue—for so it may be described as emanating from the local church in Rome—ranks Peter as the first bishop of Rome; next to him Linus, Clement, Cletus, Anacletus, Aristus, and so on to Eleutherus,

¹ Eus. *H. E.* III. ii, iv. 9.

² Ibid. III. xiii.

³ Ibid. III. xv, xxi. 2.

⁴ Ibid. III. xxxiv.

⁵ Ibid. IV. i. 2.

⁶ Ibid. IV. iv.

⁷ Ibid. IV. v. 5.

⁸ Ibid. IV. x.

⁹ Ibid. IV. xi. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid. IV. xi. 7.

¹¹ Ibid. IV. xix.

¹² Ibid. v. Proem., § 1.

¹³ Rufinus, *Praefatio in Recognitiones*: Clement, *Op.* i (*P. G.* i. 1207 sq.).

¹⁴ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 64.

¹⁵ q. v. in *ibid.* 253 sqq.

¹⁶ Cf. the inscription of Damasus to his predecessor, St. Eusebius, which is accompanied by the artist's signature, 'Damasi sui papae cultor atque amator Furius Dionysius Filocalus scripsit', in G. B. de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, I. 121, II. 196 sqq., and *Tavole*, I A, III, VIII, for reproductions.

as above, save that Anicetus is placed before Pius. It is not doubted that this transposition is a blunder ; for we have it on the definite statement of Hegesippus and Irenaeus, the contemporaries of Anicetus, that he, and not Pius, was the immediate predecessor of Soter. Presumably, therefore, the placing of Clement second to Linus and the duplication of Anenctetus into Cletus and Anacletus, are blunders also. It has been shown by Dr. Lightfoot that this Liberian catalogue or Western list of the succession is attributable to Hippolytus,¹ the scholar-bishop in Rome, †c. 236, and that Hippolytus is not to be credited with its blunders.² Possibly, however, they are no blunders after all. For in the Clementine romances which emanated from Syria ‘not earlier than the middle of the second century’,³ Clement is represented, by *The letter of Clement to James*, as having been consecrated by St. Peter, shortly before his death, and entrusted with his chair of teaching.⁴ From this ‘copious Ebionitish romance’⁵ there took its rise ‘the ordinary Latin opinion’,⁶ as Jerome calls it, to the effect that Peter was the first bishop of Rome and Clement the next. The opinion was eagerly popularized in the Roman church ; and reproduced, without inquiry, by Tertullian who, c. 200, tells us that ‘the church of Rome records that Clement was ordained by Peter’.⁷ But no one would dream of going for sober history either to a writer of theological novels such as the Clementines or to the barrister Tertullian who, to score a point, asserts that bad emperors were the only persecutors.⁸ It may be held then that the author of the Liberian catalogue, in putting Clement second to Linus, was not blundering after all, but rather blending. He had a definite intention—to blend ‘the two earlier traditions, the true which places Clement third, and the false which places him first ; the divergence being compromised, after the manner of compromises, by placing him

¹ Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i. i. 261.

² Ibid. 275.

³ For this date, see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. i. 64.

⁴ Ἐφη [Σίμων] Ἀκούσατέ μου, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ σύνδουλοι. ἐπεὶ (ὡς ἐδιδάχθην ἀπὸ τοῦ με ἀποστείλαντος Κυρίου τε καὶ διδασκάλου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) αἱ τοῦ θανάτου μου ἡγγίκασιν ἡμέραι Κλημέντα τοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῖν χειροτονῶ, ᾧ τὴν ἐμὴν τῶν λόγων πιστεύω καθέδραν, Clement, *Epistle to James*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 12 ; *P. G.* ii. 36 A), and Document No. 86.

⁵ W. Bright, *The Roman See in the early Church*, 15.

⁶ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. xv (*Op.* ii. 853 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 631 c).

⁷ Tertullian, *De Praescr. Haer.*, c. xxxii (*Op.* ii ; *P. L.* ii. 45 A).

⁸ Ibid., *Apol.*, c. v (*Op.* i ; *P. L.* i. 292 sqq.) ; Document No. 87.

second'.¹ In the same spirit Cletus and Anacletus are reckoned as two, from the compiler's desire 'to omit no element of existing tradition'.² It is evident, if this be so, that, as an authoritative record the Western, Hippolytean or Liberian, catalogue of the Roman succession must give way to the Eastern reckoning. The three forms, moreover, in which this reckoning is extant, run back upon a single original; and this is the series of Roman bishops accepted in the middle of the second century, and put into writing under pope Anicetus just before Irenaeus wrote, as he says, under pope Eleutherus.³ Further, this original form of the tradition as to the Roman succession occupies a position of unique authority among the churches of the Roman obedience to-day: for, in the *Canon of the Mass*, the minister and people after 'holding communion with and venerating the memory, first of all, of the glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul', go on to commemorate, as in another division, the bishops of Rome 'Linus, Cletus, Clement. . . .' *The Canon of the Mass*, which dates,⁴ almost as we have it, from the days of pope Damasus, itself supplies the corrective to the catalogue of his friend and admirer Filocalus; for it preserves not the local enumeration, part blundering and part fictitious, of the middle of the fourth century, but the reckoning traditional, in an earlier and better informed Rome, of the middle of the second.

On the whole, then, four important conclusions as to the early history of the church in Rome result from the examination of its episcopal lists. First, the Roman church was founded by Apostles. Secondly, it was governed from Apostolic times by a continuous succession of bishops, the first of whom was Linus, appointed by St. Peter and St. Paul some time before their death. Thirdly, St. Peter was only bishop of Rome in so far as the func-

¹ C. H. Turner, *Studies, &c.*, 160. ² Ibid. 159.

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 3, and Document No. 74.

⁴ Large portions of the Roman Canon are quoted in a work 'not much later than the time of Damasus' (L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 177), viz. 'the Pseudo-Ambrosian tract' (J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*² [1903], 79); *De Sacramentis*, IV, cc. v, vi, §§ 21, 22, 27 (Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 371 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 443-6). See, too, Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 438, and A. Fortescue, *The Mass*², 128. Bardenhewer thinks that the *De Sacramentis* 'is not a later imitation or recension of [Ambrose] *De mysteriis*, but the same work indiscreetly and in an imperfect form published by some auditor of Ambrose', and Ambrose, 374-†97, was the slightly junior contemporary of Damasus, 366-†84.

tions of a bishop are the same as those of an apostle: and in whatever sense St. Peter discharged episcopal functions in Rome, they were discharged there by St. Paul as well. Fourthly, the first twelve bishops, from Linus to Eleutherus, like the church they ruled, were Greek. Two of them indeed bear Latin names, Clement and Pius; but Clement wrote in Greek and so also did Hermas, the brother of Pius. Victor, who was an African,¹ was the first Latin pope—in name, in character, and in the language² in which he wrote.

§ 2. Clement, the third bishop of Rome, was the first to attain distinction. It was no distinction of birth or rank, for his name, like that of his immediate predecessor, Anencletus, is found among the names of slaves.³ And, though Clement the bishop is possibly to be associated with Titus Flavius Clemens, the consul and the cousin of Domitian, it is simply as one of his freedmen,⁴ a Hellenistic Jew, perhaps, of strongly Roman sympathies.⁵ Nor was Clement's the distinction of genius: he had not the theological penetration nor the striking personality of Ignatius. But he was a man of grave good sense; and his distinction is to have written 'the only official document emanating from the Roman church, which we possess in its entirety, earlier than the series of Decretals which begin with popes Damasus and Siricius in the second half of the fourth century'.⁶

Clement's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, however, soon fell into oblivion. It became a sealed book to the Western church⁷ from about the fourth till the seventeenth century, when its *text* was published, 1633, from the fifth-century MS. of the Greek Bible, known as the Codex Alexandrinus,⁸ because it was presented, 1628, to Charles I by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Alexandria, 1602, and afterwards of Constantinople, 1621–†38. But through loss of a leaf of the MS., the text of the Epistle was wanting towards its close, from c. lvii, § 6 to c. lxiii, § 4 inclusive; and it was not till the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth that the missing conclusion was made good by four lucky finds. The Constantinopolitan MS.⁹ of A.D. 1056,

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, i. 137.

² Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liii (*Op.* ii. 890; *P. L.* xxiii. 661 c).

³ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.* 61.

⁵ *Ibid.* 59 sq.

⁶ C. H. Turner, *Studies, &c.*, 231.

⁷ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 146.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. i. 116 sqq.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. i. 121 sqq.

first printed in 1875 by Philotheos Bryennios, metropolitan of Serrae, contained the Epistle in Greek with cc. lvii, § 6 to lxxv complete. A Syriac MS.¹ of A.D. 1170 was acquired in 1876 by the University of Cambridge, with the text also complete. In 1894 dom Germain Morin, of the Benedictine abbey of Maredsous in Belgium, found a MS. of the eleventh century, from Florennes near Namur, containing a Latin version, complete,² 'of a century not later than the fourth'.³ And in 1908 there was published by Carl Schmidt, from a papyrus of the fourth century, a Coptic version,⁴ defective, however, from cc. xxxiv, § 6 to xlii, § 2.

Of the *authorship*, and the *date*, of the Epistle thus recovered, no serious doubt is entertained. It was written by Clement; not, however, in his own name but in the name of 'the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome'⁵: and as the author excuses himself for having been 'somewhat tardy' in writing 'by reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us',⁶ and yet afterwards goes on to refer to the persecution, in which St. Peter and St. Paul perished, as part,⁷ the Epistle is reasonably assigned, in date, to c. 95-6, during the persecution under Domitian.

Its *occasion* is revealed by its *contents*, and is connected with dissensions at Corinth where 'the laity'⁸ had made 'a sedition'⁹ against their 'presbyters',¹⁰ and had 'unjustly thrust out from their ministration those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily'.¹¹ The church in Rome, therefore,¹² feels it her duty to remonstrate with the church of Corinth on these deplorable feuds (cc. i, ii). Envy is at the bottom of them

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 129 sqq.

² q. v. in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. ii (Parker & Co., 1894).

³ So C. H. Turner, *Studies, &c.*, 241 sq.

⁴ q. v. in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, edd. O. Gebhardt and A. Harnack, Bd. xxxii, Heft i (Leipzig, 1908).

⁵ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* ad init.

⁶ Ibid., c. i, § 1; Document No. 10.

⁷ Ibid., cc. v, vi; Document No. 11.

⁸ 'Ο λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσταγμασιν δέδεται, *ibid.* xl, § 5. This is the first use of the term in Christian literature, though here the immediate reference is to the Old Covenant. But its Christian use is implied; and, further, means that the layman is not a mere non-professional but, as one of the λαὸς εἰς περιτοίησιν or 'Chosen People' (1 Pet. ii. 9), has his privileges and his obligations, being bound by 'the layman's ordinances'

⁹ στάσεως, *ibid.* i, § 1; a common Greek fault, specially at Corinth; cf. 1 Cor. i. 11 sqq.

¹⁰ Στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlvii, § 6.

¹¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlv, § 4.

¹² For this analysis, see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 378 sqq.

(c. iii), the sin of Cain and Saul (c. iv), and the cause of the death of Peter and Paul and others in the late persecution under Nero (cc. v, vi). It is time we repented (cc. vii–xxi), for the Lord will come quickly (cc. xxii, xxiii). There is a resurrection—nature (c. xxiv), the phoenix (c. xxv), and the Scriptures (cc. xxvi, xxvii) show it—and then the judgement: so let us amend our ways (cc. xxviii–xxxvi) and, in particular, remember that subordination of rank and distinction of office are universal. They are to be found in the Roman army and in the human body (c. xxxvii). It should be so in the Church, the whole body in Christ Jesus (cc. xxxviii, xxxix), as it certainly was so under the Law, where places, seasons, and persons are all prescribed, as if God would have all things done decently and in order (cc. xl, xli). So with us: the Apostles were sent by Jesus Christ as Jesus Christ was sent by the Father. They appointed bishops and deacons¹ in all churches (c. xlii); and, following the precedent of Moses (c. xliii), the Apostles, to avoid dissension, made provision for the regular succession of the ministry. You had no right, therefore, to thrust out your presbyters who had been duly appointed according to Apostolic order and were discharging their office faithfully (c. xliv). Such conduct is unheard of (c. xlv), and the very fault St. Paul² found in you (cc. xlvi, xlvii). Away with these feuds, and repent (cc. xlviii–lviii). The writer then breaks off into a solemn liturgical prayer of intercession (cc. lix–lxi) and, after a summary appeal (cc. lxii–lxiv), concludes with the hope that the bearers of his letter may soon return with the good news that peace and concord once more reign at Corinth (c. lxv). The interest of Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians* is five-fold: it touches the ethics, the doctrine, the ministry, and the worship of Christians, as well as the position of the Roman church in Christendom of his day.

Its aim is primarily ethical, or rather religious. Much of it is hortatory, to penitence and self-discipline: for God is before all things a lover of order, as may be seen in the Universe, where 'the heavens are moved by His direction . . . the earth bears fruit in fulfilment of His will . . . and the seasons . . . give way in

¹ Ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους, 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlii, § 4, in fulfilment, according to § 5 of Isa. lx. 17, loosely quoted as καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει, whereas the LXX has δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. For these chapters on the ministry, cc. xl–xlv, see Document, No. 12.

² 1 Cor. i. 12.

succession one to another in peace'.¹ It is an easy step from this to the orderliness of the Roman army,² of the Church,³ of the ordinances of the Old Covenant⁴: and so finally to the conclusion that, in the Christian ministry and the attitude of the laity toward their presbyters,⁵ the same obligation to peace and good order is paramount. We have not here the formal treatise like those on the various virtues that were written by Tertullian or Cyprian; but Clement evinces the primary concern of Latin Christendom with the practice of the Christian life. He anticipates later writers connected with the Roman church in particular: Hermas in his requirement of penitence, and Pelagius, the spokesman at Rome, c. 400, of an ardent zeal for Christian holiness.

Clement's interest in doctrine is secondary: so all the more impressive is it that he takes for granted belief in the Trinity, as when he asks 'Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us?'⁶ or that, quite unreflectingly, he resolves the Old Testament form of oath 'As the LORD liveth'⁷ into 'As God liveth and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth and the Holy Spirit'.⁸ Similarly, he assumes the common faith as to the Person of our Lord, that He is both man and God. 'Of our father Abraham'⁹ . . . is the Lord Jesus according to the flesh'¹⁰; He is God's 'Servant'¹¹ but also His 'Son'.¹² Again, His work is to have 'given His blood for us by the will of God'.¹³ 'Through the blood of the Lord is our redemption',¹⁴ and 'He Himself is the High Priest of our offerings'.¹⁵ The significance of such statements is that in them the author appeals to common ground, to an uncontroverted and an immemorial belief. His references to it are indirect, as are those of the New Testament, but unequivocal; and he makes them in language that is definite, firm, and unspeculative.

In his treatment of the ministry principles stand out clear enough, but details are here and there obscure. In order to appreciate his testimony, it should be noted, at the outset, that four things are, at the present time, in question, and must be kept distinct: apostolical succession; episcopal succession;

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xx. ² Ibid. xxxvii, §§ 1-3. ³ Ibid. xxxviii.
⁴ Ibid. xli. ⁵ Ibid. xlii, xlii, and Document No. 12.
⁶ Ibid. xlii, § 6. ⁷ 1 Sam. xiv. 39, &c.
⁸ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* lviii, § 2. ⁹ Ibid. xxxi, § 2.
¹⁰ Ibid. xxxii, § 2. ¹¹ Παῖς Θεοῦ, *ibid.* lix, §§ 2, 3, 4. ¹² Ibid. xxxvi, § 4.
¹³ Ibid. xlix, § 6. ¹⁴ Ibid. xii, § 7. ¹⁵ Ibid. xxxvi, § 1.

monarchical episcopacy; and a theory of the ministry that turns not on succession but on delegation. The first, apostolical succession, means that by the Apostles the original commission which they received from our Lord was passed on, with the power to transmit it, in their turn, to those who immediately succeeded them in the ministry. Apostolical succession is thus succession *from* the Apostles. Second, episcopal succession: supposing that the ministry of the generation next after the Apostles received from them this commission and the authority to perpetuate it, that authority might be exercised and derived to others in each church either through the presbyter-bishops as a body or through a single ordainer. If the link were of the former type, the system might be described as collegiate episcopacy; if, on the other hand, the link were a single agent, the system would be monepiscopacy, i.e. the episcopacy of later days. In either case, we should have evidence of episcopal succession, i.e. of succession through bishops. Thirdly, it is possible that the single ordainer might ordain only, and not rule; but if he ruled as well as ordained, then this rule of a single bishop would be characterized as monarchical episcopacy. In all these three cases—including the collegiate episcopate—we should have succession, and in the ecclesiastical sense of the term; for succession, in the language of the Church, confessedly means more than succession in office like that of the Roman Consuls or of an English mayoralty. But fourthly, if competence to ordain should depend not on derivation of authority from the Apostles as from its original depositaries, whether through a college of presbyter-bishops or through a single bishop, but on a fresh putting forth, for each occasion, of an authority committed originally to the Church and not to the Apostles, then there is no succession apostolical or episcopal, but simply succession in office with the delegation, *ad hoc*, of powers inherent from the first in the Christian body. We are now in a position to consider to which, if to any, of these systems the evidence of Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians* seems to point.

Upon the principle of authority derived by our Lord to the Apostles and from them to those who followed them, Clement is emphatic. 'Jesus Christ', he says, 'was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God and the Apostles are from Christ.¹ . . . They appointed (*καθίστατον*) their firstfruits . . . to be bishops

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlii, §§ 1, 2.

and deacons . . . for thus saith the Scripture " I will appoint (καταστήσω) their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith " ¹ . . . ' Further, ' our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed (κατέστησαν) the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they gave an injunction that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed (κατασταθέντας) by them (ἐκείνων), or afterwards by other men of account (ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν) with the consent of the whole church, and have ministered (λειτουργήσαντας) blamelessly to the flock of Christ . . . we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration (λειτουργίας). For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office (προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκόπης) without blame and with holiness. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before . . . for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place.' ²

We note, by the way, that Clement here passes from ' presbyter ' to ' bishop ' indifferently, as does St. Paul in the *Epistle to Titus*.³ The names of the various offices are of no concern : the question is as to the thing. Clement apparently has in mind two classes of men who derived their authority from the Apostles. There was an older generation of presbyter-bishops whom he pronounces ' blessed ' because they are now dead and could not be disturbed.⁴ These ' were appointed by them ' (ἐκείνων), *sc.* the Apostles themselves. But there was also a generation of presbyter-bishops which outlived the Apostles ; and it was in case ' these should fall asleep ' that the Apostles had the provision to make arrangements for the future. They ' gave an injunction ' ⁵ that ' other approved men ' should be ' appointed ' by other men of account '. In adopting the word ' appointed ' Clement is careful to use the term employed by our Lord when He speaks of His minister as a ' steward . . . set over the house-

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.*, xlii. §§ 4, 5.

² Ibid. xliv, §§ 1-5.

³ Titus i. 5-7.

⁴ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xliv, § 5.

⁵ Lightfoot read ἐπιμονήν, *ibid.* xliv, § 2, and translated ' provided a continuance ' ; but this was before Dom Morin's discovery of the ancient Latin version. It has here ' legem dederunt ' ; cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana* ii, p. 41, l. 16. The Greek Text A has ἐπινομήν too.

hold'¹; by St. Luke, when he represents the Apostles as 'appointing'² the Seven whom the multitude first 'chose'³; and by St. Paul, when he bade Titus 'appoint elders in every city'⁴ of Crete. Clement is clear therefore against a ministry set up by the household, though their 'consent'⁵ he regards as an element in the matter. In other words, he witnesses to the principle of succession, and represents the ministry as perpetuating itself by appointment from above. Clement then goes on to mention the part played by 'other men of account'.⁶ 'Other' would appear to mean in the context men commonly ranked with the Apostles. We naturally infer that he has in mind such men as Timothy and Titus, not Apostles indeed but apostolic men⁷: and Clement therefore stands for apostolical succession, i.e. for the perpetuation of the ministry, in the first instance, by men who derived their powers immediately *from* the Apostles.

But when it comes to the further question of episcopal succession, or the preservation of the succession *through* bishops or *through* a bishop in each church, then there is some obscurity. It arises out of two passages in which 'rulers' (ἡγούμενοι, προηγούμενοι) and 'presbyters' are mentioned together, in company with the passage already quoted about the 'men of account'. 'Ye did all things without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting yourselves to your rulers and rendering to the presbyters (or, older men) among you the honour which is their due. On the young too ye enjoined modest and seemly thoughts. . . .'⁸ And again, 'Let us reverence our rulers; let us honour our presbyters (or, older men); let us instruct our young men in the lesson of the fear of God.'⁹ Here, if 'rulers' and 'men of account' are used in a specific sense,¹⁰ and if 'presbyters' denote not elder by contrast with younger men but a second order in the ministry,¹¹ then the 'rulers' occupy an office superior

¹ Luke xii. 42.

² Acts vi. 3.

³ Acts vi. 5.

⁴ Titus i. 5.

⁵ Συνευδοκίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, 1 Clem. xlv, § 3.

⁶ Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξύ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlv, § 3.

⁷ For this identification of ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, see W. Bright, *Some aspects of primitive Church life*, 38 sq.; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 121, n. 14; C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 285. (ed. 1919).

⁸ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* i, § 3.

⁹ Ibid. xxi, § 6.

¹⁰ That this is probable, see C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 284 sqq.

¹¹ Again, that this is probable, see *ibid.* 277, n. 1. Clement uses πρεσβύτεροι of church officers in xlvii, § 6 and lvii, § 1, 'It is no objection

to the 'presbyters', like that of the modern bishop. Otherwise 'in the very steadfast and ancient church of the Corinthians . . . its presbyters'¹ formed the highest rank of the ministry. In that case, there would still remain the question whether these Corinthian presbyter-bishops had at their ordination received episcopal powers. Beyond this, the evidence of Clement does not go. To succession, and to apostolic succession he is a witness clear enough; to episcopal succession he offers probable but not certain testimony. The further question of a tactual succession, i.e. of the mode of transmission of ministerial authority from hand to hand, does not come up at all.

There remains the question of the character of the ministry, sacerdotal or not. And here it is enough to observe that, in approaching the treatment of their clergy by the Corinthians, he begins with a reference to the offerings (*προσφοράς*) and ministrations (*λειτουργίας*) of the Aaronic ministry²; recites how 'unto the high-priest his proper services (*λειτουργίαι*) have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the levites their proper ministrations (*διακονίαι*) are laid'³; and then proceeds to speak of the office of the Christian presbyters in Corinth as a ministration (*λειτουργία*) no less than theirs.⁴ It does not occur to Clement that in describing the Christian ministry in phrases taken over from his description of the Aaronic ministry, and by a term which was used in the Old Testament as a synonym for priest,⁵ but included the manward as well as the Godward aspect of the office of the ministerial priesthood,⁶ he is guilty of anything inappropriate to the Christian ministry. On the contrary, St. Paul⁷ and St. Luke⁸ transfer that Septuagint synonym for 'priest' to the Christian minister, and Clement merely carries over that usage, though he does not develop or define its sacrificial connotation when he applies it to the Christian ministry. Why should he? No one, in Clement's age, whether heathen, Jew, or Christian, ever denied that religion consists in sacrifice, and, because no one questioned it, no one attempted to define what a sacrificial priesthood is. Nor would that the "presbyters" are opposed to "the young men"; the same antithesis appears in 1 Pet. v. 1-5 and Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses*, v, § 3, where there can be no doubt of the reference to office.'

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlvii, § 6.

² Ibid. xl, § 2.

³ Ibid., § 5.

⁴ Ibid. xlv, §§ 3, 6.

⁵ e. g. Isa. lxi. 6.

⁶ R. C. Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, § 35.

⁷ Rom. xv. 16.

Acts xiii. 2.

it have occurred to any one that the Eucharist was other than the Christian sacrifice, or that, when Clement wrote of the Corinthian presbyters as 'having offered the gifts of the bishop's office', he was referring to any other function of theirs than that of celebrating the Eucharist.¹

The mention of the presbyter in connexion with the Eucharist brings us to the fourth topic of interest in Clement's letter—its evidence as to the Christian worship of his day. There is a strong liturgical cast about two passages. In c. xxxiv 'let us mark', says Clement, employing language suggestive of the *Sursum corda* and the *Preface*, 'the whole Host of His angels, how they stand by and minister (λειτουργοῦσιν)' ²: and then he adds, with a change of the LXX text, 'served' ³ into 'ministered'. 'For the Scripture saith; Ten thousands of ten thousands stood by Him, and thousands of thousands ministered (ἐλειτουργοῦν) unto Him' ⁴: and they cried aloud, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth; all creation is full of His glory.' ⁵ This is the first clear reference, in Christian literature, to the *Triumphal Hymn* ⁶; and that, in a setting which, for its combination of *Dan. vii. 10* with *Isa. vi. 3*, is characteristic of several of the later Eastern Liturgies.⁷ Again, in cc. lix–lxi, Clement breaks off into a recitation which, though 'we cannot indeed regard it as a reproduction of a sacred formulary', is 'an excellent example of the style of

¹ 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xlv, § 4. From the earliest days *Corban* (Mark vii. 11) and Δῶρον (Matt. v. 23; Heb. v. 1, viii. 3, &c.) were the generic names for sacrifice. They were taken over by Aramaic- and Greek-speaking Christians respectively for the Eucharist, in *Kūrbōno* (cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. 72, l. 15) and τὸ δῶρον (5th Canon of Co. of Nicaea: see W. Bright, *Canons of the First four General Councils* ², 19). On the phrase προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα, see W. Bright, *Some aspects, &c.*, 64, n. 1; C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 281, n. 1 (c).

² Ibid. xxxiv, § 5.

³ The LXX of *Dan. vii. 10* has ἐθεράπευον, but Clement substitutes ἐλειτουργοῦν.

⁴ *Dan. vii. 10*.

⁵ *Isa. vi. 3*.

⁶ Or *Seraphic Hymn* or *Sanctus*, cf. *Isa. vi. 2*; to be carefully distinguished from (a) the *Trisagion*—Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, sung, according to the present use of the Greek Orthodox Church, at the beginning of the Mass of the Catechumens before the lections (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies E. and W.* i. 369, l. 20); (b) the *Cherubic Hymn*, at the Great Entrance (ibid. 377, l. 9, and L. Duchesne, *Chr. Worship* ⁵, 84); and (c) the *Angelic Hymn* (Luke ii. 14) or *Gloria in excelsis*, sung after the *Introit* and *Kyrie* in the Roman Mass; cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* ⁵, 166.

⁷ e. g. of the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions (Brightman, 18 sq.); of St. Chrysostom (ibid. 385); of the Coptic St. Cyril (ibid. 175 sq.); of SS. Adai and Mari (ibid. 284).

solemn prayer in which the ecclesiastical leaders of that time were accustomed to express themselves at meetings for worship¹; and 'the liturgical language of which St. Clement offers us such an ancient and authoritative example . . . is in every respect analogous to that which we encounter three centuries later, when documents abound'.² Thus as early as the end of the first century improvisation was tending to fixity, 'a liturgical language was in process of formation, phrases had been coined and were in recognized use',³ and some *formulae*, such as the *Sanctus*, had been generally adopted.

The last point of interest about the *Epistle to the Corinthians* arises out of its testimony to the pre-eminence of the Roman church. That church, without being consulted by either party among the Corinthians and as if it were certainly her concern, wrote to the church of Corinth on receiving news that wrong had been done there. The letter itself is of 'imposing authority'⁴ in tone, and is characterized by all that zeal for order and good government which the papacy inherited from Imperial Rome. But it is misleading to describe it as 'this first of papal decretals',⁵ or to say that 'at the end of the first century Clement of Rome already writes as a pope'.⁶ Certainly the letter was a weighty one; and, as we learn from the correspondence of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, c. 170, it was still read in church there a generation later. But Dionysius treats it as the letter of the Roman church 'written to us through Clement'⁷; and this, indeed, is exactly what, by its salutation, it professes to be. It is written in the name not of the Roman bishop but of the Roman church; and it is only by tradition that we are enabled to assign it to Clement. True, much is made of 'the good Apostles'⁸ Peter and Paul; but that epithet of itself is enough to show both that the author knew them familiarly⁹ and that he is quoting them as

¹ L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 50.

² Ibid. 51.

³ F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *A new history of the Book of Common Prayer*², 433, n. 4.

⁴ L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 15.

⁵ C. H. Turner, *Studies in early Church History*, 232.

⁶ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (1889), 15. In the English translation 'from the third French edition', the sentence becomes 'at the end of the first century, the Roman church, by the mouthpiece of Clement, intervened with imposing authority', cf. n. 4, *supra*.

⁷ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxiii. 11: see Document No. 54.

⁸ *Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους*, 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* v, § 3.

⁹ 'Such an epithet may most naturally be explained on the supposition that Clement is speaking in affectionate remembrance of those whom he had known personally,' Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 25.

‘examples’¹ rather than as authorities. Moreover, it is of the founders as ‘Apostles’ that Clement speaks, and not of Peter alone as bishop: still less of Peter’s prerogative as extending to the Corinthians through his successor the writer of the Epistle. The Roman church intervened because Apostolic order at Corinth had been set at nought; and, as it was every one’s business to get a wrong put right, so specially was it the business of the church of Rome, for she had quicker communications with Corinth than had any other Christian church. She could also bring to bear on her neighbour the moral authority of a church of Apostolic foundation, seated in the capital, already renowned for her influence,² and probably for her wealth and charity.³ This primacy of the local Roman church in Christendom was undoubtedly a great step forward in the advancement of the Roman See; but, so far as appears from this Epistle, it was the pre-eminence of the Roman church that gave rise to the claims of its bishop, and not the privilege of the bishop that lent authority to the intervention of his church.

§ 3. Clement himself disappears from history⁴ with the dispatch of his letter to the Corinthians; and we can only conjecture what effect it had. But this must have been considerable: for both in Corinth and beyond it to the East the name of Clement had fathered upon it a number of spurious writings, some because they were of unknown parentage, and others because their authors wanted a *nom de plume* that would arrest attention.

Thus, as to the first class, in the time of Eusebius there was ‘said to be a second letter of Clement’,⁵ and in the fifth century it circulated among Greeks and Syrians as *The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*.⁶ It is neither Clement’s, nor an epistle, but a sermon: for ‘let us not think’, says the writer, ‘to give heed and believe now only, while we are being admonished by the presbyters; but likewise when we have departed home’.⁷ Allusion to competitors *landing* for the athletic games⁸ suggests

¹ ὑποδείγματα, 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* v, § 1; and Document No. 11.

² Cf. Rom. i. 8 and Ignatius, *ad Romanos*, i.

³ Cf. Dionysius of Corinth, *ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxiii. 10 ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο . . . πατρο παράδοτον ἔθος Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυλάττοντες.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. i. 98.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxxviii. 4.

⁶ q. v. in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition); text, 43–53; tr., 86–94, and introduction in *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 191 sqq.

⁷ 2 Clem. *ad Cor.*, c. xvii.

⁸ καταπλέουσιν, *ibid.*, c. vii.

that it was preached at Corinth ; and when the preacher reminds his audience that ‘ after the God of truth, I read to you an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written, so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth in the midst of you ’,¹ we may infer, first, that his discourse was written ; secondly, that it was delivered at the normal place after, and in explanation of, the lections at the non-eucharistic service of the Church which at first preceded, and subsequently was united with, the Eucharist proper, and now appears in the Latin rite as the *Missa catechumenorum* and in the English rite as the *Ante-Communion*. There are indications that the sermon must have been delivered as early as 120–40 ; for, in speaking of the Scriptures in their entirety as ‘ the Books and the Apostles ’,² the preacher confines the title of ‘ the Books ’ or ‘ the Bible ’ to the Old Testament only ; and, though he ranks the New Testament on the same level with it, he makes no separate enumeration of Epistles and Gospels as do the writers of the second half of the second century,³ but classes all New Testament books as ‘ the Apostles ’. Further, the Gnosticism which he attacks appears only to have reached an early stage of its development, and he is mainly concerned with its denial of ‘ the resurrection of the flesh ’⁴ in a phrase that reminds us of the very early Roman Creed.⁵ The chief interest of Clement’s so-called *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* is that in it we have the most ancient Christian homily extant ; and if, like many another sermon since, it should strike the reader as dull but devout when taken apart from the personality of the preacher and the mentality of his flock, that is but testimony to the sustained moral earnestness of a community which preserved it for reading and rereading in church along with the genuine Epistle of Clement⁶—whence its enumeration and its name.

Not less pious are two letters in Syriac that have come down to us under the name of Clement. They are the *Epistolae ad Virgines*,⁷

¹ 2 Clem. *ad Cor.*, c. xix.

² τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, 2 Clem. *ad Cor.*, c. xiv. ‘ Bible ’, like ‘ Epiphany ’ (τὰ ἐπιφάνια), is a plural word whose proper meaning has come to be obscured by its singular form.

³ e. g. Justin, †c. 163, who speaks of τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια (ibid. lxvi, § 3), and Document No. 42.

⁴ 2 Clem. *ad Cor.*, cc. viii, ix, xiv, xvi.

⁵ Document No. 204.

⁶ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 198.

⁷ Text, with Latin translation, in Clement, *Opera*, i (P. G. i. 379–452) ;

i.e. to continents of both sexes; and for this, among other reasons, that they contain a warning against the peril of association with women¹ nicknamed at Antioch, c. 260–70, ‘subintroductae’,² they may be assigned to the third century, their object being to demonstrate the excellence of the ascetic life and to give rules for its pursuit in safety. They were attributed to Clement and held in high value by both Epiphanius,³ †403, and Jerome,⁴ †420, both of whom were ascetics and lived in Syria.

Far from dull—at least, to the taste of their age—were the Clementine Romances,⁵ which deal with the life of Clement and profess to have been written by him. They consist of the *Recognitions*,⁶ in ten books, now preserved no longer in the original Greek, but in the Latin version of Rufinus, †410; and of the *Homilies*, twenty in number, preserved in Greek and prefaced by two *Epistles*, the one from Peter⁷ and the other from Clement,⁸ to James the Lord’s brother. The relation to each other of the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* is matter of great uncertainty; but they probably run back upon some common original and are in substance of the second or early third,⁹ though in form of the fourth¹⁰ century. Common to both are the adventures of Clement, though retailed with some variation in each; and these are made the opportunity for that inculcation of the author’s Judaizing opinions which is his real concern in writing. Thus, in the *Recognitions*, Clement is represented as much troubled, in his youth, by doubts about the immortality of the soul, the origin of the world, and so forth.¹⁰ Hearing that the Son of God

and account in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* i. i. 407 sqq.; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 29 sq.

¹ Ep. I, c. x (*P. G.* i. 402).

² Epistle of the Synod of Antioch, 269, *ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. xxx. 12. For the *Συνεισάκτοι*, *Subintroductae*, or women ‘introduced as companions’, see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, vi. ii. 13, and W. Bright, *Canons*², 10 sq. (Nic. 3).

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx, § 15 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xli. 432 A).

⁴ Jerome, *Adv. Iovinianum*, i, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 257 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 228 D).

⁵ On these, see A. C. Headlam, ‘The Clementine Literature’, in *Journal of Theological Studies* (October 1901), vol. iii, 41–58, and J. Chapman, *ibid.* iii. 436–41.

⁶ Text in *P. G.* i. 1201–1454; tr. in *A. N. C. L.* iii. 135 sqq.

⁷ ‘Epistola Petri ad Iacobum,’ *Clem. Rom. Op.* ii. 1–6 (*P. G.* ii. 25–8); tr. *A. N. C. L.* xvii. 1 sqq.

⁸ ‘Epistola Clementis ad Iacobum,’ *ibid.* ii. 10–24 (*P. G.* ii. 32–56); tr. *A. N. C. L.* xvii. 6 sqq.

⁹ Headlam in *J. T. S.* iii. 58.

¹⁰ Chapman in *J. T. S.* iii. 441, ‘after Origen, and, indeed, probably not long before Eusebius’ [*H. E.* iii. xxxviii. 5].

¹¹ *Recogn.* i, § 1 (*Clem. Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1207 A).

had appeared in Judea,¹ he made a journey to the East, where he met St. Peter,² from whom he received the desired enlightenment.³ He became his disciple, and accompanied him on his journeys. At Caesarea he was witness to the dispute of St. Peter with Simon Magus.⁴ Somewhat later Clement told St. Peter of his early life. When he was five years old his mother Matthidia had fled from Rome in obedience to a dream, taking with her his two elder brothers, Faustinus and Faustus. They were sought for in vain by his father Faustinianus.⁵ But the long-separated family was now to be reunited. During a journey to the island of Aradas⁶—now Ruad, off the coast of Syria opposite Cyprus—St. Peter discovered in a beggar-woman the mother of his disciple.⁷ Two other disciples of the Apostles made themselves known as Faustinus and Faustus, the brothers of Clement⁸: hence the title of the work, the *Recognitions*. Its object was not the story, but certain teachings of St. Peter interwoven with the narrative. The book therefore is a theological novel, with a purpose. *The Homilies*,⁹ similarly, are put into the mouth of St. Peter: and from him Clement, as he informs St. James, in the second of the prefatory letters above-mentioned, had received consecration to the episcopate.¹⁰ Clement, acting under Peter's instructions, sends an extract of these discourses to James.¹¹ They are a vehicle for the doctrines attributed to Peter, and already described as those of Essene or Gnostic Ebionism, which represent Christianity as a mere development of Judaism,¹² both being the work of the same prophet¹³ reincarnate in Adam and Moses and Christ. But it is not worth while to delay further on this Clementine literature: it lies outside the current of Church life; it did little to help the development of Christian thought; but it reflects and represents many phases of the times of failing heathenism

¹ *Recogn.* i, § 6 (Clem. *Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1209 sq.).

² *Ibid.* i, § 12 (Clem. *Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1213).

³ *Ibid.* i, § 18 (Clem. *Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1216 B).

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, § 20–iii, § 48 (Clem. *Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1257 c–1303 c).

⁵ *Ibid.* vii, §§ 8–10 (Clem. *Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1358 c–1360 B).

⁶ *Ibid.* vii, § 12 (*Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1360 c).

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 21 (*Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1363 c).

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 28 (*Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1366 sq.).

⁹ Clem. Rom. *Op.* ii. 25–416 (*P. G.* ii. 57–468); tr. in *A. N. C. L.* xvii. 17 sqq.

¹⁰ cc. ii, xix (*Op.* ii. 11, 23; *P. G.* ii. 36 A, 55 A), Document No. 86.

¹¹ Entitled 'Clement's epitome of the popular sermons of Peter', *Ep ad Iac.*, c. xx (*Op.* ii. 24; *P. G.* ii. 56 B).

¹² Cf. *supra*, c. iv.

¹³ *Homiliae*, iii, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 88; *P. G.* ii. 124 c).

which our imagination would quite fail to realize without its assistance.¹ We must not, however, overlook the good-fortune and afterwards ill-fame which awaited the above-mentioned *Epistle of Clement to James*. It belongs to the late second or early third century,² and contains the legend of Clement's appointment by St. Peter to be his immediate successor in the Roman see. With it went a *Second Epistle of Clement to James*,³ which deals with such matters as the administration of the Eucharist and the furniture of the church, and belongs to a date not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century. And these two Decretal Epistles,⁴ interpolated and enlarged, stand first and second in that collection of Papal letters made in the middle of the ninth century and known as the *Forged Decretals*,⁵ which did so much to rivet the theory of Papalism on Western Christendom.⁶ Yet once again, in the East, the name of Clement proved singularly useful to a forger. *The Apostolical Constitutions*⁷ is a Syrian⁸ production, apparently composed in Antioch about A.D. 375. It includes the 'Clementine'—really an Antiochene—Liturgy,⁹ and is a compilation in which the Apostles are represented as communicating to Clement their ordinances for the government of the Church. The compilation is invaluable as a mirror of Church-life in the third and fourth centuries, but is the work of the unnamed and ingenious heretic, with a tendency to overstate the Filial Subordination, who interpolated the seven genuine letters of Ignatius of Antioch and forged the remaining six.¹⁰ To not many names in history has there been vouchsafed a posthumous career so long and so varied as that of Clement, the third bishop of Rome.

¹ Headlam, *ut sup.*; *J. T. S.* iii. 58.

² Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. i. 414 for an account of it.

³ Ibid. i. i. 415 sq. for an account of it.

⁴ Text in Clem. Rom. *Op.* i (*P. G.* i. 463-90).

⁵ See P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, pp. 30-46 for Clement to James, *Ep.* i; and pp. 46-52 for *Ep.* ii.

⁶ H. H. Milman, *Latin Christianity*⁴, iii. 190 sqq.

⁷ Text in Clem. Rom. *Op.* i (*P. G.* i. 555-1156); tr. in *A. N. C. L.*, vol. xvii, part ii, pp. 15 sqq.

⁸ J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 45.

⁹ Text in *Const. Apol.* viii, §§ 5-15 (*Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1073-1114) and F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies E. and W.* i. 3-27; for its connexion with the Antiochene rite, *ibid.* xliii, xlv; transl. in *The liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions*, by R. H. Cresswell in 'Early Christian Classics' (S. P. C. K.). It is the liturgy as said at the consecration of a bishop, being part of the tract 'On Ordinations' in *Const. Ap.* viii, §§ 4-27 (*Op.* i; *P. G.* i. 1069-1124).

¹⁰ So Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. xxiv-xxix.

§ 4. Hermas, the author of *The Shepherd*,¹ makes mention of a Clement as living when the book was written,² who can hardly be other than the third bishop of Rome. From this, two inferences have been drawn as to the date of the work. By some it is held that it must go back to the end of the first century; and, in support of this opinion, they would allege the apparently undeveloped condition of the ministry as revealed in its pages³ and the fact that *The Shepherd* is venerable enough in the eyes of Irenaeus,⁴ of Clement of Alexandria,⁵ and of Tertullian⁶ while still a Catholic, to be treated as quasi-canonical or even as Scripture. The majority, however, prefer to take the allusion to Clement as one more attempt—this time on the part of a fellow-member of the Roman church—to take advantage of the name of its most famous bishop in order to obtain a wide circulation for his book which ‘Clement is to send to foreign cities’.⁷ It is thus open to us to accept the explicit statement of the *Muratorian Canon* that ‘*The Shepherd* was written quite lately in our times by Hermas while his brother Pius the bishop’, c. 140–†55, ‘was sitting in the chair of the church of the city of Rome’⁸; and for this date the author’s rejection of the extremes of rigorism and laxity in regard to penance that were manifested respectively by incipient Montanism⁹ and by Gnosticism,¹⁰ c. 150, provides sufficient justification. Mgr. Duchesne would combine the two views as to the date of *The Shepherd* by supposing that it went through a series of recensions from the form in which it stood in the days of Trajan and the episcopate of Clement to the condition which it reached under Pius and in which we now possess it.¹¹ True, the work itself testifies to its having taken shape not at

¹ Text and translation in Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 297 sqq.

² *Vision II*, iv. 3.

³ ‘Here’, according to J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 126, ‘we find a condition of things still implied like that implied in the letter to the Corinthians. Government is by a body of Presbyters or Bishops to whom everything is to be referred.’ But the evidence may imply a later stage of development than this: see D. Stone, *Episcopacy and valid Orders* 37 sq.

⁴ *Mandate I*, i is quoted as Scripture by Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xx. (*Op.* 253; *P. G.* vii 1032 B, c).

⁵ Clem. Al. *Stromata*, ii. 29 (*Op.* i. 154; *P. G.* viii. 928 A).

⁶ Tert. *De Oratione*, c. xvi (*Op.* i; *P. L.* i. 1172 A).

⁷ *Vision II*, iv. 3.

⁸ *Muratorian Fragment*, ll. 73–6, and Document No. 117.

⁹ *Mandate IV*, iii, § 1, and Document No. 32.

¹⁰ *Similitude VIII*, vi, § 5.

¹¹ *Early Hist. Ch.* i. 165.

one sitting but piecemeal¹; but this need not be incompatible with unity of authorship, and a single author is required by its sustained interest in one main topic—the question of penance²—and by the similarity, not only of style but of background, which pervades it throughout. We may therefore assign *The Shepherd* to a period, c. 140–50, when the persecution under Trajan was still remembered,³ and the peace that followed, under Antoninus Pius, 138–†61, was responsible for a slackness and worldliness, or a ‘double-mindedness’,⁴ i.e. a lack of conviction, that provoked the prophetic spirit of the pope’s brother, Hermas.

The *Shepherd* was written in Greek; but though the Greek text is contained, as to the first quarter of the work, in the Sinaitic MS. [N] of the New Testament which dates from the fourth century, and as to nearly the whole of the remainder in a MS. from Mount Athos of the fourteenth century, two Latin versions and one Ethiopic version only have preserved the text complete.⁵

In form the *Shepherd* is apocalyptic, and consequently of interest as the earliest patristic book of an artificial character.

In arrangement it is divided into five *Visions*, twelve *Commandments*, and ten *Similitudes*; but while these divisions must be retained for reference, they must not be allowed to obscure the real sequence of the contents. For the author himself in *Revelation*⁶ V divides his work into two parts.⁷ The first of these consists of *Visions* I–IV; and here, after the conscience of Hermas has been aroused by an incident described in *Vision* I, the Church, in the guise of a matron, aged at first⁸ but growing younger with each successive appearance⁹ till at last she comes forth as a bride,¹⁰ discourses to him of repentance in *Vision* II; of the Communion of Saints, or the building of the Church under the figure of a tower, in *Vision* III; and of the tribulation to come in *Vision* IV. The Church then disappears; and, with her departure, the first—or, as some have thought, the original—portion of the

¹ *Revelation* V is clearly an addition to *Visions* I–IV; and *Similitudes* IX, i, § 1 sqq. and X, i, §§ 1 sqq. are, as clearly, additions to the earlier *Similitudes*.

² It first appears in *Vision* II, ii, § 5.

³ *Vision* III, ii, § 1, v, § 2.

⁴ διψυχία, *Vision* II, ii, § 4, and *passim*.

⁵ For ‘the authorities for the text’, see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged), 294 sqq.

⁶ Ἀποκάλυψις where we should have expected Ὁρασις, as in *Visions* I–IV.

⁷ *Rev.* V, v, § 5.

⁸ *Vision* II, iv, § 1.

⁹ *Vision* III, x, §§ 2 sqq.

¹⁰ *Vision* IV, ii, §§ 1, 2.

Shepherd comes to an end. It is immediately followed by *Revelation* V, where the intermediary of revelation to Hermas is now no longer the Church but 'the angel of repentance' under the guise of the Shepherd¹ from whom the book as a whole derives its name. True, he had been introduced to the reader before, but in a minor rôle and not in the guise of a shepherd.² He now delivers *Commandments* and *Similitudes*, to which *Revelation* V serves as the introduction. The *Commandments* deal with (I) Faith in God, (II) Simplicity, (III) Truthfulness, (IV) Chastity both for the unmarried and for the married, (V) Long-suffering, (VI) Spiritual discernment, (VII) The fear of God, (VIII) Self-restraint, (IX) Trust in God, (X) Cheerfulness, (XI) Avoidance of false prophets, and (XII) The struggle against evil desires. The *Similitudes* dwell on kindred topics. No. I points to the folly, in a Christian who is but a pilgrim here, of heaping up possessions. No. II is an exhortation to almsgiving. Nos. III and IV show good and evil dwelling side by side and indistinguishable from each other for the present but awaiting their separation in the end. No. V sets forth the merit of fasting, No. VI the necessity of repentance, and No. VII the value of affliction. In Nos. VIII and IX the branches of the willow-tree and the stones of the tower serve to exemplify the truth that, through repentance, the sinner may recover communion with the Church on earth and so secure a place in the Church hereafter. No. X addresses a warning to nominal Christians to repent while there is time: 'Do therefore good works, whoever of you have received (benefits) from the Lord; lest, while ye delay to do them, the building of the tower be completed. For it is on your account that the work of the building has been interrupted. Unless then ye hasten to do right, the tower will be completed, and ye shut out.'³

Hermas himself is incidentally interesting. He gives us an idea of the average member of the Roman church in his day. He was a slave by birth, and had been 'sold' to a lady named 'Rhoda in Rome'. Perhaps he had gained his freedom: for it is 'after many years' that 'I met her again, and began to love her as a sister', when he 'saw her bathing in the river Tiber'.⁴ Hermas, by this time, was a married man, with a family,⁵ living

¹ 'Ο Ποιμήν . . . ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας, *Rev.* V, vii.

² *Vision* II, iv, § 1; III, x, § 7.

³ *Similitude* X, iv, § 4.

⁴ *Vision* I, i, §§ 1, 2.

⁵ *Vision* I, iii, § 1.

in modest circumstances in the country near Rome,¹ not far from the Campanian Way.² He pictures himself as a devout and simple fellow, ordinarily of a cheerful disposition³ and of temperate habits,⁴ but with a good deal to put up with at home⁵ from his wife's tongue⁶; and for that reason, perhaps, not insensible to the charms of his former mistress. 'Happy were I', he sighed, 'if I had such an one to wife both in beauty and in character.'⁷ He was a bit of an Eli also, and too easy-going to reprove his children and see to their spiritual welfare.⁸ It is thus that Hermas, when his conscience is smitten, becomes alive to what was the problem at once of his own household⁹ and of the church at Rome¹⁰ in his day—nominal Christianity and the need for repentance. Indeed, the *Shepherd* might have had for a subsidiary title *Or concerning Repentance*.¹¹

In two passages Hermas describes the low standards accepted by his fellow-Christians. Besides the apostate¹² who is past repentance and the heretic who denies the need for it,¹³ there are the ordinary Christians—'double-minded men, neither alive nor dead'.¹⁴ They mean well enough; but self-advancement,¹⁵ success in business,¹⁶ wealth and a life as worldly as that of the heathen, are often too much for them. 'Yet they depart not from God, but continue in the faith, though they work not the works of the faith.'¹⁷ These are the problem: is penitence open to such as these? And among them must unfortunately be included some of the clergy, 'rulers of the church' whom Hermas is to admonish that 'they direct their paths in righteousness',¹⁸ and 'deacons that exercised their office ill, and plundered the livelihood of widows and orphans, and made gain for themselves from the ministrations which they had received to perform'.¹⁹

Such then is the malady. Its remedy is to be found in the penitential system.²⁰ For in opposition to the rigorist, Hermas

¹ *Vision* III, i, § 2.

² *Vision* IV, i, § 2.

³ *Vision* I, ii, § 3.

⁴ Ἐρμᾶς, ὁ ἐγκρατής, *Vision* I, ii, § 4.

⁵ Ἐρμᾶς, ὁ μακρόθυμος καὶ ἀστομάχητος, *Vision* I, ii, § 3.

⁶ Καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς γλώσσης ἐν ᾗ πορνεύεται, *Vision* I, ii, § 3.

⁷ *Vision* I, i, § 2.

⁸ *Vision* I, iii, § 1.

⁹ *Vision* II, ii, §§ 2, 3.

¹⁰ *Vision* II, ii, § 4 [laity], and § 6 [clergy].

¹¹ *Similitude* VIII, vi-x; IX, xix-xxxi.

¹² *Similitude* VIII, vi, § 4.

¹³ *Ibid.* VIII, vi, § 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* VIII, vii, § 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* VIII, vii, § 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* VIII, viii, § 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* VIII, ix, § 1.

¹⁸ *Vision* II, ii, § 6.

¹⁹ *Similitude* IX, xxvi, § 2.

²⁰ Cf. H. B. Swete, 'Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries', *Journal of Theological Studies*, iv. 321 sqq. (April 1903).

declares penitence to be possible and efficacious,¹ and, by contrast with the party of laxity, he affirms it to be necessary to salvation.² 'For the heathen', of course, 'there is repentance until the last day'³: it must always remain the preliminary to Baptism. But it is the sin of Christians, i.e. sin after Baptism, that has to be dealt with: and, with respect to this, Hermas, in whose *Shepherd* 'we have the first serious attempt to deal with the whole question of post-baptismal sin',⁴ declares himself commissioned to make two revelations. First, penitence⁵ is to be open for such sins committed up to the moment at which he writes: 'it is for all the saints who have sinned unto this day.'⁶ No such means of reconciliation will be open to Christians in perpetuity: it is an extraordinary concession and of the nature of a jubilee—'If now that this day hath been set as a limit, sin shall hereafter be committed, they shall not find salvation: for repentance for the righteous hath an end'.⁷ Secondly, if Christians of his own day are to enjoy the exceptional favour of penance after baptism, such penance is only open to each sinner once.⁸ Exceptional it is: for the ordinary teaching of the Church was that 'there is no other repentance save that which took place when we went down into the water, and obtained remission of our former sins'.⁹ For the time being, however, there is opportunity of repentance for sin after baptism; but only once. 'To me', says the Shepherd, 'is given authority over this repentance'.¹⁰ But I say unto you, if, after this great and holy calling, any one, being tempted of the devil, shall commit sin, he hath only one [opportunity of] repentance.'¹¹ Otherwise, it may be presumed that, according to Hermas, the holiness of the Church would have been compromised.

The interest of Hermas's solution of the problem presented

¹ *Similitude* VIII, vi, § 3; xi, § 3.

² *Vision* III, vii, §§ 2, 6; *Similitude* VIII, viii, §§ 4, 5; ix, § 4; xi, § 3.

³ *Vision* II, ii, § 5. *Μετανοία* includes (a) 'repentance', (b) 'remission', and (c) 'an inheritance among them that are sanctified', all the stages, in fact, of Christian initiation enumerated in Acts xxvi. 18. Our 'repentance' and even our 'penitence' is less than this, while 'penance' is now usually confined to the sacramental remedy for sin after baptism.

⁴ *J. T. S.* iv. 323.

⁵ i. e. the penitential discipline.

⁶ *Vision* II, ii, § 4; Document No. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 5; Document No. 30.

⁸ *Mandate* IV, iii, §§ 4-6; Document No. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 1; Document No. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 5; Document No. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 6; Document No. 32.

by nominal Christianity is great. It marks the urgency of the matter, and the growth of moral laxity among Christians even in the days of the persecutions. It exhibits what in Cyprian's time was called 'the ancient severity'¹ of the penitential discipline: a severity not, indeed, apostolic (for, in the New Testament, reconciliation is open² even for gross sins after baptism) but, none the less, primitive. The sub-apostolic Church, face to face with heathen sensuality, appears to have thought it imperative, in the interests of the holiness of the Church, to tighten up the original discipline. But it was not a wise move: and, a little later, the Church entered upon a milder policy. We should hardly count it mildness to have one chance, and one only, of making our confession and receiving absolution; but it was a considerable relaxation then. And if the policy, or temporary experiment, announced by Hermas represents the line taken authoritatively by his brother, pope Pius I (though this is but a conjecture), then it was the church of Rome—ever first in the art of government—that took the first step towards a more indulgent administration of the penitential discipline. For this, when a generation later³ she took the second, she came under the condemnation of the rigorist, Tertullian, who, as a Montanist, could scarcely, for all his command of violent language, find its resources adequate to the iniquity of the *Shepherd*.⁴

In one important point of discipline Tertullian⁵ himself could have found no fault with the *Shepherd*: for Hermas, when dealing with chastity for the married, permits divorce but not remarriage. 'If a [Christian] man who has a wife that is faithful

¹ 'Antiqua severitas,' Cyprian, *Ep.* xxx, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 550, ed. Hartel); and, for the attachment of the 'African' bishops to it, *Ep.* lv, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 638 sq.).

² 2 Cor. ii. 6 sq.; Rev. ii. 20 sq.

³ Under Pope Callistus, 217-†22; Document No. 120.

⁴ 'Scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat,' Tert. *De pudicitia*, c. x (*Op.* ii; *P. L.* ii. 1000 B).

⁵ Tertullian, writing as a Montanist and arguing against 'the lawfulness of the remarriage of those whose consorts have been taken away by death' (O. D. Watkins, *Holy Matrimony* [Rivington, 1895], 205), 'speaks of "those sentences also which our Lord uttered in reconsidering divorce, when now forbidding it after it had been sometime allowed" and reasons "that if *what God hath joined man may not put asunder* by divorce, it is but consistent that those whom God hath separated by death, man should not conjoin in marriage"', Tert. *De Monogamia*, c. ix; *Op.* ii [*P. L.* ii. 940 sq.]. We do not follow Tertullian in this Montanist contention against the unlawfulness of digamy. But it rests for its force on his being able to assume that every Christian knows that 'divorced people are not to contract fresh marriages', Watkins, *ut sup.*

in the Lord detect her in adultery, doth the husband sin in living with her? ' ¹ asks Hermas of the Angel of Repentance. And the answer is No, so long as he is not aware of it; but if he is, and she persists, then 'let him divorce her, and . . . abide alone; but if, after divorcing his wife, he shall marry another, he likewise committeth adultery'. ² "If then, Sir," say I, "after the wife is divorced, she repent and desire to return to her own husband, shall she not be received?" "Certainly", ³ and "for the sake of her repentance, therefore, the husband ought not to marry." ' ⁴ In so defining that the adulteress is to be dismissed but to be restored on penitence, and, meanwhile, the husband, though the innocent party, is to remain unmarried, Hermas is requiring the practice which afterwards came to be justified by the official teaching of the West as to the indissolubility of Christian marriage. ⁵ We may therefore assume that, in his teaching with regard to the penitential system generally, he represents the mind of his brother the bishop Pius and the Roman church of their day.

Doctrine interested Hermas less; and, perhaps, for this reason, or, it may be, because of his humble origin and consequent insufficiency of education, his references to it are somewhat lacking in intelligence. They occur in *Similitude* V on fasting, where Hermas is discovered 'keeping a station'. ⁶ His fast leads to a parable on works of supererogation, which runs as follows. A certain man had a vineyard. He set one of his slaves to fence it, and then went to travel abroad. The slave not only fenced it,

¹ *Mandate* IV, i, § 4.

² *Ibid.*, § 6. 'Here the Christian sentiment is quite at one with the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* [17 B. C.]; the husband who retains the adulteress is guilty of connivance of adultery, of *lenocinium*', Watkins, *op. cit.* 198.

³ Here Hermas is in direct opposition to the law of Rome; for, according to the *lex Iulia*, the repentance of the wife, and her dismissal of the adulterer, made no difference in her favour, Watkins, *op. cit.* 194, 198.

⁴ *Mandate* IV, i, §§ 4-8. Here Hermas is in still more 'startling opposition to the law and to the practice of the Empire, for by the Roman Law every divorced person was at liberty to remarry', Watkins, *op. cit.* 196, 198. In §§ 9-10 the same duty is laid upon the innocent wife of an adulterous husband. She is to put him away, but remain single, in the hope of his repentance, Document No. 31.

⁵ 'However, from his text, it does not appear very clearly whether he [Hermas] gives such a decision because he considers marriage as absolutely indissoluble, or rather because he places on the offended party the obligation of making it possible for the guilty one to do penance and repent,' J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas* [tr. H. L. B.], i. 114.

⁶ Σταρίωνα ἔχω, *Similitude* V, i, § 1.

but digged and weeded it also. The master, on his return, could not but notice that the slave had done more than was commanded him: and so pleased was he with him that, after consultation with his son and his friends, he made him joint-heir with his son. The master then made a feast, and sent the slave dainties from his table; these he distributed to his fellow-servants; all the more rejoiced were the master and his son that the servant had been given his freedom and a joint share in the inheritance.¹ In the interpretation, the confused theology of Hermas appears. For 'the estate is this world. . . . The lord of the estate is God that created all things. . . . The son [of the master] is the Holy Spirit²; the servant is the Son of God. . . . The vines are His people. . . . The weeds are their transgressions. . . . The dainties which He sent to him from the feast are the commandments which He gave to His people through His Son; the friends are the angels; and the absence of the master is the time which remaineth over till His coming'.³ Now, certainly, this would seem as if Hermas looked upon the relation between God and the Holy Spirit as that of Father to Son: and then, speaking of the Saviour (whom he never calls 'Word' or 'Jesus Christ' but 'the Son of God'⁴ or 'the Lord'⁵), Hermas goes on to say that 'the Lord' was made up, during His mortal life, of two elements—human nature or 'flesh' and 'the holy pre-existent Spirit which God made to dwell' therein.⁶ In this way God constituted the Saviour: and, 'when this flesh in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, had lived honourably in chastity, and had laboured in the Spirit and had co-operated with it in everything . . . He chose it as a partner with the Holy Spirit'.⁷ In other words, Hermas anticipates the adoptianists. He conceives of the Saviour as a man so indwelt by the Spirit that he came to be adopted into the Godhead. And, further: with him, the Trinity of Persons

¹ *Similitude* V, ii.

² 'Filius [sc. domini] spiritus sanctus est,' occurs in the Old Latin version (F. X. Funk, *Opera patrum apostolicorum*, i. 461); but has disappeared from the Greek of Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged), 351, in *Similitude* V, v, § 2. Funk observes 'filius huius loci est filius patris-familias, non Dei. Filius Dei enim in parabola est servus patrisfamilias', *ibid.* 459, and cf. *Sim.* IX, i. 1 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον . . . ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, and *Patr. Apost. Opera*, iii. 152 n., edd. O. von Gebhardt, A. Harnack, and T. Lahn.

³ *Similitude* V, v, 2, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* V, v, 2.

⁵ *Vision* III, vii, 3.

⁶ Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ πρόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατῴκησεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἡβούλετο, *Similitude* V, vi, 5; Document No. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 6.

in the Godhead, on this showing, results from the glorification of Jesus, and does not precede it as in the teaching of the Church. Hermas, notwithstanding his influence in building up the later penitential system of the Church, in doctrine proved an unskilled workman: and we cannot be surprised that, for crudities in theology as well as in some of his imagery, he fell out of favour in better-educated days. The East still clung to him in the fourth century: for, like Clement¹ and Origen,² Athanasius³ held him in high esteem, and recommended *The Shepherd* for use in the instruction of catechumens. But the doctors of the West disapprove. Ambrose and Augustine ignore him altogether. Jerome jeers at 'that apocryphal book of his, deservedly to be condemned for its stupidity'⁴: and Prosper of Aquitaine, †463, on finding that Cassian, †435, an Eastern settled at Marseilles, had quoted it, reminds him that it is of no authority.⁵

There remains its testimony, important but, again, somewhat obscure, to the stage of development reached in the Roman church by the Ministry, about the middle of the second century. Briefly the *Shepherd* may be described as marking the watershed in Rome, between the decline of the prophets and the consolidation of episcopacy.

Not that the prophets, in Hermas, were office-bearers, as they are in the *Didaché*⁶; but the prophetic gift had played its part in the Roman church as elsewhere. Hermas himself shared it. He was 'the recipient of veritable visions which are to be communicated to the Church',⁷ nor did it die with him. For not only does his contemporary Justin testify to its continuance⁸; but Irenaeus, a generation later, refers to instances of its survival in his day,⁹ and one of the opponents of Montanistic prophecy expected that 'the prophetic gift should last on in the whole

¹ *Supra*, 141, n. 5.

² Origen calls it a 'Scriptura . . . divinitus inspirata', *In Rom. Comment.* x, § 31 (*Op.* iv. 683; *P. G.* xiv. 1282 B).

³ Athanasius, *Festal Epistle*, xxxix, § 7 (*Op.* II. i. 156; *P. G.* xxvi. 1457 c).

⁴ 'Liber ille apocryphus stultitiae condemnandus,' Jerome, *Comment. in Abacuc*, i. 14 [Lib. I, c. i] (*Op.* vi. 604; *P. L.* xxv. 1286 B).

⁵ Prosper, *Contra Collatorem* [sc. Cassian], xiii, § 6 (*Op.* 342; *P. L.* li. 250 c).

⁶ *Didaché*, xiii, §§ 1-3.

⁷ C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 355.

⁸ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, § 82 (*Op.* 179; *P. G.* vi. 669 B).

⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* II. xxxii. 4, v. vi. 1 (*Op.* 166, 299; *P. G.* vii. 829 A, B, 1137 A, B). These passages are quoted in Eus. *H. E.* v. vii. 3-6.

church till the end'.¹ This expectation, however, failed to reckon with the discredit which overtook prophecy and so hastened its disappearance. Our Lord warned His hearers that prophets would be known by their fruits²: whereas the Apostles, and those who came after them in the office of stewards set over the household, would be judged by fidelity to their commission.³ St. Paul found prophets an awkward set of people to deal with⁴; and both he and St. John advised their readers not indeed to 'quench'⁵ but to prove the spirits,⁶ i.e. to distinguish between prophetic utterances false and true. The sub-apostolic Church took the advice: for Hermas in Rome devotes *Mandate XI* to instructing 'the servants of God'⁷ how to distinguish a true from a false prophet, just as the *Didaché* had done in Syria⁸ and the critics of Montanism were yet to do in Asia.⁹ The false prophet, according to Hermas, submits to be enquired of 'as a soothsayer'¹⁰ . . . whereas 'no Spirit given of God needeth to be consulted; but having the power of deity speaketh all things of itself.'¹¹ . . . Hear then, saith he, concerning both the prophets; and, as I shall tell thee, so shalt thou test the prophet and the false prophet. By his life test the man that hath the divine Spirit. In the first place, he that hath the [divine] Spirit, which is from above, is gentle and tranquil and humble-minded, and abstaineth from all wickedness and vain desire of this present world, and holdeth himself inferior to all men, and giveth no answer to any man when enquired of, nor speaketh in solitude (for neither doth the Holy Spirit speak when a man wisheth Him to speak) but the man speaketh then when God wisheth him to speak.¹² . . . Hear now, saith he, concerning the earthly and vain spirit, which hath no power but is foolish. In the first place, that man who seemeth to have a spirit exalteth himself, and desireth to have a chief place, and straightway he is impudent and shameless and talkative and conversant in many luxuries

¹ This is the opinion of Miltiades, c. 160; he bases it on Eph. iv. 11-13. But he seems to misinterpret 'the apostle', who there regards the ministry of apostle and prophet as 'a transitory gift, destined to pass away when the body of the saints or faithful Christians was sufficiently prepared and instructed to take its proper place', J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 149. For this quotation from Miltiades, see Eus. *H. E.* v. xvii. 4.

² Matt. vii. 16.

³ Luke xii. 42, 43; cf. 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiv. 29-33, 37.

⁵ 1 Thess. v. 19.

⁶ 1 Thess. v. 21; 1 John iv. 1.

⁷ *Mandate XI*, i.

⁸ *Didaché*, xi. 8

⁹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvi, xvii, xviii.

¹⁰ *Mandate XI*, i, § 2, Document No. 33.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, §§ 7, 8.

and in many other deceits, and receiveth money for his prophesying, and if he receiveth not, he prophesieth not.' ¹ Prophecy, when thus exploited by the professionals, had clearly run its course.

But the official ministry, soon to supply the Church with all necessary ministrations in things Spiritual, was still in process of consolidation at Rome. First among the stones already built up into the Communion of Saints, according to Hermas, are 'the Apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons' of a past generation, 'already fallen asleep'.² The ministry of his own day consists of (1) deacons—some of whom 'exercised their office ill' ³; (2) presbyters, who 'preside over the church' ⁴; (3) 'bishops',⁵ as to whom there is nothing to show whether they are to be identified, as in the New Testament and by Clement, with the presbyters or to be distinguished from them; (4) 'the rulers of the church', who are warned 'to direct their paths in righteousness' ⁶ and are 'the occupants of the chief seats'.⁷ Probably the presbyters are to be identified with the bishops; but whether these presbyter-bishops are, according to Hermas, 'the rulers of the church', or whether 'the rulers' correspond to 'the men of account' in Clement, who apparently ranked above presbyter-bishops, is not clear. In the former case, collegiate government was in being; in the latter case there was also a grade in the ministry superior to the presbyter-bishops. But this may have been so on any interpretation of the statements of Hermas: for, besides 'the rulers', he mentions Clement as occupying a place by himself. Hermas was to write 'two little books: and send one to Clement; and one to Grapte'—possibly a deaconess, as she was to 'instruct the widows and the orphans' out of it, or possibly the Roman church. Clement, on the other hand, 'shall send to the foreign cities: for this is his duty'.⁸ It looks as if, in Rome, the presbyter-bishops still form, in the times of Hermas, a sort of collegiate episcopate whose authority governs the church in the city: while their president, already the recognized representative of the church in dealing with other churches, was on the point of acquiring a similarly outstanding position in the church at home. If so, we have surprised mon-

¹ *Mandate* XI, i, §§ 11, 12.

² *Vision* III, v, § 1.

⁴ *Vision* II, iv, § 3.

⁶ *Vision* II, ii, § 6.

³ *Similitude* IX, xxvi, § 2.

⁵ *Similitude* IX, xxvii, § 2.

⁷ *Vision* III, ix, § 7.

⁸ *Vision* II, iv, § 3.

episcopacy at Rome in the act of issuing from the chrysalis stage into the final form of its development: and 'the change dates from the time of Pius'. It may have been 'justified, if it needed justification, by the invasion of heretical schools like those of Valentinus, Cerdo, and Marcion, who made themselves felt in Rome, c. A.D. 140-150'.¹

§ 5. The correspondence between Soter, eleventh bishop of Rome, and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth,² c. A.D. 171, may be an example, so far as Soter is concerned, of the way in which for the president of a college of presbyter-bishops to represent his church in dealing with 'foreign cities' reacted in favour of his sole pre-eminence as bishop at home. The letters are those of churches³ written through their bishops.

Of Soter we know little, save that the church of Corinth was in the habit of 'keeping the Lord's Day holy' by reading a letter that he wrote on behalf of his church, just as it read the letter of his predecessor Clement, for 'admonition'.⁴ Two letters then of the Roman church were treated at Corinth as more or less on the level of Holy Scripture: for they were read, where lessons from the Old and the New Testament were customarily read, in the service preparatory to the Eucharist. Here we have testimony to the observance of the Lord's Day for worship; to the service of its Vigil, afterwards the *Missa Catechumenorum* or Ante-Communion, as then in process of taking shape; and to a Canon of the New Testament as already in existence, distinct from, yet not excluding respect to, quasi-canonical writings.

The letter of Dionysius in reply is one of a collection of seven 'Catholic epistles'⁵ written to as many communities, together with a private letter to Chrysophora.⁶ He was an indefatigable letter-writer, and became, for love of it, what other bishops since his day have had to become perforce. 'He rendered the greatest service to all', says Eusebius, 'in the Catholic epistles which he wrote to the churches'—to the Lacedaemonians,⁷ to the Athenians,⁸

¹ J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 127.

² Eus. *H. E.* II. xxv. 8, IV. xxiii. 9-12, and Document No. 54.

³ 'Ἀνέγνωμεν, say the Corinthians, ὑμῶν [*sc.* the Romans] τὴν ἐπιστολήν, Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. 11.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. 11.

⁵ Ibid., § 1. For this use of 'Catholic' in tacit contrast to 'private', see *Muratorian Fragment*, II. 60 sq.

⁶ Ibid., § 1.

⁷ Ibid., § 2.

⁸ Ibid., § 2.

to the Nicomedians,¹ to Gortyna,² and to Cnossus,³ two churches in Crete, to Amastris and other churches in Pontus.⁴ The recipients of these letters are bishops of Christian communities scattered throughout the East from Greece to Pontus—Quadratus of Athens, Philip of Gortyna, Pinytus of Cnossus who, in a reply to Dionysius, made it clear that, while he held a high opinion of the character of the bishop of Corinth, he thought his teaching too elementary,⁵ and Palmas of Amastris. In the East then, Christian churches were widely distributed and episcopally organized at this date. The topics which Dionysius discusses with his colleagues are such as then presented the chief problems to the episcopate—unity⁶; perseverance⁷; Marcionism⁸; the meaning of Holy Scripture⁹; ‘marriage and chastity’¹⁰; and penance ‘after any fall’¹¹ with consideration for ‘human frailty’.¹² They reveal the statesmanlike breadth of his sympathies, and amply account for the range of his influence. So much, at any rate, we may gather from the brief allusion of Eusebius, which is all that we have, by way of clue, to the contents of these letters to churches of the East. From the letter to the Romans, addressed to Soter, Eusebius has preserved important extracts.¹³ After an allusion to the association of Peter and Paul in ‘planting and ‘teaching’ and in ‘suffering martyrdom at the same time’¹⁴ Dionysius, who thus traces the greatness of the Roman church to its Apostolic foundation, goes on to ascribe its place in the esteem of Christendom to its wealth and charity. ‘From the beginning it has been your practice to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send contributions to many churches in every city.’¹⁵ The extract then alludes to Marcion as a corrupter

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 4.

² Ibid., § 4.

³ Ibid., § 7.

⁴ Ibid., § 6.

⁵ Ibid., § 8.

⁶ Ibid., § 2.

⁷ Ibid., § 2.

⁸ Ibid., § 4, to the people of Nicomedia in Bithynia: Marcion was a native of the neighbouring Pontus.

⁹ Ibid., § 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., § 6.

¹¹ Ibid., § 6.

¹² Ibid., § 17. Dionysius had got beyond the relaxation permitted by Hermas, and already occupied the position in regard to penance that was not adopted at Rome till the days of Pope Callistus, 217–†22.

¹³ Documents Nos. 53, 54.

¹⁴ Eus. *H. E.* ii. xxv. 8. Peter and Paul are here said to be co-founders of the church in Corinth as well as in Rome. For Peter as co-founder of Corinth, see G. Edmundson, *The Church in Rome*, 78 sq. He places his visit there A. D. 54, the year before 1 Corinthians was written, and notes the references to Peter’s wife, 1 Cor. ix. 5, to ‘the super-eminent Apostle’, 2 Cor. xii. 11, as well as to the ‘Cephas’ party, 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22.

¹⁵ Ibid. iv. xxiii, § 10.

of the Scriptures ; and testifies incidentally to the weight attached to episcopal letters—those of Dionysius himself, in particularly observing that ‘these’ too ‘the apostles of the devil have filled with tares. . . . It is not therefore to be wondered at if some have attempted to adulterate the Lord’s writings also, since they have formed designs even against writings which are of less account.’¹ It is evident that the episcopate and heresy were watching each other closely at this epoch : the decline of the latter may have had much to do with the secure and universal establishment of the former. Finally, the intercommunion between church and church, of which the correspondence of Dionysius is an instance, bears witness to that ‘agreement’² which made Christendom, as an *imperium in imperio*, so formidable, in spite of its exiguous numbers, to the eye of the Roman Government : and, further, this ‘agreement’ is fatal to any theory that the Catholic Creed and Order, now exerting its hold through the energy of rulers like Dionysius, was ‘the result of a convulsion in Christendom and not the traditional embodiment of Apostolic teaching’.³

§ 6. *The Muratorian*⁴ *Canon*⁵ dates, c. 175–200, from a period shortly after the correspondence between Soter and Dionysius.⁶ It is a fragment, probably of some episcopal letter, originally written in Greek Iambics,⁷ to provide the Roman church, still Greek, with a *memoria technicā* as to the books of the New Testament. Hippolytus, c. 155–†236, may have been its author. It is ‘a summary of the opinion of the Western church on the Canon shortly after the middle of the second century’.⁸ The contents of the Fragment we may leave till the chapter on the growth of the Canon of the New Testament. But, meanwhile, we may observe that the Fragment expresses no ‘individual

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 12.

² ‘Ecquid verisimile est ut tot et tantae ecclesiae in unam fidem erraverint?’ Tertullian, *De Praescr. Haeret.* c. xxviii (*Op.* ii ; *P. L.* ii. 40 B).

³ B. F. Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament*⁵, 190.

⁴ So called, from L. A. Muratori, who discovered it, 1740, at Milan.

⁵ Text in H. Lietzmann, *Materials for the use of theological lectures and students*, No. 1, and Document No. 117. Translation in *A. N. C. L.* ix. ii. 159 sqq. ; account and text in B. F. Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, 211 sqq., and App. C ; account only in J. B. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 405–13.

⁶ For this date cf. the reference to the *Shepherd* as written, ‘nuperrime temporibus nostris’, line 74.

⁷ Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 408.

⁸ Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵ 212.

judgement'. Its test for the canonicity of any writing is appeal to 'the practice of "the Catholic Church"' ¹ with regard to it. 'In the name of Holy Scripture, we do understand' is in effect the language of its author, 'those books of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church'.²

¹ Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵ 220, and cf. 'quae in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest' and 'in catholica [sc. ecclesia] habentur', ll. 66, 69.

² Article VI.

CHAPTER VII

THE GENTILE CHURCHES TO c. 150

(ii) ALEXANDRIA. (iii) ANTIOCH. (iv) ASIA

§ 1. THE church of Alexandria came, in time, to stand next in rank to the church of Rome. But up to and beyond the middle of the second century we know little of it. Alexandria was the home of a liberal Judaism; and this may be the reason why Christianity, confronted as it was with a powerful rival, made at first but little progress there. Philo, †c. A.D. 42, was the typical representative of Alexandrian Judaism. He made it his mission to 'reconcile Judaism with the culture of the Western world'.¹ The instrument which he chose for his purpose was allegorism—that method of bringing writings venerable for their antiquity into harmony with current opinion by finding in them a meaning 'other' than that which lies upon their surface. This method was the scientific method of the age. It was used by the scholar to elucidate Homer and Hesiod; by Philo to gain a hearing for Moses; and by St. Paul, in argument with the Rabbis or the Judaizers (for they also made use of it), to discover the Gospel in the Law.² But nowhere was the allegorical method so much in vogue as at Alexandria; and it is chiefly because the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*³ relies almost entirely upon allegorism in his endeavour to undermine the defences of a strongly entrenched Judaism, that his letter is assigned, on internal grounds, to the church of Alexandria. External evidence supports the conjecture. The earliest notices of the letter are found in the Alexandrian Fathers, Clement and Origen, who regard it with great veneration.

Its text is found in the *Codex Sinaiticus* of the fourth century, which may ultimately be traced to Alexandria; though it also appears in the Constantinopolitan MS. of A.D. 1056 to which

¹ C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*², 29 (ed. Brightman, 1913).

² Gal. iv. 24; 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10, x. 4.

³ Text and translation in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 243 sqq.; introduction in *ibid.* 239–42; in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. ii. 503–12 (fuller); in O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 22 sqq.; and in C. T. Cruttwell, *A literary history of early Christianity*, i. 45 sqq.

reference has already been made. 'The presumption', therefore, 'is that it was written in Alexandria itself.'¹

As to its authorship, there is no such corroboration of tradition by internal testimony. Clement indeed attributes the letter to Barnabas,² as also does Origen.³ Eusebius places it among the non-canonical writings⁴; and Jerome counts it as one of 'the apocryphal scriptures'⁵; but both seem firmly convinced that its author was the Apostle Barnabas. No Apostle, however, writes to his converts 'not as though I were a teacher, but as one of yourselves'.⁶ It is inconceivable that Barnabas the Levite⁷ could have so traduced his own people as to make it the theme of his Epistle that they misunderstood their own Law. Nor could the companion of St. Paul have argued that the ordinances of the Law were never even to have been temporarily obeyed in the letter. Modern judgement, therefore, by contrast with patristic opinion, is widely agreed in rejecting the authorship of Barnabas.

Modern scholars, however, assign the Epistle to an early period; but the precise date turns upon the interpretation to be given to two passages quoted by the author from the prophets. In the first of these he maintains that the end of all things is at hand,⁸ and supports his belief by reference to 'the prophet also' who 'speaketh on this wise: "Ten kings shall reign upon the earth, and after them shall arise a little king, who shall bring low three of the kings under one."'⁹ In like manner, Daniel speaketh concerning the same: "And I saw the fourth beast to be wicked and strong and more intractable than all the beasts of the earth, and how there arose from him ten horns, and from these a little horn, an excrescence, and how that it abased under one three of the great horns."¹⁰ Ye ought therefore to understand.'¹¹ It is clear that the Epistle was written in the time of the 'little king'—an eleventh: but who is he? According to the traditional enumeration, the ten Caesars were (1) Julius, (2) Augustus,

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged), 239.

² Clem. Al. *Strom.* II. vi. 31, vii. 35 (*Op.* i. 161; *P. G.* viii. 965 c, 972 A).

³ Origen, *contra Celsum*, i, § 63 (*Op.* i. 378; *P. G.* xi. 777 B).

⁴ 'Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω . . . ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή, Eus. *H. E.* III. xxv. 4; and Κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς (sc. the *Miscellanies* of Clem. Al.) καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων γραφῶν μαρτυρίας . . . τῆς . . . Βαρνάβα [ἐπιστολῆς], *ibid.* VI. xiii. 6.

⁵ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. vi (*Op.* ii. 839; *P. L.* xxiii. 619 A), and *Comment. in Ezech.* ad. xliii. 19 (*Op.* v. 551; *P. L.* xxv. 425 A).

⁶ *Epist. Barn.* i, § 8.

⁷ Acts v. 36.

⁸ *Epist. Barn.* iv, § 3.

⁹ Dan. vii. 24.

¹⁰ Dan. vii. 7, 8.

¹¹ *Epist. Barn.* iv, §§ 4-6.

(3) Tiberius, (4) Caius, (5) Claudius, (6) Nero, (7) Galba, (8) Otho, (9) Vitellius, (10) Vespasian. Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian, associated with him,¹ are the three kings in one of the Flavian dynasty. They are to be brought low by 'the little king' or 'the little horn', who in Daniel's prophecy symbolizes anti-Christ and must therefore be a persecuting emperor. Such an emperor would be found in *Nero redivivus*: for the reappearance of Nero² was confidently expected in the days of Vespasian. The epistle will, in this case, have been written during the reign of Vespasian, 70–9. Others,³ counting the ten Caesars from Augustus and omitting one of the three immediate predecessors of Vespasian, as all three were not universally recognized, reckon Domitian as the tenth Emperor. In him the three Flavian Emperors—three in one family—came to an end: and the next Emperor was Nerva. According to this reckoning, 'the little king' or 'the little horn' is identified with Nerva: and *the Epistle of Barnabas* would consequently have been written c. 96–8. Others⁴ again place the letter as late as c. 132, but only by counting the three kings over and above the ten: whereas they were in some sense comprised within the ten. The second passage is from Isaiah: 'Behold they that pulled down this temple, themselves shall build it.'⁵ 'This', says the Epistle, 'is now taking place. Because they went to war, it was pulled down by their enemies: now also the very subjects of their enemies shall build it up.'⁶ The reference is supposed to be to the destruction of Jerusalem and to Hadrian's intention of rebuilding the temple: and the Epistle is accordingly placed c. 132. But this conflicts with any natural interpretation of the three horns and 'the little horn': no such intention can be proved to have been in Hadrian's mind; and, further, the author is so constantly reproving the Jews for setting their hopes on the material Temple, while the context is so emphatic upon there being but a spiritual Temple, that he is scarcely likely to have encouraged any expectation of the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple. This second passage, then,

¹ Tac. *Hist.* iv. iii. 5.

² 'Non defuerunt qui . . . proferrent . . . edicta [Neronis] quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri,' Suetonius, *Vita Neronis*, lvii.

³ So Hilgenfeld: see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 507.

⁴ So Volkmar: 'he omits Julius and Vitellius, so as to reckon Domitian the tenth king; but he takes the three kings to be the three successors of this last-named emperor—Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian,' *ibid.* 508.

⁵ Isa. xlix. 17.

⁶ *Epist. Barn.* xvi, § 4.

can have no bearing upon the date: and we conclude that, probably, the *Epistle of Barnabas* emanates from Alexandria, c. 70-9.

The Epistle belongs to the anti-Judaic literature of the early Church; and is an attempt to meet the Jewish controversialist who contended for the eternity of the Mosaic Law. 'How can you Christians', he would argue, 'maintain that Christ, the Son of God, has done away with the Law when God, the unchanging Father, put forth that Law as the only condition of salvation?' To this St. Paul answered, in the epistles to the Galatians and the Romans, that the Law served a temporary purpose¹; while the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews preferred to view it as typical² of better things to come. But, in either case, it was transient and not eternal: and so the Church of apostolic times would hold, with the Church of to-day, that the Law represented a stage in the development of the Divine Self-revelation which has not been 'destroyed' but 'fulfilled'³ in the Gospel. By the aid of the concept of a progressive revelation, the first Christian teachers gave what we should accept as a scientific answer to the plea of the Jew for the eternal obligation of the Law. Much more drastic but, to the mind of our age, though not necessarily of his own, less scientific was the answer with which the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* met the Jewish opponent. He holds the Old Testament in no less veneration than that with which St. Paul or the writer to the Hebrews regards it; but not content with claiming, like them, that the Law is now abrogated, he holds that it was never valid. The Jews, by taking their Scriptures in the literal sense, had 'shipwrecked themselves upon their own Law'.⁴ They should have interpreted it not according to the letter but according to the Spirit. In the main part of his argument (cc. ii-xvii) the author then proceeds to illustrate his thesis in detail; and, calling the allegorical method to his aid, he contends that God asked not for external sacrifices but for a broken heart (c. ii); not for bodily fasting but for works of mercy (c. iii); not for circumcision of the flesh but for its spiritual counterpart in the willing ear and the wounded, and therefore sensitive, heart (c. ix); not for abstinence from the flesh of unclean animals but from the sins which they represent (c. x). He then goes on, by

¹ e. g. Gal. iii. 19; Rom. v. 20.

³ Matt. v. 17.

² e. g. Heb. ix. 24, x. 1.

⁴ *Epist. Barn.* iii, § 6.

the method of allegorism, to discover the Gospel in the Law, and to show how the Jew, had he not been blind, would, at point after point, have found his Scriptures foreshadowing the truths of the Christian revelation or the details of the Gospel story. Thus, in the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham,¹ there is a mystical allusion to the Cross: and in the brazen serpent 'again thou hast . . . the glory of Jesus' (c. xii). Since the world was created in six days, and 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years',² the seventh day or sabbath, in which God rested after creation, is the present or Christian era to close with the Judgement (c. xv).³ 'As for the Temple', we have only to inquire 'if there be any temple of God' in order to learn that we ourselves are 'the spiritual temple built up to the Lord' (c. xvi).

In estimating the value of this argument, we feel that while the author's conclusions are sound and spiritual, we could not reach them by the road he takes. His method is arbitrary, subjective, and wearisome: and such is the contrast which he exhibits with St. Paul in intellectual grasp that, after reading the *Epistle of Barnabas*, we are confirmed in our conviction that it could not have come from an Apostolic hand. On the other hand, though the author's antipathy to Judaism is uncompromising, he does not display that antagonism to the Old Testament which came to a head in the heresy of Marcion. Marcion rejected it root and branch: this author quotes it as authoritative, and only accuses the Jews of misunderstanding its testimony to Christ. Among the champions of Christianity in opposition to Judaism, he stands midway between St. Paul and Marcion, and has much in common with Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, the Jew. In his doctrine of the Person of Christ, he ascribes to our Lord a pre-existent Sonship: for 'He manifested Himself to be the Son of God'.⁴ In the latter part of his Epistle (cc. xviii-xx) he appears to be indebted to the treatise on the 'Two Ways' which demands our consideration next.

§ 2. Antioch was the birth-place of the Christian name.⁵ It had for its first bishop Evodius, and for its second Ignatius.⁶ It was also the third city of the Empire; the focus of Graeco-Roman

¹ Gen. xiv. 14. Here 18=IH=Jesus and 300=T=the Cross, *Epist. Barn.* ix, § 8. The same argument appears in Justin.

² 2 Pet. iii. 8.

³ Cf. Document No. 7.

⁴ *Epist. Barn.* v, § 9.

⁵ Acts xi. 26.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxii.

civilization for the provinces known as 'the East'; and the capital of Syria. To some region in Syria, perhaps to some Greek-speaking community in an out-of-the-way corner of Palestine, we must look for the production of the *Didaché*¹ or *The teaching of the Lord, through his twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles*. The text was discovered in 1875 by Philotheos Bryennios, and published by him in 1883 from the Constantinopolitan MS. of 1056, which also contained, as we have seen, the epistles of Clement and Barnabas. Testimony to the *Didaché*, as to *Barnabas*, is largely Egyptian. Clement of Alexandria cites it as Scripture.² *The Apostolic Church Order* compiled in Egypt,³ c. 300, consists in cc. iv-xiv of the description of the Way of Life amplified from the *Didaché*, cc. i-iv. Athanasius, writing in 367, ranks it among writings suitable for the instruction of catechumens.⁴ But a casual allusion of the *Didaché* to corn 'scattered upon the mountains'⁵ points not to Egypt but to Syria: and the fact that the whole of the *Didaché* is reproduced, with interpolations and modifications, in a Syrian *Church Order* of c. 375 known as the *Apostolical Constitutions*,⁶ confirms its derivation from Syria. Indications of its connexion with a Palestinian community are to be found in its use of 'Thy Servant Jesus'⁷ as the title of our Lord, and in its description of Christians as 'they that have been baptized into the name of the Lord'⁸: for here we have reproduced phrases characteristic of the early church in Jerusalem. The undeveloped type of worship and organization, which the *Didaché* presents, points either to very early conditions or, more probably, to a survival of them in some community remote from the main stream of Church life. We may therefore assign the *Didaché* to some secluded church in Palestine, at the end of the first, or the

¹ Text and translation in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (abridged edition), 217-35, and Document No. 13. For an account of it see C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, c. i.

² Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. xx (*Op.* 138; *P. G.* viii. 817 c).

³ So O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 161. Others assign it to Asia, e. g. J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 34 sq.; A. J. Maclean, *The ancient Church Orders*, 26. For a translation from the Syriac see J. P. Arendzen in *J. T. S.* iii. 61-73 (October 1901).

⁴ *Festal Ep.* xxxix, § 5 (*Op.* II. ii. 138; *P. G.* viii. 817 c).

⁵ *Didaché*, ix, § 4.

⁶ It occurs in *Ap. Const.* vii. 1-32, for which see Maclean, *op. cit.* 28. On the date of the *Ap. Const.*, as a whole, see *ibid.* 149, and J. Wordsworth, *op. cit.* 45.

⁷ Διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου, *Didaché*, ix, § 3, x, § 2; cf. Acts iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30; and cf. Matt. xii. 13; Isa. xlii. 1, lii. 13, liii. 11.

⁸ *Didaché*, ix, § 5; cf. Acts ii. 38, viii. 16.

beginning of the second,¹ century. And, in any case, we must be on our guard against taking it as 'representative of the general condition of the Church' at that date. 'It would appear rather to belong to some isolated community in which there lingered a condition of life and organization which had elsewhere passed away.'²

The contents of the *Didaché* have already been anticipated. It is a composite work, consisting of two parts. Part I (cc. i-vi) is a manual of elementary morals on the 'Two Ways, one of life and one of death',³ i.e. of right-living (cc. i-iv) and wrong-doing (c. v) respectively. It may have had a Jewish origin. If so, it was probably taken over as a convenient means of conveying to Gentile converts, in preparation for Baptism, that elementary teaching about right and wrong which the convert from Judaism would possess to start with. Of the existence of such a manual, embodied though it is both at the end of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and at the opening of the *Didaché*, we have no further knowledge. But the supposition of its existence seems the best way of explaining the apparent indebtedness of the one to the other: it was really the indebtedness of both to a common original.⁴ Part II (cc. vii-xvi) supposes that the catechist will have 'first recited all these things',⁵ sc. about 'the two ways': and so proceeds to treat of the church-life to which the convert is to be introduced. The directions given are such as are usual in a *Church Order*. They concern baptism (c. vii) which is 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' with either immersion or water 'poured on the head thrice',⁶ and is prepared

¹ Turner argues for 'the year 60', and does not admit a date later than 'between 80 and 100', *Studies*, &c., 31.

² J. A. Robinson, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, 98 n.

³ *Didaché*, i, § 1.

⁴ Turner, *op. cit.* 4. 'The form from which Barnabas drew contained no Christian elements.' The form from which the *Didaché* drew adds them, e. g. i, §§ 3-5. It is possible that 'the next section also (cc. vi-x) treating of Meats, Baptism, Fasting, Prayer, and Eucharistia or Thanksgiving, is based on the same Jewish model', *ibid.* 5. Even cc. xi-xvi may reproduce a Jewish original, with modifications, *ibid.* 7, 8.

⁵ *Didaché*, vii, § 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii, § 3. Pouring or affusion here seems to be the alternative to immersion, where, owing to insufficiency of water, immersion is not possible. But immersion is not submersion; it was never total; and pouring generally accompanied it, on which see C. F. Rogers, 'Baptism and Christian archaeology', in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, v. ii, and his notes in *J. T. S.* vi. 107 sqq. (October 1904), xii. 437 sqq. (April 1911), and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 313.

for by fasting, on the part both of the minister and of the recipient ; fasting and prayer¹ (c. viii), the days for fasting being not Monday and Thursday as with the Pharisee, who, when he ‘fasted twice in the week’,² observed those days, but Wednesday and Friday, while the Lord’s Prayer said three times daily is the rule of prayer : the Agapé (cc. ix,³ x), for which some liturgical forms are given that have no known parallel in contemporary or later formularies. Indeed ‘the liturgy’ here ‘described has altogether the aspect of an anomaly’.³ Then follow directions for preserving harmonious relations between different communities of Christians. Thus ‘apostles and prophets’ (c. xi), who appear to be the same⁴ and, as in the lifetime of St. Paul, to represent the itinerant or general ministry of the Church,⁵ are to be received but closely scrutinized : ‘not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord.’⁶ Similar precaution is to be taken in regard to professing Christians, on their travels : they are to be received, but tested (c. xii). Provision is made for the support of prophet or teacher ‘desiring to settle’⁷ in the community (c. xiii) : ‘the prophets’, as ‘the chief-priests’ of Christians, will be sustained by the firstfruits. The Lord’s Feast in the Lord’s House on the Lord’s Day is the rule of Christian worship ; with confession before Communion, if there be need of reconciliation between any ‘that your sacrifice may not be defiled : for this sacrifice it is [sc. of the breaking of the bread] that was spoken of by the Lord : “In every place and at every time offer me a pure sacrifice”’⁸ (c. xiv). As if their function were closely concerned with this offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the manual goes on to provide for the due appointment of the local ministry of ‘bishops and deacons’ (c. xv), whose credit stands not least in their taking rank with the general ministry of ‘prophets and teachers’. It then concludes with an exhortation to frequent worship, in view of the coming of the Lord (c. xvi).

¹ The fast before Communion, to be rightly conceived, should be thought of as a survival of the fast preparatory to any solemn act of devotion, e. g. prayer or baptism.

² Luke xviii. 12 : it was apparently on one of these days that our Lord, at the feast in Levi’s house, was ‘eating with the sinners and publicans’ (Mark ii. 16), while ‘John’s disciples and the Pharisees were fasting’ (ibid. 18).

³ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 53.

⁴ The ‘apostle’ who stays in a church more than two days is called a ‘false prophet’, xi, §§ 4, 5, and so too if he ask for money, ibid., § 6.

⁵ 1 Cor. xii. 28 ; Eph. iv. 11 : here they are different.

⁶ *Didaché*, xi, § 8.

⁷ Ibid. xiii, § 1.

⁸ Ibid. xiv, § 3 ; cf. Mal. i. 11.

Much is obscure ; but much also sufficiently clear to be of great importance in this earliest Church Manual. Its forms of prayer ' for the thanksgiving ' ¹ and ' after ye have been filled ' ²—a phrase appropriate to the Agapé but not to the Eucharist—preserve the memory, or perhaps indicate the actual survival, within its limited area, of the enthusiasm which characterized the primitive Christian communities. This was not inconsistent with those organized institutions of worship which have since provided it with permanent expression. On the contrary, the love-feast existed side by side with Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Lord's Day. So it was at Corinth, where Agapé ³ preceded Eucharist, ⁴ and where prophets who conducted a liturgy of the Spirit, ⁵ with results not unlike a Quakers' meeting of later days, overshadowed entirely the local ministry. ⁶ A similar, but slightly advanced, stage of development in the ministry is mirrored in the *Didaché*. The prophets still occupy the place of esteem. At grace, after the love-feast, they ' offer thanksgiving as much as they desire ', ⁷ or improvise it, and as ' the chief-priests ' of the community they have a right to maintenance at its hands. ⁸ But their credit is already declining : they are not to be taken at their own valuation but tested ' according to the ordinance of the Gospel. ' ⁹ —' By their fruits, ye shall know them. ' ¹⁰ Provision is made for ' a true prophet desiring to settle ' ¹¹ : and so perhaps by his transference from the general ministry of the Church to the local ministry of a community where he would at once take precedence over its ' bishops and deacons ', one avenue was opened for the transition from the missionary stage of supervision by itinerating apostles and prophets over local clergy to the permanent institution of episcopacy. ¹² Already the local ' bishops and deacons ' are rising in consideration ¹³ : though men would still say of them, Are they also among the prophets ? The compiler of the *Didaché* reminds their critics that ' they also perform the service ¹⁴ of the

¹ *Didaché*, ix, § 1.

² *Ibid.* x, § 1.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 17–22, 33–4.

⁴ 1 Cor. xi. 23–32.

⁵ 1 Cor. xiv. 26–33.

⁶ They appear to be just alluded to in παντὶ τῷ . . . κοπιῶντι of 1 Cor. xvi. 16 ; for with it compare 1 Thess. v. 12.

⁷ *Didaché*, x, § 7.

⁸ *Ibid.* xiii, § 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* xi, § 3.

¹⁰ Matt. vii. 20.

¹¹ *Didaché*, xiii, § 1.

¹² ' The change from the one [*sc.* the general ministry] to the other [*sc.* the local] is the real problem of primitive Church organisation ', Turner, *op. cit.* 14.

¹³ For this rise see Turner, *op. cit.* 19 sq.

¹⁴ Λειτουργοῦσι τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν—the sacrificial and sacerdotal language in which the functions of the Christian ministry were, from the

prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not: for they are your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers'. Clearly things stood at the parting of the ways in the little world represented by the *Didaché*; and the local clergy were in process of taking over,¹ strengthened as they were both by the acquisition of the prophet and by the decline of his order.² Their election by the community³ would, as hitherto and as in later days, when it was a condition preliminary to ordination, sustain their influence with their flock; but the silence of the *Didaché* about their ordination need cause no surprise. It is a manual of directions for the local church: and the bestowal of Orders was not one of the functions of local churches,⁴ until they came to be organized episcopally.

§ 3. In Asia, and at the time of the journey of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, through its churches, we find episcopacy full-grown: for Polycarp, at that date, was already bishop of Smyrna,⁵ and Papias, his contemporary, bishop of Hierapolis. And these three are the outstanding figures of the Church in Asia during the first half of the second century.

(a) Of the life of Ignatius we know nothing; but we have an intimate knowledge of his character and can make a shrewd guess at his antecedents from the seven letters which he wrote when travelling from Antioch, through the churches of Asia, on his way to martyrdom at Rome,⁶ c. 110–17. We are not certain whether, on setting out from Antioch, Ignatius was taken by the great

first, described; cf. Acts xiii. 2; Rom. xv. 16; and Heb. vii. 12, where, under the New Covenant, the ministerial 'priesthood' is not said to be abolished but to be 'changed'.

¹ So Harnack (as summarized by Turner) 'seems to have struck the true keynote of the development of the episcopate when he concludes that "the superiors of the individual community owe the high position which they finally attained mainly to the circumstance that the most important functions of the ministers of the Church at large—the apostles, prophets, and teachers—in course of time, as these died out or lost their significance, passed over to them"', Turner, *op. cit.* 9.

² Extinct by A. D. 150; Turner, *op. cit.* 17.

³ *Didaché*, xv, § 1.

⁴ 'The principal of mission . . . is exemplified [in Acts] in the primitive Church by the position of the Apostles; through them alone came the gift of the Holy Ghost, conveyed by the laying-on of hands; they, or those commissioned by them, appointed, or ratified the appointment of, even the local officials of each infant community', Turner, *op. cit.* 12: he refers to Acts ii. 42, 43, v. 12–15, vi. 3–6, viii. 14–19, x. 44–8, xi. 15–18, xiv. 23, xix. 5, 6.

⁵ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, Ignatius, *ad Polycarpum*, *ad init.*; cf. *ad Magn.* xv.

⁶ Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* xxi, § 2; *ad Rom.* v, § 1.

road which ran through Tarsus and the Cilician Gates ; or by sea, so as to land at Attalia and strike the road at Laodicea on the Lycus. At Laodicea there was a choice of roads leading west, and it was here, probably, that his guards selected the upper route through Philadelphia to Smyrna. From Smyrna he wrote four letters¹ to communities which he had not visited in person : three to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles, which, lying as they did on the lower route that he had not taken, had sent delegates² to greet him at Smyrna, and a fourth to the Romans in anticipation of his approaching martyrdom. Then from Troas he sent three³ letters more, to those whom he had met at earlier stages of the journey : one to the church of Philadelphia, a second to the church of Smyrna, and a third to its bishop, Polycarp. These seven letters are the collection of Ignatian Epistles as known to Eusebius. He mentions them in the above order and as dispatched in two groups from Smyrna and from Troas respectively.⁴ From Troas Ignatius passed to Philippi ; but there we lose sight of him. Polycarp heard from him thence, as also from the Philippians about him. But he, too, could follow him no further : for he asks the Philippians ‘ concerning Ignatius himself and those that were with him, if ye have any sure tidings, to certify us ’.⁵ But, so far as we know, no tidings came : and presumably Ignatius continued his journey by the Via Egnatia to Dyrrachium or Aulona ; thence, by sea, to Brundisium, and so, by the Via Appia, to Rome, where he met the martyr’s death that he desired.

The Ignatian Epistles are known in three recensions, the long, the middle, and the short, as they are called : of thirteen, of seven, and of three letters respectively.⁶

To take, first, the seven letters of the middle recension ; for it is now agreed that they are the only genuine letters of Ignatius. The primary authority for their original text is found as to six in a Greek manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Medicean Library at Florence,⁷ and as to the seventh—the Epistle

Eph. xxi, § 1 ; *Magn.* xv, § 1 ; *Trall.* xiii, § 1 ; *Rom.* x, § 1.

² For the delegates (a) of the Ephesians, see *Eph.* i, § 3, xxi, § 1 ; *Magn.* xv, § 1 ; *Trall.* xiii, § 1 ; (b) of the Magnesians, see *Magn.* ii, vi, § 1, xv, § 1 ; and (c) of the Trallians, see *Trall.* i, § 1, xii, § 1.

³ *Philad.* xi, § 2 ; *Smyrn.* xii, § 1 ; *Polyc.* viii, § 1.

⁴ *Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxvi. 5, 6, 10.

⁵ Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* xiii.

⁶ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. i. 70.

⁷ *Ibid.* 73.

to the Romans—in a Greek manuscript of the tenth century, now in the National Library at Paris.¹ The six were first published by the Dutch scholar, Isaac Voss, a sceptic but a lover of the marvellous, of whom Charles II said that Voss would believe anything so long as it was not in the Bible. Afterwards he rewarded him with a canonry of Windsor, 1673–†89. In the year that Voss died the text of the Epistle to the Romans was published by the French Benedictine scholar, dom Thierry Ruinart, in his ² *Acta martyrum sincera*, 1689. Thus the world of letters was put once more in possession of the collection of the seven genuine epistles of Ignatius, as it lay before Eusebius: and the seven displaced the current thirteen.

Secondly, this long recension³ of thirteen. It had held the field from the fourth century, in which Eusebius died, to the seventeenth, and was of high repute throughout the Middle Ages. It consisted of letters attributed to Ignatius, i.e. the seven above-mentioned, with interpolations, and six others besides. It is extant in the Greek,⁴ and in a Latin translation of c. 600–900⁵; and is sometimes accompanied by four more letters in Latin—two from Ignatius to St. John, and one to the Blessed Virgin Mary, with her reply⁶—which are of Western origin and may be traced back to the twelfth century. So popular were these four in the later Middle Ages that ‘no collection of the Ignatian Epistles would have appeared complete without them’.⁷ But the time came at length for the discrediting of the Long Recension, and very nearly, as some hoped and others feared, of Ignatius himself: for only in this Recension was Ignatius then known at all. With the revival of letters, c. 1500, it gradually became obvious to the critics of that era that the text of the Long Recension, as first printed in Latin, 1498,⁸ and in Greek, 1557,⁹ was not the text of Ignatius as quoted by Eusebius and Theodoret. To the Reformers, considerable uneasiness was caused by passages

¹ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 75.

² After c. iv of the Antiochene Acts of Ignatius, q.v., in Greek, in T. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera* (Parisiis, 1689, 700–5) or (Ratisbonae, 1859, 62–70), and Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 473–91; and, in Latin, in T. Ruinart, 56–9; and in Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. ii. 643–52.

³ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 109 sqq.

⁴ Text in Migne, *P. G.* v. 729–941; and Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. ii. 719–857.

⁵ For these limits of date, see Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. i. 118, and text in *ibid.* II. ii. 597–652.

⁶ q.v. in Migne, *P. G.* v. 941–6; and Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. ii. 653–6.

⁷ Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. ii. 590.

⁸ *Ibid.* II. i. 237.

⁹ *Ibid.*

supposed to favour the papal supremacy¹; and to Presbyterians, downright offence by the vigour with which Ignatius requires adherence to the time-honoured ministry of the Church. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh 1624–†56, was identified with a scheme of modified episcopacy. So when in 1644 he published a Latin version of the genuine epistles² that had been made under the direction of Robert Grosseteste,³ bishop of Lincoln 1235–†54, but had remained unnoticed, a crisis was felt to have been reached in the quarrel between episcopacy and presbyterianism, now embittered by the political animosities of Cavalier and Roundhead. Two years later Ussher's discovery of the Latin was confirmed by the publication of the Greek of the Middle Recension, though without the Epistle to the Romans, in the edition of James Voss, 1646; and a fresh bid was made for closing the controversy in the presbyterian interest when the Huguenot, Jean Daillé, 1594–†1670, entered the lists in 1666 with an attack on the Ignatius of Voss. It was time for a champion of episcopacy and of the genuineness of the Middle Recension to appear. The task was accomplished by John Pearson, bishop of Chester 1673–†86. In 1659 he had made good the claim of the Church of England to have preserved the ancient Catholic Faith unimpaired, by his treatise *On the Creed*—the only standard work on dogmatic theology which that Church had produced since the Reformation. He now justified her loyalty to the ancient Order⁴ by establishing the genuineness of the seven letters in his *Vindiciae Ignatianae*, 1672. It was a pity that the controversy, throughout its course, had been conducted with an eye to ecclesiastical antagonisms and not purely with reference to the merits of the question. But such is the way of controversies when vital interests are concerned: and the question was regarded as settled by Pearson, till attention was once more directed to it by the appearance of a third or Short Recension.

Thirdly, this Short Recension⁵ of three Epistles—to Polycarp,

¹ Ignatius, *ad Rom.* Inscr.

² Lightfoot, *op. cit.* II. i. 243. Ussher counted only six as genuine, rejecting the Epistle to Polycarp.

³ Ibid. II. i. 76 sqq.

⁴ 'It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. . . . And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued . . . in the Church of England,' &c., *Preface to the Ordinal*.

⁵ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 280 sqq.

to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. They were published in 1845 by William Cureton, Canon of Westminster 1849–†64, and are sometimes known as the Curetonian letters. These three letters are contained in three manuscripts dating from the sixth to the ninth century,¹ and are in Syriac. Their editor, proud of their discovery, contended that they are the only genuine letters of Ignatius; and thus the Ignatian controversy flamed up into life again during the nineteenth century until, as Ussher had settled its first stage and Pearson its second, its third and last was brought to a close by Joseph Lightfoot, bishop of Durham 1879–†90. He showed that the Curetonian letters are an ‘abridgement or mutilation’² of the seven; that the seven are the genuine letters of Ignatius³; and that the interpolations and forgeries of the thirteen are due to a Syrian⁴ writer of the latter half of the fourth century,⁵ ‘the general bearing of whose language leans to the Arian side’.⁶ This Pseudo-Ignatius has further been identified, as we have seen, with the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, who wrote in Antioch or its neighbourhood c. 370–80.⁷

We are now in a position to examine the contents of the genuine Epistles of St. Ignatius, and to touch upon the important questions which they raise.

It must not be forgotten that they are letters; and, as such, merely occasional and allusive. They do not, any more than letters of our own, tell of all that lay within the experience of writer and recipient. We should therefore be on our guard against assuming that what Ignatius does not refer to did not exist. Rather, the fact that he notices a doctrine or practice by mere reference affords presumption in its favour. And if he is the first to make mention of it, then the presumption is not that it had but lately come into being, but that it may have already been part of the well-established order of things which he and his readers alike would take for granted. A letter-writer is explicit about what is new: to what is accepted he alludes or not, as may suit his convenience. Allusion, therefore, if it occurs, is weighty evidence, whether for doctrine or for practice.

Doctrine occupies a considerable place in the allusions of Ignatius. He was writing to churches of ‘Asia’; and ‘Asia’

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 72 sq.

² Ibid. 323.

³ Ibid., in summary, 422 sq.

⁴ Ibid. 274.

⁵ Ibid. 273.

⁶ Ibid. 272.

⁷ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, I. xxvii–xxix.

was a hotbed of heresy in his day. Two types of error are discernible in his letters—Judaizing and Docetic. Warnings against Judaism are confined to the epistles to the Magnesians and the Philadelphians. ‘If even unto this day’, writes Ignatius to the Magnesians, ‘we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace.’¹ And to the Philadelphians, ‘If any one propound Judaism unto you, hear him not’.² He acquits the Magnesians of any such leanings—‘not that I have learned that any of you are so minded’.³ But he writes as if, at Philadelphia, the Judaizers were claiming to monopolize the prophets,⁴ and were pleading the Old Testament as their charter⁵ against the Gospel. The polemic against Docetism is to be found in the epistle to the Ephesians⁶: and Docetism appears to have been the special danger of the Trallians and the Smyrnaeans. ‘Not that’ he ‘had known of any such thing among’ the Trallians themselves⁷; but ‘be ye deaf therefore when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died . . . who moreover was truly raised from the dead’⁸: for certain persons . . . say that He suffered only in semblance’.⁹ That ‘He suffered only in semblance’¹⁰ was also the contention of certain unbelievers in Smyrna; and the greater part of this letter¹¹ is taken up with affirming the reality of our Lord’s human nature.¹² Further, in the case both of Judaizers and Docetics, their opposition ended in schism.¹³ Some scholars are of opinion that the tendencies condemned were different errors.¹⁴ In that case, the Judaism condemned would have been a reproduction of the Pharisaic Judaism of the Galatians, against which St. Paul had to contend in the second group of his Epistles: though now it was apparently tricked out, for Gentile consumption perhaps, with ‘Jewish legendary lore’¹⁵ or ‘old-world Jewish

¹ *Ad Magn.* viii, § 1; Document No. 17.

² *Ad Philad.* vi, § 1.

³ *Ad Magn.* xi.

⁴ *Ad Philad.* v, § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii, § 2.

⁶ *Ad Ephes.* Inscr. xviii, § 2.

⁷ *Ad Trall.* viii, § 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* ix; Document No. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.* x; Document No. 18.

¹⁰ *Ad Smyrn.* ii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, cc. i–vii.

¹² *Ad Smyrnaeos*, i–vii.

¹³ *Ad Philad.*, cc. ii, iii, § 3, vii, § 2; *ad Smyrn.* vi, § 2–viii, and Document No. 19.

¹⁴ e. g. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. 218.

¹⁵ So Hort explains the *μυθεύματα* of Ign. *ad Magn.* viii. 1, criticizing the note of Lightfoot, *ad loc.* See Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 124, and F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 183.

precepts'¹; and the Docetism would have derived from the standing oriental antipathy to matter, which was an element in the tenets of Saturnilus,² one of the contemporaries of Ignatius at Antioch. But others consider that the two errors co-existed in some form of Docetic Judaism³; and this seems the more probable. For the heresy would then have been of a piece with the tenets of St. Paul's opponents in the third and fourth groups of his Epistles which mainly concern 'Asia', and with those of Cerinthus, who was the opponent of St. John at Ephesus. It extolled Jewish observances⁴—Circumcision,⁵ the Sabbath,⁶ and the Law⁷; it taught Docetism⁸; it fomented schism and separation from 'the bishop and the presbyters'.⁹

Ignatius affirms the unity of God,¹⁰ and mentions the three—the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit¹¹—as together concerned in our salvation. He assumes the pre-existence of 'the Word who came forth from silence'¹² to manifest the Father as of 'Jesus Christ who was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time'.¹³ He has not, indeed, arrived at the conception of the eternal Sonship of the Word, anterior to the Incarnation; but he is explicit about the Divinity of Jesus and speaks of Him as God,¹⁴ 'our God',¹⁵ 'my God',¹⁶ and of His blood as 'the blood of God'.¹⁷ As to the mode of His birth, 'our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation, of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost'.¹⁸ Ignatius here anticipates the meaning of the title *Theotokos*, as afterwards bestowed upon Mary in order to secure the Divinity of her Son: who, moreover, was 'born of a Virgin'.¹⁹ Ignatius, however, is mainly interested in 'Jesus as God manifest in human form',²⁰ and in Docetism which struck at the root of the Christian religion by denying this doctrine of the Incarnation. Taking up the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, how in 'the

¹ Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 186.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv. 2; Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omnes haereses*, i.

³ See note on ἀληθῶς in *ad Trall.* ix, § 1; Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 173; and cf. *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 373 sqq.

⁴ *Ad Magn.* x, § 3.

⁵ *Ad Philad.* vi, § 1.

⁶ *Ad Magn.* ix, § 1.

⁷ *Ad Philad.* viii, § 2.

⁸ *Ad Magn.* xi.

⁹ *Ibid.* vii, § 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* viii, § 2.

¹¹ *Ad Ephes.* ix, § 1; *ad Magn.* xiii, § 1.

¹² *Ad Magn.* viii, § 2.

¹³ *Ibid.* vi, § 1.

¹⁴ *Ad Trall.* vii, § 1.

¹⁵ *Ad Ephes.* Inscr.; xv, § 3, xviii, § 2.

¹⁶ *Ad Rom.* vi, § 3.

¹⁷ *Ad Ephes.* i, § 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xviii, § 2.

¹⁹ *Ad Smyrn.* i, § 1.

²⁰ *Ad Ephes.* xix, § 3.

fullness of the time, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman',¹ and how 'the Word became flesh',² Ignatius starts from the reconciliation of Spirit and matter as once for all accomplished in the Incarnate Son. The Docetics, he tells the Ephesians, 'are mad dogs biting by stealth. Against them ye ought to be on your guard, for they are hard to heal. There is only one physician [who can cope with them] of flesh and of Spirit, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true life in death, son of Mary and Son of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.'³ Here the terminology of Ignatius—if judged by later standards—is a little loose. By speaking of our Lord as 'ingenerate' he might seem to deny the eternal generation of the Son from the Father; but what he means is that, though as man He was created, as God He is 'uncreate'.⁴ Similarly, his system is, at some points, undeveloped: he is content to speak, for instance, of 'the death of the Lord',⁵ and never says a word of its propitiatory effect. But in spite of defects like these, so firm a hold has Ignatius, in this and other places, upon the cardinal fact of the Incarnation and its bearings that he has been rightly named the first Catholic theologian outside the New Testament: and in the succession of such theologians he links the teaching of St. Paul and St. John with that of Irenaeus in the second century, and so to that of Athanasius in the fourth and of Cyril of Alexandria⁶ and Pope Leo I in the fifth. Reverting to the antidote for Docetism as Ignatius found it in his conception—to put it in modern phrase—of matter as the vehicle of Spirit⁷ and of Spirit as the final cause of matter,⁸ this fundamental principle of his carries with it, first, the reality of the human nature of the

¹ Gal. iv. 4.

² John i. 14.

³ *Ad Ephes.* vii, §§ 1, 2; Document No. 16. There is a similar passage in *ad Polyc.* iii, § 2.

⁴ He uses ἀγέννητος, where the later and more accurate theology would have employed ἀγέννητος: see Lightfoot, *ad loc.* (*Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 48 sq.), and the excursus, *ibid.* 90–4.

⁵ *Ad Ephes.* xix, § 1.

⁶ The 'theology and speech' [of Ignatius] 'is Christocentric, related to that of [St.] Paul and the fourth Evangelist . . . it is . . . one and the same tendency of mind which passes over from Ignatius to . . . Irenaeus . . . Athanasius . . . and to Cyril of Alexandria. Its characteristic is that not only does the person of Christ as the God-man form the central point and sphere of theology, but also that 'all the main points of his history are mysteries of the world's redemption (*ad Ephes.* xix)', A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. 218.

⁷ See J. R. Illingworth, *The Divine Immanence*, 130 sq. (ed. 1900).

⁸ *Ibid.* 15.

Incarnate Lord and of His human experiences. 'He suffered truly, as also He raised Himself truly; not, as certain unbelievers say, that He suffered in semblance: being themselves mere semblance. And according as their opinions are, so shall it happen unto them; for they are without body and demon-like. For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, "Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body".'¹ Secondly, the mediation of Spirit through matter thus exhibited in the Incarnation finds further extension in the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments.

Thus, according to Ignatius, the Church is His body: for 'He . . . inviteth us, being His members. Now it cannot be that a head should be found without members, seeing that God promiseth union and this union is Himself.'² Here we may note, in passing, that the unity of the Church is conceived of not as constituted from below and from without in consequence of the pressure of heresy, but as proceeding from above and from within and as consisting in the relation of visible members to Spiritual Head.

Then the Eucharist embodies the same principle of the mediation of Spirit through matter; and this is the reason of its rejection by the Docetics. 'They abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they allow not that the Eucharist is [no mere bread but] the flesh of our Saviour Christ,'³ i.e. that there are two parts in the Sacrament, the *signum* and the *res*.⁴

Once again, the Bishop. He is not simply a safeguard against division as the centre of unity in the external sphere of Church government: though he is that. 'Shun divisions as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop,' Polycarp—for the letter is to the Smyrnaeans—'as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop.' But the bishop is more: he is necessary to the Church as the outward agent

¹ *Ad Smyrn.* ii, iii, §§ 1, 2.

² *Ad Trall.* xi, § 2.

³ *Ad Smyrn.* vi.

⁴ For these terms see the Catechism of the Church of England, which enumerates, in the Eucharist (1) 'the outward part or sign', (2) 'the inward part or thing signified', besides (3) 'the benefits', i. e. *signum*, *res* as well as *virtus*. The traditional Western doctrine had not hitherto made a clear distinction between *res* and *virtus*, if we may judge by the prayer in preparation for Communion attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas.

through whom sacraments are valid. 'Let that be held a valid Eucharist', Ignatius continues to the Smyrnaeans, 'which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.'¹ And again, the bishop is also the means through which the sacramental life of union with God is to be secured. 'If I', writes Ignatius to the Ephesians after his interview with Onesimus their bishop, 'in a short time had such converse with your bishop which was not after the manner of men but in the Spirit, how much more do I congratulate you who are closely joined with him, as the Church is with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is with the Father.'² Should it be thought that such language is fanciful, that only means that the principle of the mediation of Spirit through matter is still unfamiliar, and that we look at the Fathers through the spectacles of the Continental Reformers³ and not through the eyes of the Catholic Church. Ignatius, as a Catholic, saw it everywhere from Christ downwards, through Church, and Eucharist, to Bishop. With a touch of his quaint and original humour, he cannot resist applying it to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna—'the very reason why thou art made of flesh and Spirit is that thou mayest coax the things of this world into conformity with the will of God'.⁴ What Ignatius means is that if things Spiritual are to be brought home to men and men won for what is Spiritual, it must be by men: and of that Spirit-bearing society of men, the Church, whose mission is so to win mankind, the bishop is the sum and centre.

Next to doctrine, organization: and second only to the unifying principle of the mediation of Spirit through matter is the place occupied by the ministry in the mind of Ignatius as the rallying-point of unity. It is not now the ministry of prophets, for the day of the prophet is nearly over. Fifteen or twenty years

¹ *Ad Smyrn.* viii, and Document No. 19.

² *Ad Ephes.* v, § 1.

³ It was Zwingli who first laid down the principle that '*Animam hominis nullum huius mundi elementum, nulla denique res externa mundare potest*', and taught that '*vehiculum Spiritui non est necessarium*', cf. B. J. Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Nos. 214, 225. The principle passed over, through Calvin, to Puritanism, whether English, Scottish, or American.

⁴ *Ad Polyc.* ii, § 2.

previously, when the *Apocalypse* was written, the prophet¹ still occupied the whole horizon of the Seven Churches of Asia to the exclusion of the bishop: and three hundred years later there is a reminiscence of his pre-eminence to be found in the *Te Deum*. In celebrating 'the glorious company of the Apostles' and 'the goodly fellowship of the Prophets' together and in that order, it reminds us of the association, as in the New Testament,² of Apostle with Christian prophet. But when Ignatius speaks of 'the divine prophets',³ he means the prophets of the Old Covenant, as do we. 'Yea, and we love the prophets also, because they, too, pointed to the Gospel in their preaching and set their hope on Him and awaited Him.'⁴ Ignatius, then, is concerned not with the general ministry, but with the local clergy who have now taken its place. These he represents as normally consisting of three orders—'the bishop presiding after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ',⁵ and 'apart from these three orders', he says, 'there is not even the name of a Church'.⁶ As to episcopacy, not only does he mention the bishop of Philadelphia⁷ and by name Onesimus as bishop of Ephesus,⁸ Damas of Magnesia,⁹ Polybius of Tralles,¹⁰ and Polycarp of Smyrna,¹¹ but he takes it for granted that episcopacy is both universal and of Apostolic origin. For he speaks of 'the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth'¹²; and, when he connects the bishop with 'the ordinances of the Apostles',¹³ 'the reference', says Lightfoot, 'is doubtless to the institution of episcopacy', and, more especially, to its establishment in Asia by St. John the Apostle.¹⁴ It is true that Ignatius makes no allusion to the bishop in his letter to the Romans; but that letter was concerned not, as the other six, with what to do under pressure of heresy and schism, but with his personal desire not to be baulked of his martyr's crown by any Christians of influence

¹ Cf. 'the words of the prophecy', i. 3; 'the words of the prophecy of this book', xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19; 'thy servants the prophets and the saints', xi. 18; 'the blood of saints and prophets', xvi. 6, xviii. 24; 'the spirits of the prophets', xxii. 6. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

² 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rev. xviii. 20.

³ *Ad Magn.* viii, § 2. ⁴ *Ad Philad.* v, § 2.

⁵ *Ad Magn.* vi, § 1.

⁶ *Ad Trall.* iii, § 1. ⁷ *Ad Philad.* Inscr. i, § 1.

⁸ *Ad Ephes.* i, § 3.

⁹ *Ad Magn.* ii.

¹⁰ *Ad Trall.* i.

¹¹ *Ad Polyc.* Inscr.

¹² *Ad Ephes.* iii, § 2.

¹³ *Ad Trall.* vii, § 1.

¹⁴ Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 169.

at Rome. There are, however, some grounds, as in Clement and Hermas, for entertaining the possibility that, at this date, mon-episcopacy had not yet established itself in the Roman church. And this may have been the case also at Philippi: for Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians, dispatched soon after Ignatius had passed through their city,¹ makes mention only of their presbyters² and deacons.³ But all that this would involve is that the ministry had not reached the term of its development in mon-episcopacy at a uniform rate; and that Asia, as in the exposition of Christian doctrine, so in the establishment of the Christian hierarchy, still held the lead. This is what one might expect of the churches of Asia, indebted as they were to the guidance of the last-surviving Apostle. Save for this allusion to 'the ordinances of the Apostles', there is no hint of the principle of succession in the episcopate; still less of the mode of its conveyance as by tactual succession or the laying on of hands. But neither of these matters, nor primarily even episcopacy itself, come within the range of the purpose of Ignatius. He is not insisting on episcopacy *per se*, i.e. on a single bishop as preferable to several presbyters, say, for the maintenance of unity or for the ends of government. Nor, again, on episcopacy as a new institution, lately devised for confronting the separatist tendencies of the time. Certainly these tendencies prompt him to call attention to it. But his line is to urge loyalty to the existing ministry as to an inheritance long-established and immemorial. Sometimes it is loyalty to all three orders: 'be ye therefore on your guard against such men [the heretics]. And this will surely be, if ye be not puffed up, and if ye be inseparable from [God] Jesus Christ and from the bishop and from the ordinances of the Apostles. He that is within the sanctuary is clean; but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean, that is he that doeth aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience.'⁴ Sometimes it is loyalty to two, as in the conclusion of the same letter: 'Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves to the bishop as to the commandment and likewise also to the presbytery.'⁵ In any case 'Ignatius does not speak of the monarchical bishop as a new institution; if he exhorts the faithful of Asia to rally round their bishop, he does

¹ Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* i, § 1, ix, § 1.

³ *Ibid.* v, § 2.

⁴ *Ad Trall.* vii.

² *Ibid.* vi, § 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* xiii, § 2.

not adopt a less pressing tone in speaking of the other grades of the hierarchy. His advice may be summed up thus: Rally round your spiritual chiefs! The fact that these chiefs form a hierarchy of three rather than of two degrees is of secondary importance to his argument. He treats that as a matter of fact, uncontested and traditional; and has no need to urge its acceptance.¹

It only remains to notice the evidence of the Ignatian letters as to the rest of the Church Tradition at that time. Starting from the idea of the divine 'economy',² the result of which was the Incarnation, i.e. that 'God appeared in the likeness of man',³ Ignatius lays stress upon our Lord's descent 'of the seed of David'⁴ and His very manhood,⁵ but also upon His being the 'Son of God'.⁵ He is equally emphatic, on the one hand, upon the true motherhood of Mary, for the Lord is 'of Mary' as well as 'of God',⁶ and, on the other hand, upon His having been 'conceived in the womb by Mary . . . of the Holy Ghost',⁷ and, by consequence, 'truly born of a Virgin'.⁸ The descent into Hades was evidently part of Christian belief as Ignatius held it: for he says that 'even the prophets [*sc.* of the Old Covenant] were expecting Him as their teacher through the Spirit. And for this cause, He whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead'.⁹ In speaking of 'the Catholic', or universal, 'Church',¹⁰ Ignatius anticipates a phrase that, perhaps, from his use of it or because it was already current coin in the East, made its way at an early date into the Creed. He does not, however, connect catholicity with submission to one Head

¹ L. Duchesne, *The early history of the Church*, i. 67.

² οἰκονομία (*ad Ephes.* xviii, § 2). Οἰκονομία [*dispensatio*] is the art of a steward [οἰκονόμος, *dispensator*], viz. to 'manage' or 'provide', cf. Luke xii. 42. Chief among the means by which God provided for our salvation was the Incarnation: and hence οἰκονομία is used of the Incarnation simply, though Ignatius only particularizes the consequences of the Incarnation, and says that 'the economy . . . consisteth . . . in His passion and resurrection' (*ibid.* xx). 'In the province of theology, οἰκονομία was distinguished by the fathers from θεολογία proper; the former being the teaching which was concerned with the Incarnation and its consequences, and the latter the teaching which related to the Eternal and Divine nature,' Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 75. For an instance of the contrast, see Eus. *H. E.* I. i. §§ 3, 8.

³ Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενον, *ad Ephes.* xix 3.

⁴ *Ad Ephes.* xviii. 2; *ad Rom.* vii. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* xix. 3, xx. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* xviii. 2.

⁸ *Ad Smyrn.* i. 1.

⁹ *Ad Magn.* ix, § 2.

¹⁰ Ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *Ad Smyrn.* viii, § 2.

on earth. It is true that he addresses himself to the Roman church as to 'her that hath the presidency': and it has been contended both that the presidency here mentioned is absolute, and that the qualifying clause which follows—'in the place of the region of the Romans'¹—is descriptive of the seat² of the authority in question and not of its range. Had this been so, it would have been simpler for Ignatius to write 'presides in Rome'. The limiting clause therefore is more naturally to be taken as concerned with the range of the Roman 'presidency', and confining it, though somewhat loosely, to the district round Rome: and, in any case, it is the presidency of the Roman church, and not the supremacy of the Roman See, that is here in question. A further pre-eminence is, however, assigned to the Roman church, 'the presidency of love'. It is straining language to take 'love' here as a concrete expression,³ and turn it into an Ignatian synonym for Christendom as a whole, when we have ample warrant for taking the phrase to mean that 'first in rank' the Roman church was 'first in love'⁴ from what is told us in the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians of the authority with which she intervened at Corinth⁵ and by Dionysius of Corinth of the regard universally paid to her for her traditional and splendid charity.⁶ As to the Sacraments, Ignatius assumes that Baptism was the usual practice,⁷ and that it was in the Threefold Name⁸: he is more explicit about the Eucharist. It is 'the medicine of immortality'⁹ and the bond of union among Christians.¹⁰ As yet, it is included in the Love-feast.¹¹ The Lord's Day, not the sabbath, is the Christian day of worship.¹² Valid sacraments are those which are celebrated under authority of the

¹ Ἰγνάτιος . . . τῇ . . . ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . ἣτις καὶ προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων . . . προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης, *ad Rom. Inscr.*

² So J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 129; *contra*, Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, in *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 190 sq.

³ So J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 129. He instances *Trall.* xiii, § 1, *Rom.* ix, § 3, *Philad.* xi, § 2, *Smyrn.* xii, § 1 as places where 'the word is taken in a concrete sense'. But this is not suggested, still less required, by the passages in question. They are all salutations, and run 'the love of the brethren' or 'the churches' saluteth you.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 192.

⁵ *Supra*, c. vi.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 10.

⁷ *Ad Smyrn.* viii, § 2.

⁸ *Ad Magn.* xiii, § 1.

⁹ *Ad Ephes.* xx, § 2.

¹⁰ *Ad Philad.* iv, 'doubtless suggested by 1 Cor. x. 16, 17'; Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 258, and II. i. 400-2.

¹¹ *Ad Smyrn.* viii, § 2, and Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 313.

¹² *Ad Magn.* ix, § 1.

bishop¹; and vows, whether of continence or marriage,² are not to be taken but with the bishop's consent. As to the Christian Scriptures, Ignatius gives proof of familiarity with the New Testament but rarely quotes it³; and, though, in two places, he echoes the Johannine teaching,⁴ it is curious that he takes much more notice of St. Peter and St. Paul⁵ than of St. John. No mention, by name, of the last surviving Apostle⁶ either to the Ephesians, among whom St. John, according to tradition, had ruled for a generation and died but ten years before Ignatius wrote, or to Polycarp, who had sat at the Apostle's feet⁷ and received from him consecration to the episcopate.⁸ The silence of Ignatius, coupled with that of Polycarp, who "in his Epistle to the Philippians looks back not to his own master St. John . . . but to St. Paul",⁹ of whom Ignatius reminds the Ephesians that 'ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul', cannot be a conspiracy. But it is a coincidence, and marks a weak place in the Christian tradition.

One last point of interest before we leave the Ignatian letters. They show the rapid communication between local churches. It linked them together, promoted Christian cohesion, and consolidated Christian tradition. The messengers of Ignatius¹⁰ and the deputies of the churches¹¹ were free to come and go: to this, and to the zeal of the Christians, and so to the genuineness of the story of Ignatius as a whole, we have remarkable testimony in the description, written in 165 by the satirist Lucian, of his

¹ *Ad Smyrn.* viii, § 1. By 'valid' is meant 'secure' (ἀσφαλὲς καὶ βέβαιον, § 2); the opposite therefore to 'valid', in this connexion, is not 'invalid', but 'precarious' or 'insecure'.

² *Ad Polycarpum*, v, § 2.

³ Cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 402-5.

⁴ Ὑδωρ ζῶν *ad Rom.* vii, § 2, and John iii. 8, quoted *ad Philad.* vii, § 1.

⁵ For Peter and Paul at Rome, cf. *ad Rom.* iv, § 3; and for Paul at Ephesus, *ad Ephes.* xii, § 2.

⁶ It is, however, probable that when Ignatius speaks of 'those Christians of Ephesus who were ever of one mind with the Apostles' (*ad Ephes.* xi, § 2), he is thinking of St. John as well as St. Paul.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4; and Document No. 74.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and Tert. *De Praescr.*, c. xxxii.

⁹ Maurice Jones, *The N. T. in the twentieth century*, 377.

¹⁰ Thus he asks Polycarp to send 'a God's-courier' for him to Syria, *ad Polyc.* vii, § 2.

¹¹ Thus, the deputies of Ephesus were the bishop Onesimus, with the deacon Burrhus and Crocus, Euplus, and Fronto, *ad Ephes.* ii, § 1; of Magnesia, the bishop Damas, the presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and the deacon Zotion, *ad Magn.* ii; of Tralles, the bishop Polybius, *ad Trall.* i, § 1.

typical charlatan, Peregrinus Proteus, and how well he fared when he became a Christian.¹

(b) Polycarp, 70–†156, was bishop of Smyrna when Ignatius was led captive through that city,² and wrote to him, shortly afterwards, from Troas.³

Of his life⁴ we have little information; but it is authentic. It comes in part from Polycarp's pupil Irenaeus,⁵ and in part from the *Martyrium Polycarpi*⁶ or account of his martyrdom which 'the church of Smyrna' sent, soon after the event, to 'the church of Philomelium', not far from Antioch in Pisidia, and 'to all the dioceses of the Holy Catholic Church in every place'.⁷ In this account, Polycarp, just before his death, tells the Proconsul that he had spent eighty-and-six years in the service of Christ.⁸ Accepting 156 as the date now assigned⁹ to his death, and assuming that Polycarp was reckoning from his birth, as he might well do if the service began from his baptism in infancy, Polycarp was born of Christian parents in the year 70. Probably they were well-to-do: for Polycarp, just before his martyrdom, is found to have withdrawn to 'a little estate not far from the city'¹⁰ which is mentioned, along with its 'slaves',¹¹ as if his own. He would thus have been a young man when his 'intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord'¹² began; and about thirty when 'appointed by Apostles in Asia', according to Irenaeus,¹³ or by St. John the Apostle according to Tertullian,¹⁴ to be 'bishop of the church in Smyrna', c. 100. As such, about ten years later, he was addressed by Ignatius in person and by letter. He was then in the prime of manhood. Afterwards, for more than forty years, he became the rallying-point in Asia of the traditions of his consecrator St. John. Papias,¹⁵ bishop of

¹ See above, c. v, and Document No. 51.

² *Ad Polyc.* i, § 1.

³ *Ibid.* viii, § 1.

⁴ Cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 433–75.

⁵ *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4, and *Ep. ad Florinum*, ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xx, §§ 4–8.

⁶ Text in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged edition), 189–99; transl. *ibid.*, 203–11. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, §§ 3–45, whose extract, however, is incomplete. Transl. and notes in B. Jackson, *St. Polycarp*, 'Early Christian Classics', S. P. C. K., and Document No. 36.

⁷ *Mart. Pol.* Inscr.

⁸ *Ibid.* ix, § 3.

⁹ By C. H. Turner, 'The day and year of Polycarp's Martyrdom', in *Studia Biblica*, ii. 105–29.

¹⁰ *Mart. Pol.* v, § 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vi, § 1.

¹² Irenaeus, *Fragmentum II* (*Ep. ad Florinum*), ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xx, § 6, and Document No. 80.

¹³ *Ibid.* *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4.

¹⁴ Tert. *De Praescr.*, c. xxxii.

¹⁵ For Papias see Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, and Document No. 27.

Hierapolis, *c.* 120–30, was his ‘companion’¹ and [younger] contemporary. The second generation of the school of St. John grew up under his influence. Some carried on its traditions when they came into office in Asia—Melito,² as bishop of Sardis, *c.* 160–80; his contemporary, Claudius Apollinaris, successor to Papias, as bishop of Hierapolis,³ *c.* 160–80; and Polycrates,⁴ as bishop of Ephesus, *c.* 190–200. One abandoned what he had been taught by Polycarp and gave up the faith for Gnosticism. He is taken to task for it by his friend Irenaeus: ‘These opinions, Florinus, the elders before us who were also disciples of the Apostles, did not hand down to thee. For I saw thee, when I was still a boy, in Lower Asia in company with Polycarp, while thou wast faring prosperously in the royal court,⁵ and endeavouring to stand well with him.’⁶ Irenaeus himself carried the traditions that Florinus had rejected, as far as Gaul: for, says the bishop of Lyons, *c.* 180, ‘I distinctly remember . . . the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people. . . . To these discourses I used to listen at the time with attention’.⁷ Such, and so widely spread in later times, was the range of Polycarp’s influence at the zenith of his days. Towards the last year of his life he went to Rome, on a visit to Pope Anicetus, *c.* 155–67. Here he would have come across Christians, representative of every type. In close attendance upon Anicetus there was Eleutherus his archdeacon—first official of that rank on record, though only under the name of deacon,⁸ and subsequently Pope.⁹ Then there was the prophet Hermas, brother of Pius,¹⁰ the predecessor of Anicetus; the traveller Hegesippus¹¹;

¹ ἑταῖρος, Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxxiii. 4.

² For Melito see Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 111–53.

³ For Claudius Apollinaris see Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvii; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 155–74.

⁴ For Polycrates see Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, §§ 2–8; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 9–36.

⁵ Ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ would naturally mean ‘in the imperial court’. Possibly used loosely of the court of Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who was Proconsul of Asia about 136, and afterwards became the Emperor Antoninus Pius, 138–†61: see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 448, n. 2.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Ep. ad Florinum*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xx, §§ 4, 5, and Document No. 51.

⁷ Ibid. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xx, §§ 6, 7.

⁸ Hegesippus, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxii. 3.

⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 3.

¹⁰ *Muratorian Fragment*, II. 73–6.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxii. 3.

the apologist Justin Martyr¹ and his still orthodox pupil Tatian²; and, finally, Polycarp's former disciple Irenaeus, who was at this time giving lectures in Rome.³ These were 'the ordinary churchmen'⁴—to use the phrase in which a Gnostic would dismiss them. They would look up to Polycarp with veneration. Opposed to them were the Gnostics: the brilliant Valentinus,⁵ and Cerdon,⁶ with his pupil Marcion.⁷ But the old bishop of Smyrna was on his guard against the Gnostics. 'Whenever he heard any opinion of the kind', says Irenaeus, 'he would cry out, and stop his ears, and say after his wont, "O good God, for what times hast thou kept me, that I should have to put up with such things?"'⁸; and, 'when Marcion once met him and said, "Don't you know me?", "I know the firstborn of Satan"', was his reply'. And he adds that Polycarp's presence 'in Rome . . . caused many to turn away from the above-mentioned heretics to the Church of God: for he proclaimed that he had received from the Apostles this one and only system of truth which has been transmitted by the Church'.⁹ But, though thus unyielding in doctrine, Polycarp was conciliatory about points of observance. It was with a matter of this kind that his visit to Rome was concerned: for he came to plead with Anicetus for the observance of the fourteenth of Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week, as the time for celebrating Easter. 'Asia' was quartodeciman, and took account only of the day of the month in its calculations. Rome, on the other hand, was not: for it took into its reckoning also the day of the week, and held that Easter could only be celebrated on the Lord's Day, though it must be the Lord's Day selected with regard to the full moon of the Jewish month. The rival usages were, no doubt, traditional with the several churches:

¹ Justin, *Apol.* ii, § 3 (*Op.* 90; *P. G.* vi. 448 A); Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 11; *Acta Iustini*, § 3.

² Tatian, *Oratio adv. Graecos*, c. xix (*Iustini Op.* 26; *P. G.* vi. 849 sq.).

³ So 'the supplement to the *Mart. Pol.*, c. xxii in the Moscow MS': see text in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged edition), 198.

⁴ 'Communes ecclesiasticos,' Irenaeus, *Adv. Haereses*, iii. xv. 2. Note the decline in the Christian ideal evinced by the history of Christian terms. An 'ecclesiastic' or 'churchman' has now come to mean a 'cleric', and a 'layman' to mean 'an outsider', and 'entering the Church' is used instead of 'taking Holy Orders'.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 1.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii. 1, iii. iv. 3; *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi, §§ 1, 2.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.* *Fragm. II* (*Ep. ad Florinum*), *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xx. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.* *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii. 4, and Document No. 74.

they ran back respectively in Rome to Pope Xystus, and in Ephesus to St. John. So the two bishops were each immovable; but they agreed to differ. Neither convinced the other, but they parted good friends: and Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist in his place.¹ Polycarp returned home, and was martyred 22 February 156—a victim to the revival of paganism,² to Caësar-worship,³ and to the animosity of the Jews.⁴

Of the writings of Polycarp, which included 'letters partly to the neighbouring churches for their confirmation and partly to certain of the brethren for their warning and exhortation',⁵ only one—of the former class—is extant. It is his *Epistle to the Philippians*.⁶ Its genuineness is guaranteed by Irënaeus: for he speaks of it as 'a very adequate letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, from which those that wish to do so and are concerned for their own salvation may learn the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth'.⁷ The first nine chapters and most of the thirteenth survive in the original Greek; but for the remainder, cc. x–xii and xiv, a Latin version is the sole authority. Polycarp wrote, c. 110–17, in reply to a communication from the Philippians. They had asked him to send them a few words of edification⁸; they had requested him to send on, by his own messengers, a letter which they had addressed, at the desire of Ignatius, to the church of Antioch, congratulating it upon the restoration of peace⁹; and they had begged Polycarp to let them see any letters of Ignatius which he might have in his possession.¹⁰ Polycarp replies by congratulating the church of Philippi on the services it had rendered to Ignatius and his companions by 'escorting them on their way', as they passed through the city, c. i; and proceeds to the exhortation it had asked for,

¹ Irënaeus, *Fragm. III*, ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, §§ 14–17.

² Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 464 sqq.

³ Ibid. 467 sq., and cf. *Mart. Pol.* viii, § 2, ix, § 2, x, § 1.

⁴ Ibid. 468–70; and cf. *Mart. Pol.* viii, § 1, xii, § 2, xiii, § 1, xvii, § 2, xviii, § 1, xxi for the leading part in Polycarp's martyrdom taken by the Jews.

⁵ Irënaeus, *Fragm. II* (*Ep. ad Florinum*), ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. xx. 8.

⁶ Text in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers* (abridged edition), 168–73, and transl., ibid. 177–81, and tr., B. Jackson, *St. Polycarp* in 'Early Christian Classics', S. P. C. K. and Document No. 20.

⁷ Irënaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 4, ap. Eus. *H. E.* IV. xiv. 8.

⁸ Polycarp, *ad Phil.* iii, § 2.

⁹ Ibid. xiii, § 2. Ignatius had made similar request of the Philadelphians (*ad Philad.* x, § 1), of the Smyrnaeans (*ad Smyrn.* xi, §§ 2, 3), and of Polycarp (*ad Polyc.* vii, § 2).

¹⁰ Ibid.

c. ii. He confesses, however, to a sense of unfitness for the task ; so much better discharged, in the case of the Philippians, by ‘ the wisdom ¹ of the blessed and glorious Paul ’, c. iii. Nevertheless, he proceeds with it ; warning all against love of money, urging wives to be faithful, mothers to train up their children ‘ in the fear of the Lord ’ and widows to practise self-control, c. iv. He then passes to the character required of deacons, c. v, and of presbyters, c. vi. He puts the church on its guard against some who would deny the fundamental Christian verities of the Incarnation and the Passion of our Lord—apparently Gnostics ; and against others who, in the interests of irresponsible living, affirm that there is neither resurrection nor judgement, c. vii. What is wanted is endurance, c. viii, such as ‘ ye saw with your own eyes in the blessed Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus, ² yea, in others also who came from among yourselves, as well as in Paul himself and the rest of the Apostles ’, c. ix. Do not forget almsgiving, c. x—the cure for covetousness into which, as he is grieved to hear, their presbyter Valens and his wife had been betrayed. ‘ The Lord grant them true repentance ’, and do you ‘ “ hold not such as enemies ” but restore them, as frail and erring members, that ye may save the whole body of you,’ c. xi. Wishing that he were as well versed in the Scriptures as the Philippians, c. xii, though here he is too modest, for his letter is a very mosaic of reminiscences from Old and New Testament alike, Polycarp concludes by promising that he will send or take their letter to Antioch. He encloses letters of Ignatius, c. xiii : and commends to them Crescens, c. xiv, apparently the bearer of his letter. It is a letter of lasting interest, for it bears testimony to persons and topics of importance. Thus, according to it, the outstanding characteristics of St. Paul in the eyes of the generation after him were ‘ wisdom ’, as we are told in *2 Peter*, ³ and endurance, as we learn from Clement’s letter to the Corinthians. ⁴ Ignatius, his story and his correspondence, are amply guaranteed by Polycarp alone. ‘ Open penance is administered by the church ⁵ as the remedy for sin, for sin is not regarded as

¹ *σοφία* (*ad Phil.* iii, § 2).

² Zosimus and Rufus may be the prisoners of i, § 1 ; and among the Bithynian Christians sent by Pliny to Rome, cf. Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, § 4 ; Document No. 14.

³ *2 Pet.* iii. 15.

⁴ *1 Clem. ad Cor.* iv, §§ 5, 7.

⁵ Cf. the case of the offender—or offenders—at Corinth, *1 Cor.* v ; *2 Cor.* ii. 5–10, vii. 12.

an affair between the individual and God only, but is a thing that hurts the corporate life of the community. Persecution is an experience, to be expected.¹ Prophets are those of the Old Testament²: and episcopacy is firmly established at Smyrna, for Polycarp writes as a 'bishop . . . surrounded by his council of presbyters'³; though, at Philippi, only deacons and presbyters are mentioned. We notice, too, the close dependence of the letter on St. John, the stress which the writer lays on the fundamental Christian fact 'that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh',⁴ and his fidelity to tradition. The antidote to 'false teaching' is to 'turn to the word delivered to us from the beginning'.⁵ As if Polycarp himself were imbued with this spirit of deference to those who went before him, his letter 'is largely made up of quotations and imitations from the Evangelical and Apostolic writings, from Clement of Rome,⁶ from the Epistles of Ignatius'.⁷

Polycarp's importance is to have been the 'depository of tradition'.⁸ 'Unoriginative', 'commonplace', 'stedfast',⁹ according to Ignatius, as a 'rock'¹⁰ or 'an anvil under blows',¹¹ he was even 'stubborn' in adherence to the teaching of his youth. Not only Ignatius, but the Smyrnaeans themselves took this view of their 'glorious martyr'. For they describe him as 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher of our time', as if he were the last survivor of the old order of Christian prophets: though they also speak of him as 'bishop of the holy [Catholic] Church which is in Smyrna', by a title more appropriate to the later days.¹² Polycarp is the link between old and new. He unites

¹ Polycarp, *ad Phil.* xii, § 3.

² *Ibid.* vi, § 3.

³ Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι, *ad Phil.*, Inscr., and Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 904 *ad loc.*

⁴ *Ad Phil.* vii, § 1, quoting 1 John iv, 2, 3.

⁵ Τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, *ad Phil.* vii, § 2.

⁶ e. g. εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον of *ad Phil.* ix. 2 is a 'reminiscence' of 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* iv, § 4; Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 586.

⁷ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 458.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, for all four epithets.

¹⁰ Σοῦ . . . τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, Ignatius, *ad Polyc.* i, § 1.

¹¹ Στῆθι ἐδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος, *ibid.* iii, § 1.

¹² Ὁ θαυμασιώτατος [Πολύκαρπος] ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἀγίας [v. l. καθολικῆς] ἐκκλησίας, *Mart. Pol.* xvi, § 2. Lightfoot prefers the reading ἀγίας (*Ap. Fathers*, II. ii. 976 *ad loc.*), but F. X. Funk prefers καθολικῆς (*Die apostolischen Väter* [Krüger's *Sammlung*: Mohr, Tübingen, 1901], 123). 'Catholic' is now thought to be the correct reading: see F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, s. v. 'Catholique', ii. 2626.

the days of St. John with those of Irenaeus, the end of the apostolic, with the end of the sub-apostolic, age. He is the 'guarantee of continuity'¹: whether in his own generation, the generation, *par excellence*, of false teachers with whom Polycarp would have nothing to do, or in our own, when modern theories of the history of the Church are built upon 'the hypothesis of . . . a complete dislocation'² supposed to have taken place between primitive times and the founding of the Catholic Church.³ 'It is not therefore as the martyr nor as the ruler nor as the writer but as "the elder" that Polycarp claims the attention of the Church.'⁴

(c) Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, ranks with Ignatius and Polycarp, and so completes the triad of notables in 'Asia' at the opening of the second century. Irenaeus asserts that Papias was 'a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp'.⁵ The second affirmation may be accepted without question; and, if anything is to be inferred from the mention of Papias before Polycarp in the arrangement of Eusebius,⁶ Papias may have been slightly the older of the two. In that case his birth should be put c. 60-70, and his *floruit* c. 100-30. Harnack prefers c. 145-60 for the years of his activity; but, following upon the words quoted above, Irenaeus, c. 140-†200, goes on to speak of him as 'an ancient worthy', in language which he could hardly have applied to a writer of the generation immediately preceding his own.⁷ Papias, then, was a contemporary of Polycarp; but was he also, as Irenaeus affirms, a 'hearer of John'? His date would well admit

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 459.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'We must of course remember that the word Catholicism has had a peculiar meaning given to it in the modern German school; it is regarded as a corruption of primitive Christianity, which was specially due to a failure to distinguish between the mystical Body of Christ and the visible Church. It is now being recognised that this "failure" can be traced even within the New Testament itself; even the Primitive Church begins to share the blame, and the historian who seeks for the original purity of the Gospel is finding himself obliged to look yet further back, beyond "the chasm which separates Jesus from the Apostles";' J. A. Robinson, in a review of P. Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism* in *The Guardian* of December 29, 1911. The 'chasm' or 'discontinuity' has moved back since Lightfoot wrote *The Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 459 [1885]—if there ever was 'discontinuity'.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 459.

⁵ Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* v. xxxiii. 4.

⁶ His account of Papias is in *H. E.* III. xxxix, and of Polycarp in IV. xiv, xv.

⁷ W. Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 250 sq. He thinks that the extracts of Papias should be dated as early as A. D. 100.

of it. But Eusebius, who had the works of Papias before him, notes that 'Papias himself . . . does not declare that he himself was a hearer and eye-witness of the holy Apostles, but shows by the language which he uses that he received the matters of the faith from those who were their friends'.¹ If 'Papias . . . says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John', that means, according to Eusebius, no more than that 'he mentions them frequently by name'²: and if 'Philip the Apostle resided in Hierapolis with his daughters', Papias is described as 'contemporary' with the daughters.³ It is certainly difficult to doubt the statement of Irenaeus than whom, in this case, we could have no better authority. But the evidence is conflicting, largely because we are dependent for a considerable part of it on the inferences of Eusebius—a man of much learning but not quite of equal judgement. At any rate, Papias was intimate with the generation which had known Apostles and personal disciples of our Lord. While he cannot, therefore, be put quite on the same level of authority for tradition as Polycarp, the fragments of his writings which have come down to us are of tantalizing importance. He had known 'the Elders'.⁴

First are the fragments preserved by Eusebius from 'five books of Papias which bear the title *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*'.⁵ They 'form the basis of all recent investigations into the literary history of the Synoptic narrative',⁶ and so may be set down here in full, leaving comment to the writers on the origin of the Gospels:

'But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the Elders, guaranteeing its truth. For unlike the many I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as were given from the Lord to the Faith, and are derived from the Truth itself. And again, on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders, I would enquire about the discourses of the Elders—

¹ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, § 2.

² Ibid., § 7.

³ Ibid., § 9. There is possibly some confusion, here and in III. xxxi, §§ 3, 4, with Philip the Evangelist of Acts xxi. 8.

⁴ 'The term with Papias is a synonyme for the Fathers of the Church in the first generation,' Lightfoot, *Essays on the work entitled 'Supernatural Religion'*, 145.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, Document No. 27.

⁶ H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study*, 15.

what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.' ¹

One remark on this extract may be permitted. There is an apologetic tone about it; and, if those who 'had so much to say' in Papias's experience were Gnostics, it is not difficult to see in his cross-questioning of those who had known 'the Elders' the beginnings of that argument from tradition which Irenaeus developed into full strength against them.

Next come the two well-known but much-contested statements about the Gospels:

'And the Elder said this also: Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said, (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them: for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or set down any false statement therein.' ²

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'So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could.' ³

There is some obscurity about the longer statement, which touches the relation of our second Gospel to St. Peter. But, for all that, its value has more than stood the test of criticism. It has been the beacon-light of critics. Not so, the second. Papias evidently means that St. Matthew 'was in the fullest sense the author of the first Gospel, and that he wrote it in his native tongue. Neither statement would now be admitted.' ⁴ The truth appears to be that neither Papias nor his informants knew much more of the process by which the Synoptic Gospels took shape than may be gathered from their contents. In that case, they must have assumed their present shape earlier than is commonly supposed.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, §§ 3, 4.

² Ibid., § 15.

³ Ibid., § 16.

⁴ C. Bigg, *The origins of Christianity*, 225.

Besides these matter-of-fact statements, Eusebius found 'other notices recorded by Papias as having come down to him from oral tradition, certain strange parables of the Saviour and teachings of His', of a millenarian type, 'as that there will be a period of a thousand years after the resurrection, and that the Kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on the earth'.¹ Irenaeus reports, as a tradition of 'the Elders', an explanation of the 'many mansions'² which he probably derived from them through Papias.³ He held chiliastic views, as did the Fathers of the second century generally; and hence his sympathy with Papias. But by the opening of the fourth century chiliasm had fallen into discredit; and with none more than with Eusebius. He probably, therefore, did less than justice to Papias, as we are all apt to do to a person whose opinions we do not share. Papias 'evidently was a man', says Eusebius, 'of very mean capacity, as one may say judging from his own statements'.⁴ Possibly; but we might have known much more of Papias, and through him of the Elders, the Apostles, and perhaps of the Lord Himself, had not a great scholar allowed his judgement to be overmastered by contempt.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, § 12, 'Chiliasm, or millenarianism—that is, the belief in a visible reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years before the general judgment—was very widespread in the early Church. . . . Christian chiliasm was an outgrowth of the Jewish. The chief biblical support for this doctrine is Rev. xx. 1-6, and the fact that this book was appealed to so constantly by chiliasts in support of their views was the reason why Dionysius [of Alexandria], Eusebius and others were anxious to disprove its apostolic authorship. Chief among the chiliasts of the ante-Nicene age were the author of the epistle of Barnabas, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Tertullian; while the principal opponents of the doctrine were Caius, Origen, Dionysius and Eusebius,' A. C. McGiffert, *ad loc.* in Eusebius, *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* [new series], i. 172 [Oxford, 1890].

² John xiv. 2.

³ See text in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxxvi. 1, 2, and Document No 28.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxix, § 13.

CHAPTER VIII

GNOSTICISM

By the middle of the second century the Church was at the height of her conflict with heathenism. Its forces assailed her from within and from without. From within, they appeared as Gnosticism : for Gnosticism, rightly understood, was no heresy or perverted scheme of Christian thought but a heathenish philosophy which had invaded the Church and established itself within. From without, their attack developed as persecution, in alliance with the State. These, then, were the two ways in which the growth of Christendom, which we have just traced, was endangered by pagan influences. They are now to be considered, in this, and the following, chapter.

§ 1. The authorities for Gnosticism are twofold.

They are, first, the remains of Gnostic works. But these are scanty, and consist, in the main, of fragments. Some are in oriental tongues, such as *Pistis-Sophia*, a Coptic translation, c. 250–300, of a Greek original, c. 150, by Valentinus, and the two *Books of Jeû*,¹ which are also the Coptic version of a compilation thought to be by him. Other fragments are embodied in the Catholic refutations. Thus the *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* by Heracleon, a Gnostic of c. 175–200, of the Italian school of Valentinus and the first exegete of the New Testament whose work is extant, has been preserved by Origen, in some fifty quotations² : and we owe to Epiphanius the preservation of an interesting pamphlet on the problem of the Old Testament, known as *The letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora*,³ c. 160. Its author was a Valentinian, also of the Italian school, and his correspondent a lady of

¹ Text, with translation into German, ed. C. Schmidt in O. v. Gebhardt und A. Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, viii. 1, 2 (Leipzig, 1892), or in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller : Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, Bd. I (Leipzig, 1905) : translation by G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis-Sophia* (Theosophical Publishing Society, London, 1896).

² These are collected in *The Fragments of Heracleon*, ed. A. E. Brooke, in *Texts and Studies*, i, No. 4, ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge, 1891).

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxiii, §§ 3–7 (*Op.* i. 216–22 ; *P. G.* xli. 557–68) ; reprinted as No. 9 of *Materials for the use of theological lectures and Students*, ed. H. Lietzmann (Cambridge, 1904).

whom nothing further is known. There are also fragments of Gnostic Gospels and Acts which were written to inculcate Gnostic tenets. They are the first 'tendency' writings; and are such as the *Gospel of Peter*,¹ c. 120, with its docetic account of the crucifixion, and the *Acts of Peter*,² c. 150, docetic also.

But second to, and of larger bulk than, the remaining fragments of Gnostic works, are the accounts of Gnosticism contained in the writers on heresies from the second to the fourth century. Of these the earlier have perished; such as 'the powerful refutation' of Basilides by Agrippa Castor, c. 130, the first known writer against heresy, whom Eusebius praises as 'one of the most renowned writers of that day',³ and two lost works of Justin, the *Syntagma* to which he refers in his *First Apology*,⁴ and the *Adversus Marcionem* known to, and used by, Irenaeus.⁵ But the works of the chief anti-Gnostic writers survive. Irenaeus wrote, c. 180-90, his *Adversus omnes haereses*; and devotes the first of his five books mainly 'to a historical account of various Gnostic heresies, chiefly of the Ptolemaean branch of the Valentinians,'⁶ with whose system the author had become acquainted both by a study of the writings in which it was contained and by personal intercourse with some members of the sect'.⁷ Clement of Alexandria put together, c. 200, in his *Excerpta Theodoti*⁸ passages from the writings of Theodotus and other disciples of the oriental school of Valentinus: they were, perhaps, extracts for intended lectures. Tertullian composed, c. 200-7, a series of anti-Gnostic treatises 'directed chiefly, though not exclusively, against the school of Marcion'.⁹ They are the *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*¹⁰ and the *Adv. Marcionem*, together with the *Adv. Hermogenem*, the *Adv. Valentinianos*, the *De Carne Christi*, the *De Resurrectione Carnis*, and the *De Anima*. Last but not least in importance is the information we owe ultimately to

¹ Text and tr. in *The Gospel and the Revelation of Peter*², edd. J. A. Robinson and M. R. James (Cambridge, 1892); and Document No. 23.

² Mentioned, with the *Gospel of Peter*, in Eus. *H. E.* III. iii. 2; for an account of them, see O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 98 sq.

³ Eus. *H. E.* IV. vii. 6; cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 85-90.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.* i, § 26 (*Op.* 50; *P. G.* vi. 369 A).

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV. vi, § 2. Some think that the *Adv. Marc.* was part of the *Syntagma*.

⁶ *Adv. Haer.* I. i-ix.

⁷ W. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 240 (Murray, 1875).

⁸ Clem. Al. *Op.* II. 348-59 (*P. G.* ix. 653-98).

⁹ Mansel, *op. cit.* 250.

¹⁰ Ed. T. H. Bindley (Clar. Press, 1893), written while Tertullian was still a Catholic; the remaining six, after he became a Montanist.

Hippolytus, †236, a great scholar who spent a long life in Rome, at one time in attendance upon the lectures¹ of Irenaeus not later than 177, and afterwards as bishop in charge of a mixed flock of sailors and foreigners at the harbour of Portus.² Hippolytus has two works concerning heresies to his credit. The longer and later was written c. 230, and alone is extant. It is entitled the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*,³ and consisted of ten books. Of these, the second, the third, and part of the fourth are still wanting. The first was for a long time designated the *Philosophumena* and reckoned as Origen's till 1842, when the last seven were discovered. The treatment of Christian heresies begins with the fifth book,⁴ and is carried down to the writer's own time when he makes of the heresy of Noctus⁵ a peg on which to hang his chronicle of the misdeeds of Pope Callistus,⁶ 217-†22. The merits of the *Refutatio* are that he quotes originals,⁷ and insists that heresy has arisen from an admixture of the faith with heathen elements.⁸ It is, in his opinion, due to religious syncretism. This is an observation of importance for the understanding of Gnosticism; but of more importance for its study is an earlier work of Hippolytus, known as his *Syntagma*⁹ or *Compendium*, and written 'before A.D. 190'.¹⁰ It was based on the lectures of Irenaeus, and is now lost. But its contents are ascertainable from three extant works which were all dependent upon it. First of these is the *Adversus omnes haereses*¹¹ of the Pseudo-Tertullian, usually appended to Tertullian's *De Praescriptione*. The author was a contemporary of Tertullian; and his work, which contains a list of thirty-two heresies, beginning with Dositheus and ending with Praxeas, was 'a Latin translation or abridgment'¹² of the *Syntagma*, made c. 200. Next, the *Pana-*

¹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cxxi (*Op.* iii. 94 A; *P. G.* ciii. 401 D). For the date see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 423.

² *Ibid.* 433.

³ Edd. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1859), and reprinted among the works of Origen (*Op.* vi. iii. 1-547) by Migne, *P. G.* xvi. iii. 3017-3454. It is translated in *A. N. C. L.* vi. 1-403.

⁴ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, v, § 6, the Naasenes.

⁵ *Ibid.* ix, § 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* ix, § 12; and Document No. 120.

⁷ e. g. a hymn of the Naasenes, *Ref.* v, § 10.

⁸ e. g. αἰρετικῶν . . . οἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκτεθέντων φανερὸς γεγένηται ὁ ἔλεγχος ἡ κλεψιλογησάντων ἢ τινα ἐρανισμένων αὐτὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων πεπονημένα παραθεμένων ὡς θεῖα, *Ref.* ix, § 31.

⁹ For an account of this see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 413 sqq.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 427.

¹¹ Text and notes in Tertullian, *De Praescriptione*, ed. T. H. Bindley, 143 sqq.; transl. in *A. N. C. L.* xviii. 259-73.

¹² Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 415.

*rion*¹ of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis 367–†403, which he wrote c. 374–6, and dubbed his ‘bread-basket or rather his medicine-chest of antidotes’ for heresy. Epiphanius was ‘a very sleuth-hound of heresy’: and he enlarged the list to eighty systems of false-doctrine, of which twenty were pre-Christian. Finally, there is the *Diversarum hæreseon Liber*² of Philaster, bishop of Brixia (Brescia) 379–†87. He collects and describes a hundred and fifty-six heresies in all, of which twenty-eight are assigned to pre-Christian times and the remainder to the Christian era. To the works of Epiphanius and Philaster, with a preference for the former,³ Augustine, †430, referred a deacon of Carthage named Quodvultdeus, who had urged upon him that request for an epitome of heresies which issued in his own *De Haeresibus*,⁴ 428. Now if, with Lightfoot,⁵ we place the three lists of Epiphanius, the Pseudo-Tertullian, and Philaster side by side, keeping the earliest of the three in the middle column, it will be seen at once that its thirty-two heresies ‘run like a backbone’⁶ through the other two. Then, by taking a selection from its *vertebrae* in order, and remembering that their order probably represents the order of the *Syntagma* which Hippolytus wrote within a generation of Gnosticism at its zenith, we may get a clue to the succession and the classification of the otherwise baffling Gnostic schools.

§ 2. Gnosticism as a system ‘of heathenish thought, adopting some Jewish and some Christian elements’,⁷ was rooted in *syncretism*: and in its growth passed through three stages. In origin it was wholly non-Christian, indebted partly to Oriental and partly to Hellenic influences. In mid-career it developed into ‘an elaborate attempt to utilize Christianity . . . in order to deck out a larger and broader system which should fill up its blanks and cover the whole ground’.⁸ At this stage it assayed to provide philosophy and religion combined: and hence both its attractiveness and its danger. It was interested in Christianity, and looked on it, says Dr. Liddon, ‘as an addition to the existing stock of current human speculations’, and so ‘handled it freely’.⁹ Or, to quote an identical estimate of it from a very different quarter, ‘the

¹ Epiphanius, *Op.* i and ii, pp. 1–1077 (*P. G.* xli–xlii 774).

² Ed. F. Marx in *C. S. E. L.* xxxviii (Vindobonae, 1898).

³ Augustine, *Ep.* ccxxii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 817; *P. L.* xxxiii. 999).

⁴ Augustine, *Op.* viii. 1–28 (*P. L.* xlii. 21–50).

⁵ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, i. ii. 415–17.

⁶ *Ibid.* 415.

⁷ W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ H. P. Liddon, *Some elements of Religion*⁵, 13 (Rivington, 1885).

epoch-making significance of Gnosticism for the history of dogma must not be sought chiefly in the particular doctrines, but rather in the whole way in which Christianity is here conceived and transformed'.¹ Finally, in its third, or Marcionite and less proper, form, the Christianity reasserted itself and became the most prominent feature of the latest of the Gnostic schools.

Thus the list of Gnostics² and their precursors leads off³ with non-Christians from Samaria, the home of syncretism,⁴ viz. Simon Magus and his disciple Menander. Simon, according to St. Luke, was accepted by the Samaritans as 'that power of God which is called Great'.⁵ By this it would appear that Simon⁶ maintained a Supreme God and the existence of various powers or emanations from Him, of which he professed himself to be the chief. Indeed, he gave himself out as a rival Christ; and went on to say, according to the account of Irenaeus, 'that it was he and no other, who appeared among the Jews as the Son, but in Samaria descended as the Father, and among the other nations used to come as the Holy Ghost'.⁷ Such language is early and valuable testimony to the doctrine of the Trinity. But its aim was to express the superiority of his manifestation of the divine over any that had been vouchsafed to other nations through other representatives; and he manifested himself through his mistress Helen⁸ whom he had redeemed from a life of shame. These seem to be the main facts about Simon, stated as briefly as possible. We note his doctrine of emanations, afterwards distinctive of Valentinus and his school; and also his doctrine of redemption borrowed from Christianity, but besmirched and perverted. Besmirched, because the process of it is through sexual association; perverted, because the redeemer is not Jesus, but Simon himself. Menander,⁹ the

¹ A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. 252.

² For this account of the Gnostics use has been made of H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies* (Murray, 1875); W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, 337-78 (Rivington, 1881), an illuminating note; and C. T. Cruttwell, *A literary history of early Christianity* (Griffin, 1893), i. 181 sqq.

³ 'Taceo enim Iudaismi haereticos, Dositheum, inquam, Samaritanum... Sadducaeos... Pharisaeos... Herodianos,' Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i.

⁴ Since the eighth century B. C. Samaria had suffered from the admixture of races and so of religions; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24-41; Ezra iv. 2, 10, whence the gibe in Eccles. i. 25, 26.

⁵ Acts viii. 10.

⁶ For Simon, see Justin, *Apol.* i, §§ 26, 56; *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 120; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiii, §§ 1-4; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i; Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vi, §§ 7-20; Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. xiii.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiii, § 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁹ For Menander, see Justin, *Apol.* i, §§ 26, 56; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiii, § 5; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i; Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxvi.

immediate disciple and successor of Simon, was also a Samaritan. He is said to have surpassed his master in magic. He, too, set up for a rival Christ, and instituted a baptism into his own name. He called it the resurrection, and promised that it would save men from old age and death. Time soon disposed of Menander's pretensions, though Hegesippus mentions the Menandrianists,¹ and Origen says that in his day Simonians were nowhere to be seen.²

From Simon and Menander, who, unlike the Gnostics, claimed to be Christs themselves, though they anticipated some of the Gnostic doctrines, we pass on to the professedly Christian heresies which come next on the Pseudo-Tertullian's list. The first six names need not detain us at length. They fall into two groups: the former of which consists of four sects and is unimportant, for none of them proved a serious rival to the Church; while the latter—of two schools—has considerable importance but in a direction other than that which follows the common line of Gnostic development.

First of the four are the Nicolaitans.³ If these are to be identified with the Nicolaitans of the *Apocalypse*—and we do not really know anything of any other Nicolaitans—they were at that time a party in Asia 'detested' at Ephesus,⁴ in a minority at Pergamum,⁵ and 'suffered' in the person of a single prophetess at Thyatira.⁶ They taught that Christians ought to remain members of the pagan clubs,⁷ and that they might do so without disloyalty to their faith. They pleaded, in short, for 'a reasonable compromise with the established usages of Graeco-Roman society'.⁸ But these customs involved a share in what the Seer of the *Apocalypse* could not but denounce as idolatry and sensuality⁹: and it is for this immorality, justified probably by the tenet, afterwards adopted by the Gnostics, of the evil nature of matter and the consequent worthlessness of the body, that the Nicolaitans are

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxii. 5.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi, § 11 (*Op.* i. 638; *P. G.* xi. 1308 A).

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi. 3; iii. xi. 1; Tertullian, *De Praescr.*, c. xxxiii; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i; Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vii, § 36; and a different account in Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. iv. (*Op.* i. 187 sq.; *P. G.* viii. 1129 sq.), quoted in *Eus. H. E.* iii. xxix.

⁴ *Rev.* ii. 6.

⁵ *Rev.* ii. 15.

⁶ *Rev.* ii. 20.

⁷ W. M. Ramsay, *The letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, 346.

⁸ *Ibid.* 299.

⁹ 'The teaching of Balaam,' *Rev.* ii. 14; cf. 2 *Pet.* ii. 15. On this connexion of idolatry with vice, see W. M. Ramsay, *op. cit.* 339.

rightly condemned for 'heretical pravity'¹ by the anti-Gnostic Fathers. 'They live', says Irenaeus, 'as though things were indifferent.'²

Second and third come the Naasenes, or Ophites, or Serpentarians,³ as we might translate their name, and the Cainites. They have this in common that, anticipating the hostility of the Gnostics to the Demiurge, or God of the Old Testament, they glorified his opponents—the Serpent and Cain respectively. To the Ophites the Fall was a fall upwards, from innocence to knowledge; and the Serpent, by consequence, the illuminator and liberator of mankind. Similarly, the Cainites⁴ found in Cain a hero. He was the type of virile humanity, and they looked upon him as a martyr to the vindictiveness of the Demiurge who might persecute, but could not suppress, him.

The Sethites,⁵ on the other hand, who stand fourth in this series, accepted the common principles of morality, and took Seth for the type of the higher humanity. He started a new line of spiritual men, and was inspired by Wisdom as her instrument to counteract the work of the Demiurge. No future belonged to extravagances such as these. And though we only see Nicolaitans, Ophites, Cainites, and Sethites through the eyes of opponents who may have done them less than justice, still systems like theirs have little importance save as precursors of the better application of their principles by the greater Gnostic Schools. The name Gnostic, however, first made its appearance among them with the Ophites, according to Hippolytus⁶: their pride in their discovery that the Fall represents an advance in knowledge led them to claim the title of 'knowing men'. They were the Intellectuals of their day. 'They alone knew the depths.' But these, according to the *Apocalypse*, 'were the depths of Satan'.⁷

¹ A phrase of later origin and often unjust, for all heresies have not been immoral; but the Nicolaitan was. Cf. the same implication in the word 'miscreant'.

² Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi. 3.

³ Nahash = ὄφις = serpent. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxx; Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. ii; Hippolytus, *Ref.* v, §§ 6–11; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxvii (*Op.* i. 267 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 641 sqq.).

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxxi. 1; Tertullian, *De Praescr.* c. xxxiii; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. ii; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxviii (*Op.* i. 276 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 653 sqq.).

⁵ Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. ii; Hippolytus, *Ref.* v, §§ 19–22; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix (*Op.* i. 238 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 665 sqq.).

⁶ Ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν, Hipp. *Ref.* v, § 6. Irenaeus appears to say that the Carpocratians were the first to 'call themselves Gnostics', *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv. 6.

⁷ Rev. ii. 24, where note the conjunction of the serpent and the depths.

The second group consists of two names only—Carpocrates and Cerinthus. Of Cerinthus¹ we have already spoken in connexion with the Ebionites, to whom his name serves as an introduction on the Pseudo-Tertullian's list. He has his affinities with the Gnostics, for he held a docetic view of our Lord's human nature; but it is as the first Judaizing psilanthropist that he has his chief importance. Carpocrates,² in this respect, was his Gentile counterpart³; and it is, in this direction, that the importance of this group lies. Carpocrates, however, evinced the tendency to plunge into immorality on principle.⁴ His son, Epiphanes, c. 130, improved upon his father's doctrine; and, with the precociousness of a clever schoolboy, wrote a treatise, *On Justice*, some extracts of which are preserved by Clement of Alexandria, in which he advocated a Platonic community of women and goods.⁵ But he did not live to enjoy it; for he died at the age of seventeen.⁶

We are now at the threshold of the greater Gnostic schools. They are three: the Syrian, the Egyptian, and the Pontic.

§ 3. The Syrian school consists of Saturnilus, c. 120; Tatian, c. 160–80; and Bardaisân or, as the Greeks called him, Bardesanes, 154–†223. Its inspiration was Oriental; its common principle, dualism; its practice, ascetic; and its morality, austere. So far from making light of evil, as did some of the Gnostic sects, the Syrian school attributed an exaggerated authority to the powers of evil. It should have the credit, which attaches to all dualistic systems, of making for strictness of life.

Saturnilus, or Saturninus,⁷ was a native of Antioch and a con-

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvi, § 1; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. iii; Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, § 33; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxviii (*Op.* i. 110 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 377 sqq.); Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. xxviii, and Document No. 72.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxv; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. iii; Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii, c. ii (*Op.* i. 183 sqq.; *P. G.* viii. 1103 sqq.); Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, § 32; Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii. 9–15.

³ 'Iesum autem e Ioseph natum,' Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxv, § 1.

⁴ Ibid., § 2. Hence the name which Christians got for immorality, men 'putantes omnes nos tales esse', *ibid.*, § 3; cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii, § 11, and Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. ii. (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* viii. 1104 c).

⁵ Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. ii. (*Op.* i. 184; *P. G.* viii. 1105–12). The reference is to Plato, *Republic*, v, c. vii (*Opera*, 457 c, d). Clement thinks that Epiphanes misunderstood Plato.

⁶ Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. ii (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* viii. 1105 A); Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 210; *P. G.* xli. 548 B).

⁷ He is called Saturnilus by Hippolytus, Epiphanius, and Theodoret; Saturninus by Irenaeus, Ps.-Tertullian, and Eusebius. The authorities are Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, §§ 1, 2, and Document No. 70; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i; Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, § 28; Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii, §§ 3, 4; Epiph. *Haer.* xxiii (*Op.* i. 62 sqq.; *P. G.* xli. 297 sqq.).

temporary there of Ignatius. He was a successor of Menander¹; and they had a common starting-point in the doctrines of a Supreme God—‘one Father, unknown to all’²—and of Creation by Angels. But there was this difference: Menander set up for a rival Christ, and so taught a new religion with Christian elements; Saturnilus taught about Jesus Christ. Saturnilus, therefore, was the ‘first person who gave to the doctrines of Simon and Menander the character of a Christian heresy’.³ He took over from them, however, the anti-Christian principle of ‘the malignity of matter’, with its twin corollaries of a world created by intermediate agencies (since God could not be responsible for creation, if matter were evil) and of a docetic Christ. ‘The Saviour he declared to be unborn and incorporeal, and without figure; and in appearance only was He seen as man.’⁴ Perhaps it was experience of Saturnilus and docetism at home that gave Ignatius so sharp an eye for it, when, on leaving Antioch, he passed through the churches of Asia and warned them against it. What, then, was the mission of this Saviour with a phantom body? It was to undo the work of the Angelic Creators. For whereas these, in Simon and Menander, were remote emanations from God, according to Saturnilus, whose dualism betrays itself at this point, ‘the Angels, seven in number, by whom the world was made’, were the emissaries of a rival power: and ‘one of the seven was the God of the Jews’. The true God, then, who wished to do away with them all,⁵ sent the Christ ‘to destroy the God of the Jews, and to save them that believe in Him’. These were such as, in spite of the creation of man’s body by inferior powers, had yet retained ‘the spark of life’⁶ with which God Himself had endowed them. But everything connected with matter was to be condemned, as marriage and animal food; while the Old Testament was also to be rejected as the work ‘in part, of those Angels which made the world, and, in part, of Satan’ himself.⁷

¹ διαδεξάμενος, Eus. *H. E.* III. xxvi, § 1; διάδοχος, *ibid.* IV. vii, § 3.

² ‘Unum Patrem incognitum omnibus, qui fecit angelos. . . . A septem autem quibusdam angelis mundum factum et omnia quae in eo,’ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. xxiv. 1.

³ Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 130.

⁴ ‘Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit et incorporalem et sine figura, putative autem visum hominem,’ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* I. xxiv. 2.

⁵ Irenaeus has, at this point, ‘Et propter hoc quod dissolvere voluerint Patrem eius omnes principes’, *Adv. Haer.* I. xxiv. 2; but the sense of his original is probably preserved better by Hippolytus, ‘Et quoniam voluerit Pater dominatu privare omnes dominantes’, *Ref.* vii, § 28.

⁶ ‘Scintillam vitae,’ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* I. xxiv. 1.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. xxiv. 2.

Tatian¹ was born, *c.* 110, 'in the land of the Assyrians',² and became a sophist by profession. He travelled far and wide; and at last came to Rome.³ Here he fell in with Justin Martyr, †163; under whose influence, it may be presumed,⁴ he was converted to Christianity, *c.* 150. As a convert, he wrote his *Oratio ad Graecos*,⁵ *c.* 152, when in middle life. He owed his conversion, so he tells us in this work, to the Scriptures: being 'convinced by them, on account of the soberness of their language, the simplicity of the writers, their intelligible account of the creation, their prediction of the future, the reasonableness of their precepts, and their reference of the universe to a single ruler'.⁶ We may note in passing the witness here borne to the free circulation of the Scriptures in the Church of the second century: and it is instructive to contrast the way in which they appealed to an educated heathen of that date for their 'simplicity of diction' with the way in which they repelled, as Augustine tells us, the grammarian and rhetorician of the fourth century because they had 'a genuine eloquence which was not inflated'.⁷ The literary taste of the Roman world was still sufficiently simple in Tatian's day to appreciate the Scriptures; but two hundred years later the Bible was not florid enough for it. Till the death of Justin, *c.* 163, Tatian remained in Rome as a teacher of repute in the church; but some ten years later, *c.* 172,⁸ he fell into heresy, and withdrew to the East.⁹ 'Like the Valentinians', says Irenaeus, 'he made out a mythology of certain invisible aeons; like Marcion and Satur-

¹ Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxviii, § 1; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vii; Hippolytus, *Ref.* viii, § 16; Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxix; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xli (Op. i. 390 sqq.; P. G. xli. 835 sqq.).

² Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, § 42 (ap. Iustin. *Opera*, 276; P. G. vi. 888 A).

³ Ibid., § 35 (ap. Iustin. *Opera*, 272; P. G. vi. 877 B).

⁴ From his references to Justin, *Orat. ad Graec.*, §§ 18, 19 (ap. Iustini, *Opera*, 259 sq.; P. G. vi. 848 A, B).

⁵ Printed among Iustin. *Opera*, 243-76 (P. G. vi. 803-88); transl. in A.-N. C. L., vol. iii. 5-45.

⁶ *Orat. ad Graec.*, § 29 (ap. Iustin. *Op.* 267 sq.; P. G. vi. 868 A); Document No. 50.

⁷ 'Ne sordeat eis [sc. grammaticis et oratoribus] solidum eloquium quia non est inflatum,' Aug. *De catechizandis rudibus*, § 13 (Op. vi. 272 B; P. L. xl. 320).

⁸ 'Tatianus haereticus agnoscitur, a quo Encratitae,' Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Ad ann. xii. M. Aur. Antoninus (Op. i; P. G. xix. 563).

⁹ Harnack's chronology of the life of Tatian differs from this. He places Tatian's journey to Mesopotamia between 152-65; the *Diatessaron* between 153-70, and Tatian returns to Rome for a second sojourn there; falls into heresy and dies. Cf. G. Goyau, *Chronologie de l'Empire romain*, 223, n. 10.

ninus, he denounced marriage as corruption and fornication, but his denial of Adam's salvation he invented of himself.'¹

Tatian, it would seem, was an eclectic. His debt to the Valentinians was probably slight, or he would have been more prominently associated with them. As it is, his asceticism connects him rather with the Syrian school; only it was more thorough than theirs. It led him not only to condemn marriage and animal food, but to substitute water for wine in the Eucharist. It was so pronounced as to win for his followers the title of Encratites, or professors of an abstinence that was really total; while for 'celebrating the Eucharist with mere water'² they, and others, were known as *Hydroparastatae*.³ Such abstinence was but a symptom. It was one consequence of the dualism which Tatian shared with the rest of the Syrian school: for, like them, his fundamental principle was the distinction between the Supreme God and the Creator.⁴ A second consequence was that, by contrast with the New Testament, he disparaged the Old Testament as the work of the inferior God⁵: and this is sufficient to account for his peculiar tenet denying salvability to Adam, for Marcion also denied it to worthier characters in the Old Testament,⁶ though Tatian further deduced it *a fortiori* from St. Paul's statement that 'In Adam all die'.⁷ A third consequence of the dualism common to Tatian and the Syrian school was his doctrine of a docetic Christ. To this docetism we owe his *Harmony of the Gospels*,⁸ probably composed in Syriac, c. 172-3, not long after his return from Rome to his native Mesopotamia. It was known to the Greeks as the *Diatessaron*, or, in full, 'The Gospel of Jesus Christ by means of the Four [Evangelists]', and to the Syrians as the *Evangelión da-Mêhallêtê*, or 'Gospel of the Mixed', to dis-

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxviii, § 1.

² Τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ὕδατι κατὰ τὴν προσφορὰν, μὴ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, χρωμένων αἰρέσεων . . . εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν, Clem. Al. *Strom.* i, § 19 (*Op.* i. 137; *P. G.* viii. 813 A). Clement, as the context shows, is referring to Ebionites, and to this custom of theirs there is probably an allusion in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. i, § 3.

³ Theodoret, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, i, § 20 (*Op.* iv. 312; *P. G.* lxxxiii, 369 D).

⁴ Clem. Al. *Eclogae ex Scripturis Prophetis*, c. xxxviii (*Op.* ii. 365; *P. G.* ix. 717 B).

⁵ Τατιανὸς . . . καταλύων τὸν νόμον ὡς ἄλλου Θεοῦ, Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 198; *P. G.* viii. 1184 A).

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, § 3; v. viii, § 1. ⁷ Ibid. iii. xxiii, § 8.

⁸ Transl. by H. W. Hogg in *A.-N. C. L.*, additional volume, 43 sqq. (ed. A. Menzies); cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxix, § 6, and the account by J. F. Stenning in J. Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.* v. 451 sqq.

tinguish it from the *Evangelión da-Měpharrěshě*, or 'Gospel of the Separated' [ones]. 'He composed it', says Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, 423-†58, 'by cutting out all the genealogies and all such passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh.'¹ The *Harmony* is an important witness to the authority of our four Gospels. During the whole of the third century, at Edessa and other centres of Syriac-speaking Christendom, it was the only text from which the Gospel-narrative was read in church.² Between 360-70 St. Ephraem Syrus,³ 306-†73, wrote a commentary on it. But in the fifth century Rabbûla, bishop of Edessa,⁴ 411-†35, since it was the work of a heretic, succeeded in substituting for it the 'Gospel of the Separated' [ones],⁵ i.e. the text of the four Gospels as found in the recent revision of the New Testament by Rabbûla himself, which, according to Dr. Burkitt,⁶ became the *Peshitta* or Syriac Vulgate. Theodoret had a share in the revolution. The *Harmony*, he says, 'was used not only by those who belonged to Tatian's own sect, but also by those who follow the Apostolic doctrine, since they did not perceive the mischief of the composition, but used it in all simplicity on account of its brevity. And I myself found more than two hundred such copies held in honour in the churches in our parts; and, having collected them all, I put them away, substituting the Gospels of the four Evangelists.'⁷

Bardesanēs⁸, as the Greeks called him, or Bardaisân, was born at Edessa, 154; whither his parents had taken refuge from Parthia under Manu VIII, who was King of Edessa 139-63, and again 167-†79. They named him Bardaisân from Daisân (Gk. Σκίπρος, the Leaper), the river of Edessa. They were persons of some

¹ Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Compendium*, i, § 20 (*Op.* iv. 312; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 372 A).

² F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 47.

³ *Ibid.* 95 sqq.

⁴ *Ibid.* 49 sq.

⁵ The ordinance of Rabbûla, as given by Dr. Burkitt, runs: 'Let the priests and deacons take care that in all the churches there shall be a copy of the separated Gospels, and that it be read,' *op. cit.* 61 sq.; and he adds: 'Rabbûla, in ordering the use of the *Evangelión da-Měpharrěshě*, had really in view the substitution of the *Peshitta* for the *Diatessaron*,' *ibid.* 64.

⁶ *Ibid.* 56-8.

⁷ *Haer. Fab. Compend.* loc. cit.

⁸ For Bardesanēs see Hippolytus, *Ref.* vi, § 35, vii, § 31; Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxx; Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvi (*Op.* i. 476-9; *P. G.* xli. 989-94); Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Compendium*, i, § 22 (*Op.* iv. 313; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 372 B, C); F. J. A. Hort in *D. C. B.* i. 250-60; F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, Lecture V; and 'Bardesane l'astrologue, *Le livre des lois des pays*, traduction française par F. Nau' (Paris, 1899), to whose introduction the account of Bardaisân here given is chiefly indebted.

consequence, for their son was brought up at court with Abgar, the heir of Manu; till, during the usurpation, 163–7, they took flight to Mabug (Hierapolis). Here, it would seem, they died; for Bardaisân was adopted by a heathen priest of that city, who taught him astrology.¹ To these studies he owed his cosmology, recalling that of Valentinus and the Gnostics; and, by consequence, his reputed association with that school.² In 179, at the age of twenty-five, he returned to Edessa on business, where he was converted and baptized by the bishop Hystasp, and went back to his place at court with the friend of his boyhood, now Abgar IX, 179–†214. He became a good shot, as well as an author of distinction. He entered the lists against Valentinus³ and Marcion.⁴ He wrote on astrology.⁵ He composed, it is said, as many as a hundred and fifty hymns, of which one—*The Hymn of the Soul*⁶—survives. There is extant also a work attributed by some to his disciple Philip, but, by more recent authorities, to Bardaisân himself, known to the Greeks as *The Dialogue on Fate*,⁷ or, in the Syriac MS., from its concluding sections,⁸ as *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*. Towards the end of his days, Edessa, once Roman, 116, under Trajan, was incorporated again, 216, into the Roman Empire⁹ by Antoninus Caracalla, 211–†17. A friend of this Emperor endeavoured to make Bardaisân give up his Christianity, but he refused. He died 222: a Christian, but out of communion with the church of his native place. He came to be looked upon as the last of the Gnostics, with what justice may best be gathered from the opinions expressed in his *Dialogue on Fate*.

¹ 'Moi aussi, O Philippe, je sais très bien que les hommes appelés Chaldéens et d'autres encore aiment la connaissance de cet art, comme moi je l'ai aimée jadis,' *Les lois*, &c., § 25; cf. the fragment numbered § 59, *ibid*.

² Eusebius says that he was at first a Valentinian and afterwards orthodox, as he thought, though he never really got rid of the taint, *H. E.* iv. xxx. 3. Epiphanius says that he began as a distinguished Christian teacher and then fell into the errors of Valentinus, *Haer.* lvi, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* i. 477; *P. L.* xli. 989–92). St. Ephraem never accuses Bardaisân of being an adherent of Valentinus, i. e. a Gnostic; only of being an astrologer, and of denying the resurrection of the body, *F. Nau*, *op. cit.* 8, n. 1.

³ *Eus. H. E.* iv. xxx. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 1.

⁵ *Les lois*, &c., §§ 25, 59.

⁶ Text and tr. in *Texts and Studies*, v, No. 3, by A. A. Bevan; tr. by F. C. Burkitt in *Early Eastern Christianity*, 218 sqq. He thinks it may be described as 'the work of Bardaisân himself, or of his son Harmonius' *ibid.* 216. Cf. *The Hymn of Bardaisân*, rendered into English by F. C. Burkitt (E. Arnold, 1899).

⁷ *Περὶ εἰμαρμένης*, *Eus. H. E.* iv. xxx. 2: see introduction and summary in F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 161 sqq.

⁸ §§ 35 sqq.

⁹ Gibbon, c. viii (ed. Bury, i. 207 sq.).

Bardaisân¹ professes himself a Christian.² He believes in one God,³ almighty ; for all that exists has need of Him.⁴

He created the worlds,⁵ and assigned a place to every being.⁶ First, He made the elements : fire, wind, water, light, and darkness,⁷ each of which had a limited freedom, though with a place and nature of its own.⁸ Darkness was evil and strove to ascend from its place below, in order to mix with the pure elements. These latter appealed to God for help. He sent the Christ to their assistance : and so the world as we know it came into being.⁹ The world is a compound of good and bad where the pure and primitive elements have received an admixture of evil, with the result that, while each retains its proper essence, it has lost in force.¹⁰ God allows evil to continue because He is long-suffering ; but hereafter He will create a new world from which it will be entirely banished.¹¹ The world that now is will have an end,¹² at the close of six thousand years.¹³ Meanwhile, evil exists ; but it is merely the loss of good,¹⁴ the work of the devil, and of a nature out of health.¹⁵

God also made the angels and gave them free will, so that some of them sinned with the daughters of men.¹⁶ He made man, too, and put him on an equality with the angels by the gift of free will¹⁷ ; and he bestowed upon him mind, soul, and body.¹⁸ His body is governed by the planets in such matters as life and death, wealth and misfortune, health and sickness.¹⁹ But his will is free : he can do the good and avoid the evil. He is immortal, and will meet with reward or punishment according to his works²⁰ ; for there is a judgement.²¹

Bardaisân, it would thus appear, held the ordinary faith of Christians, but ran riot in ' an outer region of speculation '.²² He held that matter was co-eternal with God, though not, like the Marcionites, that it was hostile to him.²³ He held a doctrine of resurrection which amounted to a denial of the resurrection of the body.²⁴ He attributed to our Lord a spiritual body, as distinguished

¹ For this summary, see F. Nau, *Les lois*, &c., 16 sq.

² *Les lois*, &c., § 57.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 10, 11, 16, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 26, 60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 60.

⁸ *Ibid.*, §§ 16, 17, 58.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 60. Redemption is thus connected not with the Incarnation but with the Creation.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 17, 58 60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 58.

¹² *Ibid.*, § 28.

¹³ *Ibid.*, §§ 32, 59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, § 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, § 20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, § 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, § 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, § 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 18, 24, 32, 33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 16, 33.

²² Hort, in *D. C. B.* iv. 252.

²³ *Ibid.* 253.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 254.

from an ordinary human body.¹ It was probably these traits of docetism, coupled with his fertility in speculation, that led the Greek writers of the fourth century to think less of Bardaisân the astrologer² than of Bardesanes the last of the Gnostics.

§ 4. The Egyptian school is marked off from the Syrian by affinities with Hellenic rather than with Oriental thought. Starting, as it did, from the Platonist idea of God that He is Pure Being,³ or, as the Church of later days expressed it, Super-essential Essence,⁴ the problem of Egyptian Gnosticism was to connect Him with the created Universe. The Orient cut the knot by supposing a duality of gods, opposed as Spirit and matter, as good and evil : its principle therefore was ascetic. But Hellenic thought held fast to the postulate of an only and supreme God ; admitted that there was a problem to be solved ; and solved it by supposing an elaborate system of aeons or emanations between Him and the world in which we live. They either evolved in a series (according to Basilides, whose aeons were celibates) or (according to Valentinus) were generated in pairs, each successive pair departing a little further from pure Spirit and approximating a little nearer to crude matter till, among the last, were some capable of producing the material world. Theories of this sort offered a fine scope for mythology ; specially where, as in the system of Valentinus, their basis was sex and their constructive principle 'nuptial'.⁵ Such, in general, was the Egyptian school. It struck root in Alexandria ; but it soon had flourishing offshoots in Rome and the West.

Basilides⁶ is its first representative : he taught at Alexandria⁷ 'about the time of the Emperor Hadrian',⁸ 117-†38. He enjoys,

¹ Πνευματικὸν ἦν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ σωτήρος· πνεῦμα γὰρ ἅγιον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαρίαν, τοῦτέστιν ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὑψίστου ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη, ἵνα διαπλασθῇ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῇ Μαρίᾳ δοθέν, Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, § 35.

² Eusebius, however, preserves his memory as that of 'the astrologer', Ἀνδρὸς Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπ' ἄκρον δὲ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐληλακός. Βαρδισάνης ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρί, *Preparatio Evangelica*, vi, § 9 (*Op.* iii. 272 ; *P. G.* xxi. 461 D) ; but elsewhere he says he had been a Valentinian and never got rid of the taint of it, *H. E.* iv. xxx. 3.

³ Οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρεσβεία καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος, Plato, *Republic*, vi, § 19 (*Op.* 509 B).

⁴ Ὑπερουσιος οὐσία, Ps.-Dionysius [early sixth century], *De divinis nominibus*, i, § 1 (*Op.* i. 284 ; *P. G.* iii. 588 B) ; and see F. E. Brightman, *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes*, 292 n.

⁵ So L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 124 of the system of Valentinus.

⁶ For this account see F. J. A. Hort, s.v. 'Basilides', in *D. C. B.* i. 268-81.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, § 1.

⁸ Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 325 ; *P. G.* ix. 548 A). 'The notices

with Valentinus, the distinction of being singled out by opponents as the typical representative of Gnosticism. He claimed to be a disciple of Glaucias, the interpreter of St. Peter¹; and was thus the first of the Gnostics to pretend to a secret tradition from the Apostles. He was also the first to exhibit the literary fertility which marked Egyptian Gnosticism: for, whereas the earliest Gnostics, from Simon to Saturnilus, left nothing in writing, Basilides wrote 'twenty-four books on the Gospel',² probably to be identified with the *Exegetica* from the twenty-third of which Clement of Alexandria has preserved an extract,³ apparently in exposition of *St. John ix*. The Commentary was considered of sufficient importance to merit 'refutation' from Agrippa Castor, an otherwise unknown but 'powerful' defender of the faith.⁴ The system of Basilides⁵ began with a philosophy of the non-existent or, as we should say, of the Absolute; it went on to a cosmogony, built up, in part, by the aid of mystic numbers; it proceeded to a Christology and developed a theory of Redemption. But its details are hardly worth expounding,⁶ quite apart from the difficulty of ascertaining which of the two accounts of the system is the more authentic. Probably it is best presented in Clement of Alexandria, who reproduces and criticizes 'the ethical side of his doctrine', specially because it 'left "faith" a matter of "nature" [i.e. of temperament], not of responsible choice',⁷ and in the *Refutatio* of Hippolytus, who describes and reviews its cosmogony.⁸ The other account is given by Irenaeus,⁹ and was reproduced by Hippolytus in the lost *Compendium*, both of these authorities being perpetuated in what we are told of Basilides by the Pseudo-Tertullian¹⁰ of Clement afford the surest criterion by which to test other authorities' for Basilides, Hort, in *D. C. B.* i. 270.

¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 325; *P. G.* ix. 549 A). According to Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii. 20, it was Matthias who, as Basilides claimed, communicated 'secret discourses' to him.

² Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii. 7.

³ Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv, § 12 (*Op.* i. 216 sqq.; *P. G.* viii. 1289 sqq.). He refutes the opinion of Basilides that martyrdom is of the nature of punishment; cf. *St. John ix.* 1. ⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. vii. 6.

⁵ As described in the 'eight chapters of Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vii, §§ 20-7, which represent . . . the contents of the *Exegetica* of Basilides', Hort, in *D. C. B.* i. 271.

⁶ The whole theory, says Hippolytus, amounts to a re-sorting by Jesus of a primitive confusion, Hipp. *Ref.* vii, § 27 (p. 378, ll. 33-5; edd. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin).

⁷ Hort, in *D. C. B.* i. 274, referring to Clem. Al. *Strom.* v, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 233; *P. G.* ix. 12 B, c).

⁸ *Ut sup.*, n. 5.

⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, §§ 3-7, and Document No. 71.

¹⁰ *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. i.

and Epiphanius.¹ These writers² attribute a more developed emanationism³ to Basilides : one of the aeons was the God of the Jews ; he was turbulent and ambitious,⁴ and so brought his people to ruin at the hands of the other Powers. God then intervened and sent His Mind, the Christ, to deliver from the rulers of the world those who believed on him. He appeared on earth, but only in semblance, and on the way to Calvary he exchanged forms with Simon the Cyrenian, who was thus crucified in his stead, while Jesus, standing unseen opposite in Simon's form, mocked those who did the deed.⁵ Martyrdom, therefore, or the confession of the crucified, was discouraged⁶ ; and to confess him was a token of being still in bondage to the makers of the body.⁷ Immorality was practised to show independence of the body ; and salvation was held to be of the soul alone,⁸ for there could be no resurrection or future for the body. It is probable that, for these developments, neither Basilides nor his son Isidore had any responsibility ; and that Irenaeus, in so describing Basilidians, is giving us a picture of a degenerate Basilidianism, as it had come to be in his day.

Valentinus,⁹ a younger contemporary of Basilides, is said to have been a native of Egypt—so Epiphanius tells us, on the authority of local tradition there—to have received a liberal education at Alexandria,¹⁰ and then to have taught in that city.¹¹ Thence, according to the definite statement of Irenaeus, ' he came

¹ *Haer.* xxiv (*Op.* i. 68-77 ; *P. G.* xli. 307-20).

² Some prefer this as the more genuine account of Basilides, e. g. L. Duchesne, *The early history of the Church*, i. 124, n. 1. Hort calls it ' the spurious Basilidian system ', *D. C. B.* i. 278.

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, § 3.

⁴ Διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱταμώτερον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ αὐθαδέστερον, Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxiv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 71 ; *P. G.* xli. 312 A).

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxiv, § 4.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, 205, n. 3, and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxiv, § 4 (*Op.* i. 71 ; *P. L.* xli. 313 A, B).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 5.

⁹ The chief authorities for Valentinus and Valentinianism are : (i) Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. i-xxi, whose account has four divisions : (1) a connected account of the system (cc. i-vii), with two appendices (a) on Valentinian exegesis (cc. viii, ix), and (b) a summary of the Christian Faith (c. x) ; (2) the variations of Valentinianism (cc. xi-xii) ; (3) Marcus and the Marcosians (cc. xiii-xviii) ; (4) Valentinian exegesis (cc. xix-xx) and formulae (c. xxi) ; (ii) Fragments in Clem. Al. *Excerpta Theodoti* ; (iii) Tertullian, *De Praescr.* (cc. vii, xxx, xxxiii) ; (iv) Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.* (c. iv) ; (v) Hippolytus *Ref.* vi, §§ 21 sqq. ; (vi) Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 1 ; (vii) Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxi (*Op.* i. 163-207 ; *P. G.* xli. 473-544), of which §§ 9-32 = Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. i-x and §§ 7-8 are from Hippolytus, *Syntagma*.

¹⁰ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxi, § 2 (*Op.* i. 164 ; *P. G.* xli. 476 A).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 171 ; *P. G.* xli. 485 c).

to Rome under Hyginus, but flourished under Pius and continued even to Anicetus'.¹ He would thus have stood at the height of his fame, c. 135–60, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138–†61; for famous he became. The author of the dialogue *De recta in Deum fide*, c. 300–13, has occasion to controvert the theory of the origin of evil held by Valentinus, and refers to him as 'no ordinary man'²; while Jerome calls him 'very learned'.³ To his own generation Valentinus was 'the brilliant theosophist', in whom 'all the fascinations of the Gnostic reached their highest point'⁴; and it was his system, as represented by Ptolemy, one of his disciples, that gave occasion to the great work of Irenaeus in opposition to Gnosticism, which he entitled *The Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge falsely so-called*. Clement of Alexandria also entered the lists against Valentinus, and has preserved fragments of his letters⁵ and homilies.⁶ Nor could Tertullian keep out of the fray. He, too, testifies to the literary versatility of Valentinus by references to his psalms.⁷ Further, he directed a pamphlet, *Adversus Valentinianos*, in which, while leaving the description of their heresy to Irenaeus,⁸ he covers it with ridicule, and promised a fuller criticism⁹—though we do not possess it—of the Valentinian Gnosis. If a man is to be measured by the strength of the adversaries he provokes to take the field against him, Valentinus must have been credited by contemporary opinion with ability of a high order. It enabled him, while inculcating his tenets, to keep, for some years, within the communion of the Roman church. At length, after lapse and reconciliation, he was finally excommunicated.¹⁰ Epiphanius asserts that he spent his declining years in Cyprus,¹¹ and Tertullian that he seceded from the Church out of pique. Noted as he had become

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iv. 3.

² Οὐκ ἐντελής ἦν ἀνὴρ, *De recta in Deum fide*, § 4, ap. Origen, *Opera*, i. app. (P. G. xi. 1805 c): on this dialogue, cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 167 sq.

³ 'Doctissimus,' Jerome, *Comment.* lib. ii in *Osee*, cap. x, vers. 1 (*Op.* vi. 106; P. L. xxv. 902 B).

⁴ C. T. Cruttwell, *A literary history of early Christianity*, i. 208.

⁵ e. g. Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 162; P. G. viii. 972 B, c).

⁶ e. g. *ibid.* iv, § 13 (*Op.* i. 218; P. G. viii. 1297 A).

⁷ Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, cc. xvii, xx.

⁸ Tert. *Adv. Val.*, c. v, where he speaks of Irenaeus as 'omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator'.

⁹ *Ibid.*, c. vi.

¹⁰ 'Marcion et Valentinus . . . semel et iterum eiecti . . . novissime in perpetuum discidium relegati,' Tert. *De Praescr.*, c. xxx.

¹¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxi, § 7 (*Op.* i. 171; P. G. xli. 485 D).

‘for genius and eloquence’, he expected to be elected bishop, but another was preferred to the see—apparently of Rome—by reason of the claim which confessorship had given him.¹ We may accept the fact of his excommunication; but the imputation of unworthy motives is too common in orthodox accounts of heretics to deserve attention, except as an indication of place or date. Here it has been conjectured that the Confessor for whose sake he was passed over was the Roman bishop, Pius, 141–†55.

The system of Valentinus² is intrinsically worthless: it requires an effort even to contemplate it. But what is nonsense to our day may have been science to some older generation, and Valentinus seemed a master in science to his own contemporaries. He assigns a tripartite structure to the Universe of Being. It is made up of three spheres—the Pleroma,³ or divine sphere; the realm beyond the Pleroma⁴; and the world we live in.⁵ As to the Pleroma, or celestial sphere, it starts from a primal Being, the Depth: so that, whereas the first principle with Basilides was, as Non-existence or the Absolute, negative, with Valentinus it is positive and potentially contains all subsequent existences. These were generated in syzygies or pairs, male and female: thus from Depth and Silence came Mind and Truth; from these Reason and Life; and from these again Man and Church.⁶ These form the Ogdoad.⁷ Then follows a Decad and a Dodecad⁸—making a system of thirty Aeons in all, before the Pleroma, or totality of divine attributes, is complete.⁹ The youngest of the thirty was Wisdom. She desired to comprehend the Infinite but was checked by Limit¹⁰: and, while she herself was restored to her place in the Pleroma, her Design,¹¹ personified, was cast out. To prevent the recurrence of any similar disturbance in the Pleroma, the Father put forth another pair of Aeons called Christ and Holy Spirit, and the Aeon Christ taught that the Father is incomprehensible.¹²

¹ Tert. *Adv. Val.*, c. iv.

² For fuller accounts see Lipsius, s.v. ‘Valentinus,’ § 5, in *D. C. B.* iv. 1086 sqq.; H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 166 sqq.; C. T. Cruttwell, *op. cit.* i. 211 sqq., and the curious ‘Prospectus systematis Valentinianorum’ prefixed to Irenaeus in *P. L.* vii. 435–6.

³ Described in Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. i–iii. Cf. *τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ Πληρώματος αὐτῶν*, *ibid.* iii, § 6.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. iv–v, § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. v, § 3–vi.

⁶ *Βυθός* and *Σιγή*: *Νοῦς* and *Ἀδῆθεια*: *Λόγος* and *Ζωή*: *Ἄνθρωπος* and *Ἐκκλησία*.

⁷ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. i, § 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 3.

¹⁰ *Ὁρος*, *ibid.* ii, § 2.

¹¹ *Ἐνθύμησις*, *ibid.*, § 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, § 9.

Such was the constitution of the Pleroma itself.¹ But what of the state of things beyond the Pleroma²—between the celestial, and this terrestrial, sphere? Here there is a romance of the Intermediate.³ It centres round the adventures of a younger Wisdom, the personification of the banished Design of the elder Wisdom to comprehend the Unknowable. This younger Wisdom—in Hebrew *hokhma* and in its Graecized form *Achamoth*—inherited her parent's passion to know, whence three grades of being—all in different ways the offspring of *Achamoth*: the material, sprung from her passions; the psychic, from her conversion by the Aeon Christ; the spiritual, from her joy at the Light.⁴ From the second of these sprang the Demiurge,⁵ and by him at last the world was made⁶ with its three classes of men—those in whom the material, or the psychic, or the spiritual⁷ predominates, as in Cain, Abel, and Seth respectively.⁸ And this is, in brief, the Valentinian account of the third sphere, for so was created this mundane world. As to its Redemption, Christ was the author of it. He was the son of the Demiurge, and, like him, had a psychic but also a spiritual nature: yet no body, or a body only in semblance: for the Valentinian Christ was a docetic Saviour,⁹ and, so far from taking flesh of Mary, he only 'passed through Mary as water passes through a pipe'.¹⁰ Moreover, he could save men or not, only according to the class to which they belong.¹¹ If the material predominates, the man is not capable of salvation.¹² If the psychic, he may be saved, but only by faith and works, as the ordinary churchman. If, however, the spiritual, then such an one is a true Gnostic: he is assured of Salvation to start with,¹³ and that by know-

¹ Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντὸς Πληρώματος ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένη πραγματεία, *ibid.* iii, § 1. The rest of cap. iii is taken up with specimens of the exegesis with which the Valentinians endeavoured to find Scriptural support for their fantasies.

² Τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Πληρώματος, *ibid.* iv, § 1.

³ Τὸν τῆς μεσότητος τόπον, *ibid.* v, § 3.

⁴ *Iren. Adv. Haer.* i. v, § 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* v, § 6.

⁶ Ταιῶν οὖν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὑλικὸν . . . τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν . . . τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, *ibid.* vi, § 1, and Document No. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.* vii, § 5.

⁹ Καὶ ὑλικὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὅποιον εἰληφέναι λέγουσιν αὐτόν· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὑλικὴν δεκτικὴν σωτηρίας, *ibid.* vi, § 1.

¹⁰ Εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλήνος, *ibid.* vii, § 2; this tenet was afterwards reproduced by some Apollinarians, *Greg. Naz. Ep.* ci (*Op.* iii. 85; *P. G.* xxxvii. 177 c).

¹¹ *Ibid.* vii, § 5.

¹² *Ibid.* vi, § 2.

¹³ Οἱ ψυχικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ δὲ ἔργων καὶ πίστεως ψιλῆς βεβαιούμενοι, καὶ μὴ τὴν τέλειαν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες. εἶναι δὲ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμᾶς λέγουσι. διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν ἀγαθὴν πράξιν ἀποφαίνονται· ἄλλως γὰρ ἀδύνατον

ledge.¹ Valentinus, it would appear, took a view of mankind not unlike that of the supralapsarians in later days. And the moral results of Valentinianism resembled that 'wretchlessness of most unclean living'² attributed to rigorous predestinarianism. The spiritual man was 'incapable of corruption'.³ Hence, says Irenaeus, 'the most perfect among them do all forbidden things without fear. . . . They eat indifferently of things sacrificed to idols, not esteeming themselves at all stained thereby. And at every holiday amusement of the Gentiles, taking place in honour of the idols, they are the first to assemble; some of them not even abstaining from that murderous spectacle, hated by God and man, of combats with wild beasts, and of single fight. Others again, who are the slaves of all fleshly pleasures, even unto loathing, say that "they give to the flesh the things of the flesh and to the spirit the things of the spirit"'.⁴ But here Irenaeus is to be taken not of the master; only of some of the disciples. Not all the disciples, however, took these liberties; and Valentinianism continued in two schools. There was the Oriental, represented by Theodotus, whose works supplied Clement of Alexandria with extracts entitled *Excerpta Theodoti*,⁵ and intended to serve as notes for his lectures on their author. There was also the more interesting Italian school. The names of its leaders follow next after their master Valentinus in the list of the Pseudo-Tertullian. They are Ptolemy, Heracleon, and Mark.

Ptolemy has a twofold interest. First, he and his school are spoken of by Irenaeus as 'a kind of efflorescence from that of Valentinus'⁶; and it is the Ptolemaic form of the Valentinian Gnosis which, as contemporary with Irenaeus, was described and refuted by him in the *Adversus Haereses*. Secondly, the *Epistle of Ptolemy to Flora* has come down to us entire,⁷ and is the earliest

σωθῆναι, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φύσει πνευματικοὺς εἶναι, πάντα τὰ καὶ πάντως σωθήσεσθαι δογματίζουσιν, *ibid.* vi, § 2.

¹ Οἱ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες περὶ Θεοῦ, *ibid.* vi, § 1.

² *Art.* xvii.

³ *Iren. Adv. Haer.* i. vi, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 3.

⁵ Or, in full, 'Εκ τῶν Θεοδοίου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί. Of these, §§ 1-42 are thought to give an account of Valentinus much nearer to his views than the Ptolemaic doctrines given in *Iren. Adv. Haer.* i. i-viii; in fact, to represent the oldest form of the Valentinian system. Hence the last five words of the title. In §§ 42-65 Clement gives extracts relating to the Italian school. For the text of the whole, see Clement Al. *Op.* ii. 348-59 (*P. G.* ix. 653-98); and for a sketch of the system contained in §§ 1-42, see *D. C. B.* iv. 1090 sqq.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* Proem., § 2.

⁷ The text is preserved by Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxiii, §§ 3-7 (*Op.* i. 216-22);

of many attempts, in Christian history, to deal with the problem presented by the imperfections of the Old Testament. Some ignored them and attributed the Law to God the Father; others, to account for them, ascribed it to the devil [i, § 2]. In the latter case the Gospel and the Law would proceed from different authors; and Flora, it seems, wanted to know how this—the ordinary Gnostic view—was consistent with the Christian belief in the unity of God. Ptolemy replies by repudiating each of these extreme positions, and offering a mediate one of his own. The Law cannot come from ‘the perfect God and Father’; being itself imperfect, needing that one should come and fulfil it, and containing precepts alien to the Nature and Mind of the divine perfection [i, § 4]. On the other hand, it cannot be assigned to the Unrighteous Adversary, for it forbids unrighteousness [i, § 5]. Both sides are wrong [i, § 8]: Ptolemy, however, has an answer, based on the Saviour’s own sayings [i, § 9]. It should be noted, first, that the laws in the Pentateuch do not all proceed from one and the same source [ii, § 1]. Some were given by God, e. g. the primal law of marriage¹ [ii, § 2]. Some by Moses ‘out of his own head’, e. g. the precept modifying it and allowing divorce for the hardness of men’s hearts² [ii, § 4]. Some by ‘the elders’, e. g. the ‘tradition’ relaxing the fifth commandment³ [ii, § 10]. Again, of the precepts emanating from God himself, three classes are to be distinguished. There are (a) the moral precepts, i. e. the Law in the strict sense, which the Saviour came ‘not to destroy but to fulfil’⁴ [iii, § 1]; such as the Decalogue [iii, § 2]. Next, there are (b) ordinances ‘mixed with what is worse and even with unrighteousness’ such as ‘An eye for an eye’⁵ [iii, § 3], which the Saviour did away with,⁶ as contrary to His own nature [iii, § 7]. Finally, there is (c) the typical and symbolical element consisting of sacrifices, circumcision, sabbath, fasting, passover, unleavened bread, and so forth [iii, § 9]—all of them figures of the truth which, now that the truth has come, are, in their literal sense, done away, but, in their spiritual counterpart, retained [iii, § 10]. Now of these three portions of the Law of God—the moral, the retributive, and the ceremonial—the Saviour has confirmed, nay, ‘fulfilled’,

P. G. xli. 557–68); but the chapters and sections above are taken from the text as edited by A. Harnack in H. Lietzmann, *Materials for the Use of Theological Lecturers and Students*, No. 9.

¹ Gen. ii. 24.

² Matt. xix. 8.

³ Matt. xv. 2 sqq.

⁴ Matt. v. 17.

⁵ Exod. xxi. 24.

⁶ Matt. v. 39.

the first [iv, § 1]; the second He has superseded [iv, § 2]; the third He has adopted in an allegorical or spiritual sense [iv, §§ 3, 4]; and St. Paul's treatment of the Law is on precisely similar lines [iv, § 5]. Who, then, was the God that gave the Law? [v, § 1]. It cannot have been either the Perfect God or the Devil [v, § 2]; then it must have been the Demiurge, who occupies a mediate place between the two, and so 'may well be called the Mean' [v, §§ 3-8]. Do not, then, allow yourself to be disturbed at the thought that, besides the First Principle of all things, there are other agents, Corruption and the Mean [v, § 9]. You will soon be convinced of this if you give heed to the apostolic tradition which we, too, have received, and are ready to bring everything to the test of the Saviour's teaching [v, § 10]. And so, my dear Flora, adieu. I have been brief, I know; but, I hope, to the point [v, § 11]. We do not know who Flora was, nor whether she was satisfied by the answer of her spiritual adviser. But it was a brave attempt to unlock a problem to which we have only found the key in the recently accepted concept of a progressive revelation; and the letter of Ptolemy is enough by itself to redeem the Gnostics from the charge of busying themselves only with solemn puerilities.

Heracleon¹ also, in his *Commentary on St. John*, c. 170-80, directed his talents to worthy ends. Though he reads his own system into the Gospel by the help of allegorism,² he deserves to be commemorated as the first Christian exegete whose work has come down to us. It attracted the notice of Origen; and hence its preservation, in some fifty extracts,³ partly verbal and partly in paraphrase. For such was, of necessity, the method of writers when books were scarce. To comment upon an author they had to reproduce his text above their own.

Less worthy of respect was Mark,⁴ the last of the followers of

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* ii. iv, § 1; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.* c. iv; Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vi, §§ 29, 35; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxvi (*Op.* i. 262-7; *P. G.* xli. 633-41).

² Thus, in the story of the Woman of Samaria, the water of Jacob's well which she rejected is Judaism; the husband whom she is to call is her spiritual bridegroom from the Pleroma; the previous husbands, matter; that she is no longer to worship either 'in this mountain' or 'in Jerusalem', means neither like the heathen, to worship creation, nor, like the Jews, to worship the Demiurge: and so forth, see §§ 17, 18, 20 in *Texts and Studies*, i, No. 4.

³ Collected in *Texts and Studies*, i, No. 4; *ut sup.*; q.v. for a 'summary of his teaching', 41-7.

⁴ For Mark and the Marcosians, see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xiii-xxi; Pseudo-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. v; Hippolytus, *Ref.* vi, § 39; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxiv (*Op.* i. 232-58; *P. G.* xli. 581-625).

Valentinus, of the Italian school. He was himself probably a native of Palestine.¹ But the Marcosians, according to Irenaeus, carried on a mischievous propaganda 'in our climates, too, of the country of the Rhone'.² This explains the disproportionate attention which Irenaeus bestows upon them. For Mark—if we may trust his account,—appears to have been a mere charlatan. He dealt in magic. He 'delivered to women mixed chalices, and bade them make their own thank-offering in his presence'.³ He mesmerized them into associating themselves with him as prophetesses.⁴ He used his influence over them for self-indulgence.⁵ He imposed upon them by making mysteries out of numbers, and finding occult meanings in the letters of the alphabet.⁶ In short, he appears as an 'impostor and villain'; though happily 'the only one of the heresiarchs except perhaps Menander' to descend to that level. If half of what Irenaeus tells us of the Marcosians is true, it has, at least, this significance, that by his time, 'Gnosticism as an intellectual system had run its course'.⁷

§ 5. Marcion,⁸ however, and the Pontic school remain to redeem its credit. 'Next to the Valentinian, Marcion's was the most numerous of the heretical sects, and the one that filled the largest space in the eyes of churchmen; it was also the most morally respectable, and almost the only one of the Gnostic communities that produced martyrs.'⁹ A Marcionite presbyter perished at Smyrna side by side with the Catholic Pionius in the Decian persecution¹⁰; and a Marcionite woman suffered at Caesarea in Palestine in the persecution under Valerian.¹¹ Marcionite morality was austere, even ascetic; and, after the schism, the sect, by its adoption of a ministry and a churchly organization, approached Christianity more definitely than any of the Gnostic schools. Their

¹ H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 198, n. 2.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xiii, § 7.

³ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 3, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cc. xiv-xvi.

⁷ W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, 364.

⁸ Justin, *Apol.* i, §§ 26, 58 [he speaks of Marcion as his contemporary]; *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 35; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, §§ 2-4, and Document No. 73; *ibid.* iii. iii, § 4, xii, § 12; Tertullian, *De praescr.*, cc. vii, xxx, xxxiii, xxxiv, and *Adv. Marcionem*, *De Carne Christi*, *Adv. Hermogenem*; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vi; Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, §§ 29-31; Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 2, v. xiii. 3; and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii (*Op.* i. 302-78; *P. L.* xli. 693-817).

⁹ Simcox, 364.

¹⁰ 'Martyrium Pionii,' xxi, § 5, *ap.* R. Knopf, *Märtyrerakten*, 73; and Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv. 46.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xv. Cf. Eus. *Mart. Pal.* x, § 2.

systems were philosophies and their religion the doctrines of the lecture-room—a situation familiar enough to us, with this difference, that the fashion in the highest academic circles was then for inflated, and now for reduced, Christianity. We can understand, too, why there were no Gnostic martyrs: dons and martyrs are of different stuff. But Marcion stood primarily for a religion, and only incidentally for a philosophy; though such philosophy as underlay his religion was borrowed, through Cerdon, from Gnostic dualism. His was a practical system, not a speculative one. Hence its institutionalism, for it was intended to be, like Catholicism, a religion for the average man. So much by way of introduction to Marcionism, to show its kinship with, and its divergences from, Gnosticism of the ordinary type. In the Syrian and Egyptian schools, the heathenish elements of Gnosticism predominated. In Marcion, the Christian—and even Catholic—strain had worked itself, like the cream, to the top.

Marcion was a native of Pontus, and son of the bishop¹ of Sinope.² He was a 'sailor'³, or, rather, a 'ship-owner',⁴ for he was a man of means and gave some £2,000 to the Roman church when admitted to its membership. The money was honourably restored to him when he left it.⁵ The story goes that he was excommunicated by his father, and this may be true; but that it was for seduction, as the Pseudo-Tertullian⁶ and Epiphanius⁷ say, is quite unlikely. Tertullian himself contrasts the 'continence of Marcion' with the licence of Marcion's pupil, Apelles.⁸ More probably, Marcion had already begun to develop heretical opinions, and the excommunication had reference to errors of doctrine. But this can scarcely have been known when, c. 138, he came to Rome, settled there as a member of the Roman church,⁹ and 'flourished under Anicetus',¹⁰ 155–†67. Here he fell in with Cerdon,¹¹ a Gnostic from Syria, who 'sojourned in Rome

¹ 'Ponticus genere, episcopi filius,' Ps.-Tert., c. vi.

² Epiph. *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 c).

³ Eus. *H. E.* v. xiii. 3.

⁴ 'Naclerus,' Tert. *De Praescr.* xxx.

⁵ 'Ducentis sestertiis,' *ibid.*

⁶ Ps.-Tert., c. vi.

⁷ Epiph. *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 c).

⁸ Tert. *De Praescr.*, c. xxx.

⁹ 'Marcion . . . pecuniam in primo calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit, proiecram mox cum ipso, posteaquam in haeresim suam a nostra veritate descivit,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, c. 4.

¹⁰ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iii. iv, § 3.

¹¹ For Cerdon see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, § 1 and Document No. 73; *ibid.* iii. iv, § 3; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vi; Eus. *H. E.* iv. xi. 2; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xli (*Op.* i. 299–301; *P. G.* xli. 691–6).

under Hyginus, c. 138-†44 ; and taught that the God proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ; the one being revealed, the other unknown ; the one being just, the other good'.¹ The frankness of Cerdon's dualism added strength to Marcion's opinions, and, perhaps, gave him courage to express them. For, according to Epiphanius, he asked the Roman presbyters the meaning of our Lord's injunction against putting 'new wine into old wineskins',² as if it could only imply the antagonism which he supposed to exist between the Old Testament and the New. The authorities of the Roman church thought otherwise³ : and eventually the breach between them issued in the second excommunication of Marcion by the Church of Rome.⁴ But Marcion stayed on there, and, some years later, when Polycarp came to visit Pope Anicetus, Marcion met him in the street and asked if he recognized him. Polycarp characteristically replied, 'I recognise the first-born of Satan'.⁵ Perhaps this rebuff hurt him, for Marcion had a warm heart, and could not do without the fellowship of the church. He applied for reconciliation, and was told that he could not be restored to communion unless he would bring back with him those whom he had perverted. He set himself to the task, but died before he could accomplish it.⁶ Though foremost in all relaxations of the primitive penitential discipline, the Roman church had clearly not yet recognized absolution *in articulo mortis* for those who had led others into apostasy.

Marcion approached Christianity from the point of view not of the philosopher but of the critic ; or rather, of the practical man who sees a great difference between the spirit of the Law and of the Gospel, and is disposed to be critical of the Old Testament. He was not interested, as were other Gnostics, in the problem as to how the Infinite came to produce this finite world ; and with him we find no emanations and no cosmogony. He merely borrowed, from the Gnostic schools, philosophy sufficient to support his sense of the contrast between the Old and the New Testament ; for, following Cerdon, he assigned the one to the just,

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, § 1.

² Mark ii. 22.

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 303 ; *P. G.* xli. 697 A, B).

⁴ 'Semel atque iterum,' Tert. *De Praescr.* xxx. Or perhaps Tertullian is here relating of Marcion what Irenaeus tells of the lapses and relapses of Cerdon, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iv, § 3.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii, § 4.

⁶ Tert. *De Praescr.* xxx.

and the other to the good, God. It is true that verbally he recognized three first principles¹—Matter² as well as the Demiurge and the Supreme God. But, beyond regarding matter as evil, Marcion makes no positive use of it for the purposes of his system; and, in practice, it was a strictly dualistic system of two first principles.³ So it was regarded by its first opponents. Justin, for example, in a lost treatise, *De monarchia*, contended, 'probably against Marcion, that there was but a single first principle⁴; Rhodon, a native of Asia and a disciple of Tatian, who wrote under Commodus, 180–†92, describes 'the mariner Marcion' as holding to two first principles⁵; and the same account is given by Rhodon's contemporary, the Pseudo-Tertullian.⁶ This dualism evinced itself in Marcion's position that 'the Old Testament is contrary to the New',⁷ and he wrote the *Antitheses* not merely to set out these contradictions⁸ but to show that parts even of the New Testament were interpolated and corrupted by the spirit of the Old.⁹ A first consequence of this doctrine was the rejection by Marcion of the entire Old Testament as containing things unworthy of what he expected *a priori* from a Being of perfect wisdom and goodness. A second was the mutilation of the New Testament. According to Marcion the New Testament had been infected from the outset, owing to the apostolic writers having been Jews. They brought into it the taint of the Demiurge. St. Paul alone, as the opponent of Judaism, and his disciple St. Luke, could

¹ Τρεῖς τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχάς, ἀγαθόν, δίκαιον, ὕλην, Hippolytus, *Ref.* x, § 19, though the ordinary account is two, as in Hipp. *Ref.* vii, § 31; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vi; and Rhodon *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xiii, § 3.

² 'Et materia enim deus, secundum formam divinitatis, innata scilicet et infecta et aeterna,' Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, i, c. 15.

³ The Supreme God and the Creator of the world. To refute this distinction is the object of the first of the five books of Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*: it deals with the question, 'An duos deos liceat induci?' *ibid.* i, § 3. For an analysis of its argument, see H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 255 sq.

⁴ Περὶ Μοναρχίας, *Eus. H. E.* iv. xviii, § 4: with which compare the title of Irenaeus's treatise, Περὶ Μοναρχίας, ἡ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν, *ibid.* v. xx, § 1. The treatise of Irenaeus was addressed to Florinus, a dualist, who had charged the doctrine of a single first principle with necessarily leading to the conclusion that God is the author of evil.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* v. xiii, § 3.

⁶ *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vi.

⁷ This is the contention that Tertullian sets himself to refute in the fourth book of his *Adv. Marcionem*. Cf. Mansel, *op. cit.* 258 sq.; *D. C. B.* iv. 850, s.v. 'Tertullianus'.

⁸ 'Antitheses Marcionis, id est, contrariae oppositiones, quae conantur discordiam Evangelii cum Lege committere,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i, c. 19.

⁹ 'Evangelium . . . Lucae . . . Marcion per *Antitheses* suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, c. 4.

be regarded as faithful interpreters of the teaching of our Lord. Accordingly, Marcion gave to his disciples a revised, or as he would call it, the original and only authentic New Testament. It consisted of an *Evangelium*, 'my Gospel', by which St. Paul¹ is supposed to have designated the Gospel of his friend St. Luke, and an *Apostolicum* or collection of St. Paul's Epistles. Marcion's St. Luke, however, has all that relates to the birth and the infancy of our Lord cut out, and other passages modified to suit his prepossessions. Thus the Gospel began: 'In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, God came down into Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and began to teach on the sabbath days.'² It omitted the mention of 'sitting down',³ *sc.* to the Messianic banquet, 'in the Kingdom of God'. And instead of saying, 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall',⁴ its text ran, 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the words of the Lord'.⁵ In a similar way Marcion dealt with the *Apostolicum*, for it included the letters only of St. Paul; of these, but ten⁶; and all manipulated. Such was the Marcionite Bible.

What, then, was the system that thus led Marcion to substitute this selection of the Scriptures for the whole? It revolved round three cardinal points—dualism, discontinuity, and a Gospel of love only.

Of the dualism we have already said enough. Marcion borrowed from Cerdon his belief in two Gods: one the Creator and Lawgiver, who made the world out of pre-existent and evil matter, and the other the Supreme God. This is Marcion's debt to his master, and his one link with the Gnostics. Gnosticism was half-consciously polytheist: Marcion was frankly dualist. But with an ulterior purpose; for it was not so much the dualism as 'the separation

¹ Rom. ii. 16; cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, cc. 2, 5, and Eus. *H. E.* iii. iv, § 9.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, § 2; Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, § 7; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 11 (*Op.* i. 312; *P. G.* xli. 712 A). Cf. Luke iii. 1, iv. 31.

³ Epiphanius gives a list of seventy-eight such alterations in the text of St. Luke's Gospel, of which the omission of ἀνακλιθῆσονται in Luke xiii. 29 is the forty-first; q.v. in *Haer.* xlii, § 11 (*Op.* i. 314; *P. G.* xli. 716 B). For these in English, see N. Lardner, *History of Heretics*, bk. II, ch. x, §§ 35–53 (*Works*, ix. 393 sqq., ed. A. Kippis: London, 1788).

⁴ Luke xvi. 17

⁵ Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, c. 33.

⁶ For these see *ibid.* v, arranged thus: Gal., §§ 2–4; 1 & 2 Cor., §§ 5–12; Rom., §§ 13, 14; 1 & 2 Thess., §§ 15, 16; Eph., Col., Phil., §§ 17–20; and Philemon, 'soli huic epistulae brevitatis prodest ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet', § 21.

of the Law and the Gospel ' which, according to Tertullian, ' was the proper and principal work of Marcion.'¹ Two results followed. First, he was ultra-Pauline and violently anti-Judaic. Next, in his criticism, equally violent, of the morality of the Old Testament, he anticipated much of the shallow rationalism still in vogue with the half-educated to-day. What the truly scientific theologian allows for as representative of the preliminary stages in the growth of morality, Marcion, like the vulgar but earnest opponent of Christianity at the present time, was anxious to condemn off-hand as wholly bad.

The reason for this was that Marcion had no acquaintance with the idea of development. On the contrary, discontinuity governed his system from the outset. According to him, the Supreme God has once, and only once, revealed Himself in Jesus. Each of the two Gods had his Christ; the Christ of the just god being the Jewish Messiah still to come, and differing from the Christ of the good God, who came to reveal His previously unknown Father.² Thus, says Tertullian, ' the Christ came suddenly, as John the Baptist also came suddenly: that is the way with everything, according to Marcion'.³ And God's dealings with mankind through Christ stand in no relation to any previous dispensation of His grace. So Marcion is out of sympathy with the modern notion of a progressive revelation. Further, his was a docetic Christ⁴: ' in order that he might not admit the flesh of Christ, he denied His very birth.'⁵ Otherwise, by contact with matter,⁶ the Christ would have been instrumental in extending the kingdom of the Demiurge. And, moreover, like all docetics, he was the victim of a misplaced reverence, and failed to see that God's greatest glories are His condescensions. ' Away', said he, ' with

¹ 'Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i, § 19.

² 'Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum qui Tiberianis temporibus a Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium, alium qui a deo Creatore in restitutionem Iudaici status sit destinatus quandoque venturus,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, c. 6.

³ 'Subito Christus, subito et Ioannes. Sic sunt omnia apud Marcionem', *ibid.* iv, c. 11.

⁴ 'Phantasma vindicans Christum,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii, c. 8.

⁵ 'Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit et nativitatem,' Tert. *De Carne Christi*, c. i. The *De Carne Christi* was written against those who denied the reality of Christ's body; and the *De resurrectione carnis* against those who denied the resurrection of the body.

⁶ 'Incredibile praesumpserant [sc. Marcion and Marcionites] Deum carnem,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii, c. 8.

that poor inn, those mean swaddling-clothes and that rough stable.' ¹

Finally, Marcion taught a limited Gospel: this new revelation of the Supreme God in Christ was a revelation of love only. Accordingly, he represented the character of God as one of pure benevolence ²; forgetting that a God who is merely good-natured, and not the 'righteous Governor' of the Universe, is not a good God, any more than an easy-going father is a good father. So he laid the greatest stress on our Lord's death upon the Cross ³—a happy inconsistency, it might seem, when taken in connexion with his denial of the Incarnation, and due to his devotion to the Gospel of God's redemptive love. But it is not so inconsistent after all, for, while the death of the Saviour reduced the dominion of the Demiurge, His birth enlarged it. Marcion therefore could show cause for repudiating His nativity while proclaiming His death. Nevertheless, the contradiction remains, and its real explanation is one that does honour to Marcion. He was a man whose heart was better than his head; and his life—specially in its loving zeal to win the ordinary man and then to win back those whom he had misled—was sounder than his creed. As to his creed, its flaw lay in its rationalism. Like Luther, and Luther's descendants, the rationalizing critics of liberal protestantism, he approached the Scriptures with an *a priori* test, and rejected or remodelled all that proved inconsistent with it. Luther's test was his doctrine of justification by faith only, or 'the Gospel' ⁴; and while the books in which 'the Gospel' was declared, such as *Galatians* and *Romans*, were raised to the first rank in the Canon of Scripture, the *Epistle of St. James*, which apparently taught justification by works, was rejected. Whether the first principle be, as with Luther and orthodox protestantism anti-sacerdotal, or

¹ 'Aufer hinc, inquit, . . . diversoria angusta et sordidos pannos et dura praesepia,' Tert. *De Carne Christi*, c. ii.

² 'Marcionem dispares deos constituere; alterum iudicem, ferum, bellipotentem: alterum mitem, placidum et tantummodo bonum atque optimum,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i, c. 6. On the attempt to resolve the Divine Love into 'unmixed benevolence', see J. Butler, *Analogy*, i. iii, § 3; J. H. Newman, *University Sermons*, No. 5 (ed. 1843); R. W. Dale, *The Atone-ment* ⁹, 343 sq. The attempt, in its modern phase, began with Socinianism.

³ 'Porro, si caro Eius negatur, quomodo mors Eius asseveratur?' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii, c. 8.

⁴ For specimen statements of Luther to this effect, see B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, No. 55, and the comments of C. Beard, *The Reformation*, 127 sq. (ed. 1885).

with later and liberal protestantism anti-supernatural, or with Marcion anti-Judaic, the essence of the matter remains the same. In approaching the Scriptures with a *praeiudicium*, Marcion, like succeeding rationalists, discovered a Gospel within the Gospel, and so dissolved them. 'Marcion', says Irenaeus, 'has persuaded his disciples that he is himself truer than those Apostles who delivered the Gospel: so he delivers to them not the Gospel but a bit of the Gospel.'¹ We note, then, his modern spirit: partly in his anticipation of that 'soft-hearted optimism'² which now-a-days does duty for religion, and again in his kinship with modern rationalism. As to the rationalism, Tertullian, in his five books, *Adversus Marcionem*,³ c. 208, refuted him out of his own scanty Scriptures: while, as to Marcion's presentation of the Gospel, his own austerity and his sense of Church order redeem him from the reproach of substituting mere religious sentiment for the religion of the Creed and the Church. The pagans hated⁴ him for his austerity,⁵ and the Catholics for aping their churchliness.

The followers of Marcion, for these very virtues, became a powerful and long-lived sect. Many of the Gnostics led anything but a strict life; and most of their leaders founded only an esoteric fraternity. Marcion founded a church.⁶ So, long after the disappearance of Gnosticism in general, Marcionite congregations were found as late as the end of the fourth century, 'in Rome and Italy, in Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, and Syria, in Cyprus and the Thebaid, and even as far afield as Persia'.⁷ Apelles,⁸ one of Marcion's immediate disciples, c. 120-90, went back on his dualism

¹ '[Marcion] semetipsum esse veraciorem quam sunt hi qui evangelium tradiderunt apostoli suasit discipulis suis; non evangelium sed particulam evangelii tradens eis,' Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xvii, § 2, and Document No. 73.

² W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, 370.

³ Text in Tertullian, *Op.* ii. 45-336, ed. F. Oehler (Lipsiae, 1854), or in *C. S. E. L.* xlvii, ed. A. Kroymann (Vindobonae, 1906); transl. in *A.-N. C. L.* vol. viii; and analysis in H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 255-9; *D. C. B.* iv. 849 sq. They are 'the longest and most important of Tertullian's anti-Gnostic writings', Mansel, *op. cit.* 254.

⁴ He felt it keenly, and was in the habit of addressing his co-religionists as *συνταλαίπωροι καὶ συμμισούμενοι*, Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, §§ 9, 36.

⁵ 'Sanctissimus magister,' Tert. *De Praescr.* xxx.

⁶ 'Faciunt favos et vespae, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv, § 5.

⁷ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 B).

⁸ For Apelles see Tert. *De Praescr.*, cc. vi, xxx, xxxiii, xxxiv; Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vi; Hippolytus, *Ref.* vii, § 38, x, § 20; Rhodon *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xiii; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlv. (*Op.* i. 380-7; *P. G.* xli. 821-32).

and taught but 'one first principle'¹; but he held fast to the religious spirit of his master and 'maintained that those who trusted in the Crucified would be saved, if only they were found doing good works'.² Another disciple was Hermogenes,³ c. 170-210, an artist,⁴ by profession, probably at Carthage. He gave thoroughgoing application to the teaching of his master upon the eternity of matter.⁵ Matter, according to him, received life and form by the attractive influence upon it of the Divine Beauty⁶; and hence, from pre-existing but formless chaos,⁷ came the cosmos.⁸ In controversy with the Gnostics, Irenaeus, and especially Tertullian, in the *Adversus Hermogenem*,⁹ 'one of his most brilliant pamphlets',¹⁰ successfully established the doctrine of creation out of nothing—a doctrine 'which is by no means clearly expressed, though it is undoubtedly implied, in Scripture'.¹¹

§ 6. And now for Gnosticism, in summary—its tenets, its attractions, its dangers.

Its tenets followed from its problems, which were simply those of current philosophy; the possibility of creation if, as was assumed to start with, God could not come into contact with matter, because matter was evil; the existence of evil; and the means of deliverance or 'redemption' from its power. 'We have the same subjects', says Tertullian, 'repeatedly discussed by heretics and philosophers, with the same complicated reconsiderations. Whence

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xiii, § 2.

² Ibid., § 5, and see *Art.* xviii 'Of obtaining eternal Salvation', &c.

³ Hippolytus, *Ref.* viii, § 17.

⁴ Tert. *Adv. Hermog.*, c. i.

⁵ 'Immo totum quod est Deus, aufert, nolens illum [*sc.* Christum] ex nihilo universa fecisse. A Christianis enim ad philosophos conversus, de Ecclesia in Academiam et Porticum, inde sumpsit [a Stoicis] materiam cum Deo ponere, quae et ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata neque facta nec initium habens omnino nec finem, ex qua Deus omnia postea fecerit,' *ibid.*, c. i.

⁶ 'Stoici enim volunt Deum sic per materiam decucurrisse quomodo mel per favos. At tu non, inquis, pertransiens illam fecit mundum, sed solummodo apparens et adpropinquans ei, sicut facit quid decor solummodo apparens et magnes lapis solummodo adpropinquans,' *ibid.*, c. xlv.

⁷ 'Informem et confusam et inconditam vult fuisse materiam [*sc.* Hermogenes],'*ibid.*, c. xxiii.

⁸ 'Et formam et conspectum et cultum a Deo consecutam [*sc.* terram],'*ibid.* xxv.

⁹ Text in Tertullian, *Opera*, ii. 337-78 (ed. F. Oehler); *C. S. E. L.* xlvii. 126-76; tr. in *A.-N. C. L.*, vol. xv. 55-118.

¹⁰ C. T. Cruttwell, *A lit. hist. of early Christianity*, i. 240.

¹¹ Ibid. 241. Hermogenes 'ideo contendit ex materia omnia facta, quia proinde non aperte significatum sit ex nihilo quid factum,' Tert. *Adv. Hermog.*, c. xxi.

is evil, and why? Whence is man, and how? and—the very latest problem of Valentinus—Whence is God?’¹ Tertullian regarded philosophy as the mother of heresy²: his testimony, therefore, to the kinship between Gnostic and philosopher might be suspect. But we have exactly similar testimony from Clement of Alexandria, himself the unconscious original of his sketch of the true Gnostic,³ and one who looked upon philosophy as part of the preparation for the Gospel.⁴ ‘It is not baptism only’, says Clement, quoting some Valentinian of the Italian school, ‘which sets us free: but the knowledge of who we were and what we have come to be; of where we were, or where our lot was cast; of the goal to which we are hastening, and the source from which we are being redeemed; of what birth is and what new birth.’⁵ And the answers to these questions, as touching Creation and Redemption, proceeded to work out as follows.

First, as to Creation. It was accounted for on the theory of Dualism, for Dualism was an ultimate⁶ element in the system of Valentinus as well as a primary one with the Syrian school⁷ and with Marcion. Spirit and matter, according to any Gnostic, are opposed to each other. From the Spiritual world, be it the Depth of the divine Being or the Totality of the divine attributes, there issued, in due course, by a process of emanation, through aeons or personal subsistences,⁸ the actual world. Its Creator is thus not the Supreme God, but one of these emanations from Him—the Demiurge, who was also the God of the Jews. Gnosticism therefore came to be anti-Judaic, and, with Marcion, ultra-Pauline.

¹ Tert. *De Praescr.*, c. vii, and Document No. 93.

² ‘Ipsae denique haereses a philosophia subornantur,’ *ibid.*; cf. ‘haereticorum patriarchae philosophi’, *Adv. Hermog.*, c. viii, and *Apol.* c. xlvii.

³ Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi, § 13 (*Op.* ii. 283; *P. G.* ix. 325 sqq.); Doc. No. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, § 5 (*Op.* i. 122; *P. G.* viii. 717 D), and Document No. 108.

⁵ Clem. Al. *Excerpta Theodoti*, c. lxxviii (*Op.* ii. 358; *P. G.* ix. 696 A).

⁶ It comes out in the Valentinian Christology, which ‘rests upon the general philosophical theory . . . of the incompatibility between the Divine Nature and the material body’, H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*; and cf. ‘The distinctive feature of Gnostic Christology is not docetism, as is commonly believed, but dualism, that is the well-marked distinction between two natures, or rather between two persons, in Jesus Christ’, A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. 258, n. 1.

⁷ H. L. Mansel, *op. cit.* 142 sq.

⁸ ‘Eam [viam] postmodum Ptolemaeus instravit, nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra Deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis ut sensus et adfectus et motus incluserat,’ Tert. *Adv. Val.*, c. iv.

Second, as to Redemption : Who is capable of it ? Who is the redeemer ? What aids to it lie at our disposal ?

In this material world there exists a remnant of the Spiritual. Men fall into three classes,¹ according as they possess nothing, a little, or a good deal of this overplus of the Spiritual. Some are material, and as such incapable of salvation. Others are psychic ; capable of it, indeed, but by the lower road of continence, faith, and a good life, as are ordinary church-folk.² A third class, being Spiritual, i. e. the Gnostics themselves, are incapable of perishing. Further, as Spiritual, it is open to them to take one or other of two courses in dealing with what is bodily or material. They may either ignore all moral distinctions³ and ‘abuse the flesh’⁴ in proof of, or as part of, their privilege of being assured of salvation. Or they may endeavour to rid the soul of all defilement contracted through the body by a rigorous asceticism, and so, as the Hymn of the Ophites has it, ‘escape the bitter chaos’.

Redemption is the work of Christ. He is the redeemer. In origin and essence an aeon, he took a bodily form, but not a body,⁵ and came to deliver from ignorance and to make an end of death. This mission he effected by offering men enlightenment⁶ ; for, as the Hymn of the Ophites⁷ puts it,

‘ . . . Jesus said, “ Father, behold,
A strife of ills across the earth
Wanders from thy breath [of wrath] ;
But bitter chaos [man] seeks to shun,
And knows not how to pass it through.
On this account, O Father, send me ;
Bearing seals, I’ll descend ;
Through ages whole I’ll sweep :
All mysteries I’ll unravel ;
And forms of Gods I’ll show ;
And secrets of the saintly path,
Styled ‘ Gnosis ’, I’ll impart.” ’

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. vi, § 1 ; and Tertullian’s ‘ trinitas hominis ’, *De Praescr.* vii, or ‘ trinitas generum ’, *Adv. Val.* xvii, or ‘ materialis, animalis, spiritalis ’, discussed in *ibid.*, c. xxvi.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. vi, §§ 2, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 3, 4.

⁴ παραχρησάσθαι τῇ σαρκί, Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 187 ; *P. G.* viii. 1129 B), as quoted (παραχρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκί) in Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxix, § 2.

⁵ ‘ Secundum autem nullam sententiam haereticorum Verbum Dei caro factum est,’ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xi, § 3.

⁶ Τεθελγῆναι γὰρ τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὄλων λύσαι τὴν ἀγνοίαν, καὶ καθελεῖν τὸν θάνατον ἀγνοίας δὲ λύσις ἢ ἐπίγνωσις αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλεχθῆναι τέν, κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, κατ’ εἰκόνα τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως οἰκονομηθέντα ἄνθρωπον, *ibid.* i. xv, § 3.

⁷ Quoted in Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, v, § 10.

Such knowledge was to be found in cults like those of the Mystery-religions, in sorcery, with a good deal of charlatanism¹; but, most of all, by the aid of a secret tradition derived from the Apostles² to the chief Gnostic teachers: while allegorical exegesis,³ of the most fanciful kind, and even forgeries, helped in the exposition of the Scriptures. 'You may see them', says Irenaeus in his sarcastic vein, 'knitting their brows and shaking their heads' over some knotty passage. They will tell you that 'they themselves perfectly comprehend it, for all its depth; but that all cannot take in the greatness of the meaning therein contained, and that silence therefore is the main consideration of the wise?'⁴

The attractions of such a creed are obvious. The official cults of the Empire took no account of the individual, still less of his sense of sin, his desire for redemption, and for communion with God. Gnosticism was like the religion of the Church in its endeavour to provide satisfaction for the religious instincts of the individual. But it addressed itself to him in more flattering terms. It gave itself out as the religion of culture, as professed by the ablest men of the day, a Basilides or a Valentinus. The scientific methods of the age were in its hands. It was the religion of superior people.⁵ Who, then, would not be a Gnostic? And the Gnostics had this much to take credit for, by contrast with the average Christian and his leaders, whether an enthusiast like Ignatius or a mere traditionalist like Polycarp—neither of them, though leaders among the Christians, men of much education or intellectual power—that they were the first body of men to try to put the Christian faith into an intelligent form. Hence the challenge, which writers of the mental calibre of Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian felt bound to take up. The faith, they would say, is a thing to be thought out, and not merely to die for or to pass on.

The dangers of such an attractive rehandling of Christianity are not far to seek. First, its paganism. Gnosticism introduced 'the fatal principle of an aristocracy of souls . . . in place of the

¹ e. g. with Mark, whose 'nonsense so wise in its own conceit' Irenaeus thinks simply ridiculous, *Adv. Haer.* i. xvi, § 3.

² *Supra*, p. 205, n. 1.

³ For specimens, Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. viii, ix, xix, xx.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xxxiv, § 4.

⁵ Cf. its scorn of the ordinary Christian 'for being unlearned and knowing nothing', Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. vi, § 4; for being 'ignorant about Creation', *ibid.* ii. xv, § 3; or, as 'a common-place churchman', *ibid.* iii. xv, § 2. 'Ideoque simplices notamur apud illos,' Tert. *Adv. Val.*, c. ii.

doctrine that all are one “in Christ Jesus”¹. Out of this came the notion of one religion for the common man and another for the ‘select’ or ‘elect’ few. Irenaeus makes fun of the pride of the Gnostic, and compares it to ‘the strutting of a cock or the pomposity of a factotum’²; while as to the want of candour it issued in ‘the pestilent maxim that the enlightened might disclaim their own belief, when questioned by those for whom the truth was too high a privilege’³. Again, Gnosticism was incompatible with belief in the Incarnation, which is the citadel of Christian truth, and with the Sacraments which are its outwork. For Incarnation and Sacraments rest on the principle that matter is the vehicle of Spirit and Spirit the final cause of matter; and this is impossible if matter is essentially evil, and the body the prison-house,⁴ not the instrument of, the soul. So Gnosticism was the first ‘heresy’ which seriously threatened the life of the Church at its roots, Arianism being the second. And both threatened not only Christianity but theism also. For both interposed between God and his creatures demi-gods, or, in the case of the Arian Christ, a demi-god; and so made God Himself inaccessible to human kind.

The overthrow of Gnosticism brought into prominence the Creed, the Canonical Scriptures, and the Hierarchy of historic Christianity—its equipment, in fact, in developed form. And there is this much of truth in the assertion that Gnosticism was the parent of the Catholic Church, or of Christianity in the form of Catholicism. Not that the principles of Catholicism were not original in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles; but they were merely there in germ. Confessedly a development: the

¹ W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, 25.

² ‘Cum institorio, et supercilio incedit, gallinacei elationem habens,’ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. xv, § 2.

³ W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 26.

⁴ A Platonist tenet from Philo, τὸ παμμίαρον . . . δεσμωτήριον, τὸ σῶμα (*De migratione Abrahami*, c. ii), which has had its influence on theology from *Wisdom*, ix. 15 onwards. Cf. ἐμβριθὲς ἐέ γε, ὦ φίλε, τοῦτο [*sc.* τὸ σῶμα] οἶσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν’ ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεται, Plato, *Phaedo*, § 30 (*Op.* i. 81 c), and ψυχὴν . . . ἐκλυομένην, ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν, ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, *ibid.*, § 12 (*Op.* i. 67 d); cf. *Phaedo*, § 30 (*Op.* i. 81 e), ὥσπερ διὰ εἰργμοῦ, § 33 (*Op.* i. 82 e). ‘Plato ascribes the invention of the word σῶμα to Orpheus and his followers; and the reason why they called the body by this name is that, according to their belief, the soul is condemned to incarnation on account of her sins, and the body serves as the enclosure (περίβολος) or prison-house (δεσμωτήριον) [*Cratylus*, § 17; *Op.* i. 400 c] which holds her fast’, J. Adam, *The religious teachers of Greece*, 96 sqq.; cf. 383, 358.

question only is whether they were a legitimate development.¹ In any case, the struggle with Gnosticism brought them out into the light of day. Despite the overthrow of Gnosticism, the oriental element in it made repeated reappearance in the dualistic systems of Manichaeans,¹ Paulicians, and Albigenses; while its strange docetic conceit that our Lord's body came 'through' but not 'of' Mary was revived by the Anabaptists² in the sixteenth century, and may have led to the emphatic assertion, in our Proper Preface for Christmas, that 'by the operation of the Holy Ghost, He was made very man of *the substance* of the Virgin Mary his mother'. Nevertheless, in its 'special philosophy' of the opposition between the Spiritual and the material, as in its love of discontinuity, Gnosticism is 'obsolete even to grotesqueness', except as one phase of the abiding tendency 'to put human speculation into the place of revealed truth', to substitute 'knowledge' for 'faith', and to make the science of the day do duty for religion.

¹ On the test of a true development, see C. Gore, *The Roman Catholic Claims*⁹, Appendix, pp. 203-11; Church Historical Society's Pamphlets, No. lxiii (S.P.C.K., 1901); and *The new theology and the old religion*, 205 sqq. (Murray, 1907).

² Thus by 32 Henry VIII, c. 49, § 11, they are excepted from the king's 'general and free pardon' for holding eight 'heresyys and erronyouse opynyons', of which the sixth is 'That Christe toke no bodily substaunce of o^r blissed lady', *Statutes of the Realm*, iii. 812.

CHAPTER IX

PERSECUTION: TRAJAN TO COMMODUS, 98-192

GNOSTICISM represents a long-sustained attempt on the part of heathen ideas to capture the Church from within. Side by side with this struggle between the Church and 'Heresy' went on a more open conflict between the Church and the State; and pagan influences from without were arrayed against Christianity, in the form of persecution, for the greater part of the second century. Persecution was not continuous; but, from Trajan to Commodus, 98-192, the possibility of its outbreak was always there. That it was intermittent was due to the supineness or the activity of the magistrates for the time being; but that it was never far away was consequent upon the state of popular feeling. We begin then with a brief inquiry into the attitude of the Roman world towards the Christians.

§ 1. Popular opinion was uniformly against the Church. No multitude was ever more credulous than the populace of the Empire; and one might have thought that they would be attracted to the Christian faith as a supernatural religion. But to expect this would be to overlook a feature in which Christianity, in common with Judaism, contrasted with the other religions of the ancient world: it required holiness of life. The people, therefore, were 'predisposed against a faith which, if adopted, would deprive them of so much that, in their view, was indispensable to their enjoyment'.¹ In a nominally Christian country to-day the mass of mankind hold off from the Church because they know that to throw in their lot with Christ would be to make life, from their point of view, hardly worth living. If, then, Christianity is unpopular in a world which has more or less accepted the Christian code of morals, much more would it be intolerable to a populace which knew only, or else preferred, the lax standards of heathenism.

In what light, then, would Christianity present itself to the ordinary citizen of the Empire?

First, he would think of a Christian as a kill-joy. 'The world

¹ W. Bright, *Some aspects of primitive Church life*, 157.

hateth the Christians', says the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, c. 130, 'though it receiveth no wrong from them, because they set themselves against its pleasures'¹: or, as the pagan disputant complains in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, c. 180, 'You abstain from the pleasures of a gentleman'²—the theatre and the gladiatorial games.

Second, he knew nothing definite of Christianity, and so hated it the more; 'since', says Tertullian, 'men hate for this reason, because they know not what manner of thing that is which they hate.'³ It is easy to account for this ignorance. The Church had grown up 'under the shadow of a most famous, at least, a licensed religion'⁴; for Judaism had obtained special recognition from the State as a purely national⁵ cult, and Christianity was not, at first, distinguished from it. Such parentage would have protected the Christian religion in its infancy; but as Jews, though tolerated, were unpopular, association with them would not ultimately tend to increase its credit. Then when, at length, Christianity broke away and stood forth by itself, the Jews became its worst enemies and incited the heathen against it.⁶ So varied, however, were the Christian sects, that Christendom presented itself as a confused whole; of which the ordinary man could know but little and would therefore suspect the more. Lucian, 165–70, amused his readers with gossip about the Chris-

¹ Μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανούς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται, *Ep. ad Diognetum*, c. vi; and Document No. 29.

² 'Honestis voluptatibus abstinētis,' Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. xii; and Document No. 66.

³ 'Cum ergo propterea oderint homines quia ignorant quale sit quod oderunt,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. i.

⁴ 'Sub umbraculo religionis certe licitae,' *ibid.*, c. xxi. A *religio licita* was a form of worship known to the law; and for the privileges of Judaism as such, see Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 74, ed. J. B. Bury, 1897). Christianity became a *religio illicita* or form of worship unknown to the law. 'It contravened, in both particulars, Cicero's definition of "legal"—"licere id dicimus quod legibus, quod more maiorum institutisque conceditur",' Cicero, *Philippics*, XIII. vi. 14, Tert. *Apol.*, c. iv, p. 16, n. 12, ed. T. H. Bindley.

⁵ 'The Jews were a *nation*; the Christians were a *sect*,' Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 74, ed. J. B. Bury, 1897).

⁶ Cf. (a) the part they took in the martyrdom of Polycarp, *Martyrium Polycarpi ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xv, §§ 26, 29, 41; (b) the challenge of the Anonymous, c. 190, to the Montanists to say whether any of *them* had ever been persecuted by the Jews, *ibid.* v. xvi, § 12; (c) Tertullian: 'Illic constitues et synagogas Iudaeorum fontes persecutionum, apud quas apostoli flagella perpassi sunt, et populos nationum cum suo quidem circo, ubi facile conclamant: Usque quo genus tertium?' Scorpiace, c. x; (d) Justin: 'Iudaeos . . . qui . . . nos pro inimicis et hostibus habent', *Apol.* i, § 31 and *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 17, 108.

tians¹; for this was all that they cared to know about them. Some five or ten years later Celsus, c. 175-80, made the first attempt to understand and even approach the Church.

Third, he came to accept three staple charges against the Christians, which were everywhere believed because nowhere proved. Athenagoras, who wrote his *Legatio pro Christianis* between Nov. 176 and March 180, enumerates them as 'Atheism, Thyestean banquets and Oedipodean intercourse',² and attributes them to a desire on the part of the ordinary man to give 'rational grounds for his hatred of us'³ Christians. It took some time for the three indictments to get defined, for writers about the earlier days are quite vague in regard to the misdeeds of Christians. Thus Tacitus merely says that 'the common people hated the Christians for their secret crimes'⁴ and 'for their hatred of the human race'⁵; and he vaguely upbraids them 'as men of the worst character and deserving of the severest punishment'.⁶ Suetonius just alludes to them as 'a race of men belonging to a novel and noxious cult'.⁷ Pliny, who was baffled by their 'obstinacy' and 'perversity',⁸ was prepared to find proof of secret 'crimes connected with the name',⁹ but 'discovered nothing else than a wicked and arrogant superstition'.¹⁰ We may assume then that, at the opening of the second century, the three charges had not yet taken definite shape. On the other hand, by its close, they were no longer believed. For though M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta, c. 150-60, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, had lent his name to them,¹¹ it is significant that they are not mentioned by Lucian and are also ignored by Celsus. They were lived down like other calumnies; but, till after the middle of the second

¹ *De morte Peregrini*, §§ 11-13, 16, &c., quoted in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*² II. i. 137 sqq.; and Document No. 51.

² Τριὰ ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα ἀθεότης, Θυέστεια δείπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, Athenagoras, *Legatio*, c. iii (*P. G.* vi. 896 c); and Document No. 58.

³ ἵνα μισεῖν νομίζοιεν μετὰ λόγον, *ibid.*, c. xxxi (*P. G.* vi. 961 A).

⁴ 'Quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat,' Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44.

⁵ 'Odio humani generis,' *ibid.*

⁶ 'Sontes et novissima exempla meritos,' *ibid.*; and Document No. 22.

⁷ 'Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae,' Suetonius *Vita Neronis*, c. xvi.

⁸ 'Pertinaciam et inflexibilem obstinationem,' Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, § 3.

⁹ 'Flagitia cohaerentia nomini,' *ibid.*, § 2.

¹⁰ 'Superstitionem pravam immodicam,' *ibid.*, § 8; and Document No. 14.

¹¹ 'Et de convivio notum est. Passim omnes loquuntur. Id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas sollemni die coeunt,' &c., Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, ix, § 6; cf. xxxi, § 2 (ed. C. Halm, *C. S. E. L.* ii. 13, 44). For Fronto, see W. S. Teuffel and L. Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, § 355.

century, they were probably a powerful factor in inflaming popular opinion against the Christians.

'Atheism,' for example, or refusal to acknowledge the gods of Rome was made a charge against Titus Flavius Clemens,¹ Consul, 95, and coupled with *inertia*,² or indifference to civic or social³ duty, marked him down for one of a community whose members were commonly held to be disloyal to the religious institutions of their country. And, indeed, Christians gave a handle to the charge. 'Every foreign land', said the writer to Diognetus, 'is a fatherland to us, and every fatherland a foreign country.'⁴ Or, again, Tertullian flings back the charge of disloyalty by affirming that 'nothing is more foreign to our tastes than public life: we recognize one universal republic—the world'.⁵ Of course, the Stoics had said as much before. But Stoics were good Romans; and when a Christian echoed their language, 'one can imagine a pagan reader's comment: "This is just what we say of you: you don't care for Rome. She is no more to you than the barbarians beyond the frontier."'⁶ Such was the sting in the charge of 'atheism'. Religion, according to the sentiments of antiquity, was an affair not of conscience but of country. And for a man to ignore his country's gods was tantamount to want of patriotism.⁷

The charge of cannibalism following upon infanticide⁸ has been made against others beside Christians of the Empire in the second century; but in their case rumour made it the more persistent. It is the same accusation of 'ritual child-murder' that was alleged in the Middle Ages,⁹ and is to-day alleged in Eastern Europe, against the Jews, as in China it is fastened upon Christian missionaries.¹⁰

¹ "Εγκλημα ἀθεότητος, Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* LXVII. xiv, § 2; and Document No. 116.

² Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, c. xv.

³ Cf. 'infructuosi in negotiis dicimur', Tert. *Apol.*, c. xlii.

⁴ *Ep. ad Diognetum*, c. v; and Document No. 29.

⁵ 'At enim nobis ab omni gloriæ et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus, nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica. Unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxviii.

⁶ W. Bright, *Some aspects*, &c., 164, n. 2.

⁷ Cf. 'Christianum, hominem omnium scelerum reum, deorum, imperatorum, legum, morum, naturæ totius inimicum existimas,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. ii; and c. x *ad init.*

⁸ The charge is given in detail in Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, ix, § 5, and cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 26.

⁹ St. William of Norwich, supposed to have been killed by Jews in 1144, is the first case in which the Jews were actually accused of having killed a Christian child: H. H. Milman, *History of the Jews*⁵, iii. 231.

¹⁰ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹¹, xxiii. 373, s.v. 'Ritual Murder'; and, for

Closely connected with it went the third charge of incest; where, again, 'the love-feast' and the rule which veiled the mysteries from the unbaptized gave a handle to these slanders,¹ while they would find some support from what may have leaked out about the behaviour of the immoral coterie of Gnostics, and other sects not distinguished by the heathen from the Church.² The last two accusations were made against the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne,³ 177; and Tertullian repudiates both together as repeatedly alleged but always on the evidence of hearsay only.⁴

There were also minor allegations, such as moved the ridicule rather than the wrath of the populace. Christians were supposed to worship the head of an ass⁵ or the cross⁶; and there still remains, scrawled upon the plaister of a barrack-room, the rude sketch of a crucified figure with an ass's head: a soldier stands before it, and the legend runs, 'This is Alexamenus, worshipping his god'.⁷ Nor must we forget the vague animosity roused against the Church by its interference with domestic life.⁸ Neither wife⁹ nor slave could a man call his own, and 'a man's foes were they of his own household'.¹⁰

Such, then, were the accusations, so far as they attained precision, which passed from mouth to mouth, and sustained popular hatred against the Christians. The amphitheatre, as in the case of Polycarp¹¹ or of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne,¹² was the place where hatred burst into activity.¹³ For crowds went 'mad'¹⁴

greater detail, *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, iii. 260 sqq., s.v. 'Blood Accusation', ed. I. Singer (Funk & Wagnalls, 1902).

¹ Cf. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, i. 415.

² Cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. xxvi, § 7; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxv, § 3; Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. vii, §§ 10, 11.

³ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 14; and Document No. 57.

⁴ 'Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto . . . Dicimur tamen semper,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. vii.

⁵ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, ix, § 3; Tert. *Apol.*, c. xvi.

⁶ M. Felix, *Oct.* ix, § 4; Tert. *Apol.*, c. xvi.

⁷ This graffito of the Palatine, discovered in 1856, is reproduced in F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, i. 2043, s.v. âne. It is assigned to the early days of the Antonines.

⁸ W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, i. 418.

⁹ On the inconveniences of a mixed marriage see Tert. *ad Uxorem*, ii, cc. iii-vi. He had known many a man say that 'maluisse lupae quam Christianae maritum', *Ad nat.* i, § 4.

¹⁰ Matt. x. 36.

¹¹ Αἵρε τοὺς ἀθέους, Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, §§ 6, 19

¹² Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 37.

¹³ 'Inde persecutiones decernuntur,' Tert. *De Spectaculis*, c. xxvii.

¹⁴ 'Madness' became a technical term in designating the Circus. Cf. 'furor' in Tert. *De Spectaculis*, c. xvi, and note *ad loc.* in *Library of the Fathers*, x. 206, n.; 'insania circi', Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxviii.

on the way thither, betting¹ over prospect of bloodshed²; and, in their lust for more, it was a common thing to shout, 'To the lion with the Christians!'³ Cruelty completed what ignorance and gossip began.

The educated proved no more tolerant than the vulgar. For if the ordinary citizen allowed suspicion and animosity to excite him against the Christians, the Roman gentleman did them injustice out of sheer contempt. This attitude on the part of men like Tacitus, †c. 120, Suetonius, †c. 120, Pliny, †c. 115, Epictetus, c. 120,⁴ Lucian, fl. 165–82, Celsus, fl. c. 180, Galen,⁵ †200, and Marcus Aurelius,⁶ 161–†80, prevented inquiry; and only after the middle of the second century, when the faith of Christ was beginning to make way among the cultivated classes, did express polemic against it come to be thought worth while. This begins in Rome with the philosopher Crescens,⁷ c. 166, the rival of Justin; but orally only. It was taken up in an oration written or delivered by Fronto, in which he appears to have defended on legal grounds the proceedings of his Imperial pupil against the Christians.⁸ It was put into literary form by Celsus, whose attack, striking both for its modern tone⁹ and for its pagan *hauteur*,¹⁰ evinces by its elaborateness that 'the great Church',¹¹ now well marked off from the sects, was looked upon as

¹ For these 'sponsiones' or 'wagers' cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 201 sq.; and Tert. *De Spectac.* c. xvi.

² 'Atrocitate arenae,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxviii, *ad fin.*

³ 'Christianos ad leonem,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. xl.

⁴ Discussing the attitude of fearlessness before the menaces of a tyrant, Epictetus says Εἴτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναται τις οὕτω διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, iv. vii. 6; cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 528.

⁵ 'Ἵνα μὴ τις εὐθὺς κατ' ἄρχας, ὥς εἰς Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διατριβὴν ἀφιγμένος, νόμων ἀναποδείκτων ἀκούη, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἥκιστα χρή, Galen, *De pulsuum differentiis*, ii, § 4 (*Op.* viii. 579: ed. C. G. Kühn), and Θάττον γὰρ ἂν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειεν ἢ τοὺς ταῖς αἱρέσεσι προστετηκότας ἰατρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, *ibid.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* viii. 657): see Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 531.

⁶ Τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὥς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγῶδως, Marcus Aurelius, *Meditationes*, xi, § 3. The readiness of which he speaks is readiness to meet death, Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 533.

⁷ Justin, *Apol.* ii, § 3.

⁸ M. Felix, *Oët.* ix, § 6; xxxi, § 2.

⁹ e. g. in saying that the Resurrection of our Lord rests simply on the testimony of a γυνὴ πάροις, Origen, c. *Celsum*, ii, § 55 (*Op.* i. 429; *P. G.* xi. 884 c); and Document No. 60.

¹⁰ e. g. in saying that the Gospel is only fit for women, Origen, c. *Celsum*, iii, § 49 (*Op.* i. 479; *P. G.* xi. 983 b); and Document No. 128.

¹¹ Ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, Origen, c. *Celsum*, v, § 59 (*Op.* i. 623; *P. G.* xi. 1276 A).

a foe which the cultured Roman could no longer afford to despise ; and by Lucian, who preferred not to attack but, by light raillery, to keep the foe at arm's length. At last the tide of popular ill-feeling against the Christians had reached the ruling classes.

§ 2. The Government, in consequence, had to define its attitude towards the Church. Whether impelled to action by an outburst of popular fury or engaged in moderating it, the Government had no real choice but to adopt a policy which might at any moment lead to a persecution. 'Atheism' meant not only indifference to the duties, political or social, of a citizen, but disloyalty. Nero, therefore, treated Christianity as a *religio illicita*. His action set a precedent ; and 'The law does not allow you to exist'¹ because the maxim recognized by the imperial Government in the second century. 'It held its ground till the middle of the third, and even then was but temporarily set aside'² by the rescript of Gallienus,³ 261. In the second century persecution was sporadic and spasmodic and prompted by the mob ; in the third it was universal, though not continuous, being directed by the State which had now come to fear the Church. But the legal position of Christians never varied. The law, if attention were called to their existence, must take its course ; and it was vain for the Apologists to demand, as they did,⁴ that some definite offence, beyond the mere profession of the Name, duly established and maintained, should be proved. Further, so far from it being true that bad emperors, like Nero or Domitian, were the only persecutors,⁵ it was often, though not always, the best emperors who persecuted most. 'Their uprightness might exclude caprice,' and 'their humanity might mitigate extreme rigour.' But, as straightforward, patriotic, law-loving Roman statesmen, they felt themselves 'invited by the responsibilities of their position to persecute. . . Hence the tragic fact that the persecutions of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were amongst the severest on record,' . . . and that 'the caprice of a Commodus not only spared but favoured the Christians'.⁶

¹ 'Non licet esse vos,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. iv.

² W. Bright, *Some aspects*, &c., 179.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. xiii, § 2 ; and Document No. 167.

⁴ e. g. Justin, *Apol.* i, c. 7 (*Op.* i. 47 ; *P. G.* vi. 337 A) ; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, c. ii (*P. G.* vi. 896 B) ; and Tert. *Apol.*, c. ii.

⁵ Tert. *Apol.*, c. v, and Document No. 87 ; and, before him, Melito, bishop of Sardis, c. 170, in Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 9.

⁶ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, ii. i. 17.

§ 3. The events in detail will bear out this summary, just made by anticipation.

(a) For the state of affairs under Trajan,¹ 98–†117, we have first-hand evidence in the letter of inquiry which Pliny addressed to him and in the Emperor's reply.²

The province of Bithynia-Pontus had for some time been under senatorial authority ; but owing to unrest³ and disorder⁴ Trajan found it politic to take its administration into his own hands. He sent out Pliny as legate, who arrived in Bithynia, 17 September 111⁵; and proceeded to make a tour of its chief cities⁶ from west to east. As he went he settled local affairs, wherever he could do so, on his own authority ; but kept up a correspondence with his master till early in 113 on all sorts of matters—many of them, as we should think, too trivial for the attention of the Emperor. Thus we find him asking Trajan's advice about setting up a fire-brigade at Nicomedia⁷; and allowing a Friendly Society's dinner to be held at Amisus.⁸ But Trajan did not think these trifling questions. Either of these local institutions might turn into a political club. So he suggested a fire-engine instead of a fire-brigade for Nicomedia⁹; and, at Amisus, gave permission for the Lodge to hold its dinner only because there was special provision for the privilege in the charter of the town.¹⁰ Somewhere near Amisus, and in the same way, as a matter of local administration, rose the question of how to deal with the Christians ; and Pliny, as was his custom, referred this also to the Emperor. 'I have never myself', he writes, in his ninety-sixth letter to Trajan,¹¹ 'been present at proceedings against them ;

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 13 sqq. ; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 78 sqq. ; P. Allard, *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles* (Paris, 1885), 137 sqq. ; and *Le christianisme et l'empire romain* (Paris, 1897), 29 sqq.

² Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, xcvii, ed. R. C. Kukula (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1908), 308 sqq. ; E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 14–16 ; and Documents Nos. 14, 15. Text and comments in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, II. i. 50 sqq. ; transl. in T. H. Bindley, *The Apology of Tertullian*, Appendix, 148 sqq.

³ 'Provinciam istam . . . factionibus vexatam,' Pliny, *Epp.* x. xxxiv.

⁴ Ibid. x. xvii A, § 3 ; xxxii, § 1. ⁵ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xvii A, § 2.

⁶ Prusa (Brusa), *Epp.* x. xxiii ; Nicomedia (İsmid), x. xxxiii ; Nicaea (İsnik), x. xxxix ; Heraclea (Erekli), x. lxxxv ; Sinope (Sinub), x. xc ; Amisus (Samsun), x. xcii ; Amastris (Amasera), x. xcvii.

⁷ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xxxiii ; tr. Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 19.

⁸ Ibid. x. xcii ; tr. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 19 sq.

⁹ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xxxiv ; tr. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 19.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xciii ; tr. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 20.

¹¹ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi ; summary in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 14.

and so I hardly know, Sire, what matters are made subjects of punishment or investigation in their case and to what extent [§ 1]. Thus, is the name of Christian to carry punishment with it, or only the crimes attached to the name? So far, the course I have taken is as follows [§ 2]. When information has been laid against any persons, I have asked whether they were Christians. If they confessed, I have repeated the question a second and a third time, with threat of punishment. If they were obstinate, I have ordered them to be put to death; for I feel sure that, whatever the nature of their confession, obstinacy itself is an offence [§ 3]. Roman citizens among them, I noted down to be sent to Rome¹ [§ 4]. Those who denied that they were at the time, or ever had been, Christians, I have set free on compliance with the usual tests. They recited a prayer to the gods after me; and then, they offered incense and libation to your statue, brought into court for the purpose with the images of the gods, and cursed Christ [§ 5]. Others who said that they had been Christians but had since abandoned their profession—some three years ago, some a good many, and one as many as twenty—got off, on the same conditions [§ 6]. But these said that what they were guilty of amounted to no more than this that it was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns² a hymn to Christ as a God; and that they bound themselves with an oath,³ not for any crime but not to commit theft or robbery or adultery, not to break their word, and not to deny a deposit when demanded. After this was done, their custom was to depart and meet together again to take food but ordinary and harmless⁴ food: and even this they said they had given up doing after the issue of my edict by which, in accordance with your commands, I had forbidden the existence of clubs'⁵ [§ 7]. Pliny then speaks of having put two slave-girls, who were deaconesses, to the torture to see if this were true [§ 8]; and concludes by saying that the matter is

¹ Among these were, possibly, some of the companions of Ignatius, viz. Zosimus and Rufus; Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* ix.

² i. e. antiphonally. Ignatius is said to have introduced this mode of singing into the church at Antioch, Socrates, *H. E.* vi. viii; but it was already common both with heathen and with Jews, Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², II. i. 31.

³ *Sacramentum*; see note in Lightfoot, *A. F.*² II. i. 51.

⁴ *Innoxium*, with a covert reference to the charges of cannibalism and incest.

⁵ *Hetaerias*; they might always 'be perverted to political ends, and therefore must be suppressed at all hazards', Lightfoot, *A. F.*² II. i. 19.

urgent : the Christians are here in great numbers [§ 9], as is proved by the deserted temples, and the absence of any demand for fodder for victims. There are, however, signs of improvement, if the Emperor will allow himself to be thus consulted [§ 10].

Pliny's letter has many points of interest. It bears testimony to the spread of Christianity,¹ to the belief of Christians in the divinity of our Lord,² to the high standard of Christian morals,³ to the ease with which the Church might be taken for a political club,⁴ and to the strength of the pagan revival⁵ at the opening of the second century. Perhaps its bearing upon the institutions of Christian Worship is of most importance. The 'fixed day' was the Lord's Day.⁶ Its worship began overnight with a Vigil, and reached its climax on Sunday morning in the Eucharist⁷—if this be included in *sacramentum*.⁸ The Eucharist had already been dissociated from the love-feast,⁹ which was held later on in the day ; till it was dropped altogether in deference to Trajan's prohibition of clubs. But we are concerned less with these incidental matters than with the legal position of Christians. As to this, Pliny assumes that the mere profession of Christianity, if persisted in, is an offence ; and takes it for granted that his own course of action in such cases is the rule, and would be approved.¹⁰ But he doubts the wisdom of thus challenging Christian 'obstinacy'¹¹ ; thinks that differences might well be made according to age and sex¹² ; and is of opinion that, if oppor-

¹ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, §§ 9, 10.

² *Ibid.*, § 7.

³ *Ibid.*, § 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 10.

⁶ 'Stato die,' *ibid.*, § 7 ; cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. lxxvii, § 3.

⁷ 'Sunday was essentially the day for liturgical worship in common. The liturgical service took place in the early hours of the morning ; but this service was preceded by another, held before daybreak [*ante lucem*, § 7], which consisted of lections, homilies, the singing of chants, and the recital of prayers. This nocturnal meeting, or *vigil*, is mentioned at an early date, namely, in the letter in which Pliny speaks of the customs of the Christians,' L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁵ 229.

⁸ 'It would seem as if Pliny had here confused the two sacraments together. The words "se sacramento obstringere" seem to refer specially to the baptismal pledge, whereas the recurrence on a stated day before dawn [*ante lucem*] is only appropriate to the Eucharist (Tert. *de Cor.* iii "eucharistiae sacramentum . . . antelucanis coetibus . . . sumimus"). This confusion he might easily have made from his misunderstanding his witnesses, if these witnesses related the one sacrament after the other, as they are related, e. g. in Justin, *Apol.* i. lxxv ; Tert. *de Cor.* iii,' Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 52.

⁹ This is the view of Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 52. Others think that the separation of Agape and Eucharist took place in consequence of Trajan's edict : so A. Harnack, *Christlicher Gemeindegottesdienst*, 230 sq.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, § 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, § 2.

tunity of penitence were offered, numbers of Christians might be reclaimed.¹

Trajan's reply runs as follows²: 'You have followed the right course, my dear Pliny, in investigating the cases of those who have been accused to you as Christians. No universal rule, however, can be laid down, which shall have an unvarying application [§ 1]. The Christians are not to be sought out; but, if they are impeached and clearly proved to be Christians, they must be punished; provided that any one who shall deny that he is a Christian, and demonstrates the fact by worshipping our gods, may obtain pardon in consequence of his penitence [§ 2]. But anonymously written accusations, brought to your notice, ought not to be received in the case of any crime; for they form the worst precedents, and are not in keeping with our times' [§ 3].

In this rescript, the Emperor assumes, as Pliny had expected, and as precedent, since Nero's action against the Christians had ruled, that the profession of Christianity is in itself a capital offence. But he makes two concessions. First, there is no need for the police to take the initiative,³ as with robbers and kidnappers, and hunt down the Christians. In so deciding the Emperor shows that he is at one with his subordinate in not regarding the Christians as dangerous to society. Second, they may obtain pardon on recantation and compliance with the usual tests: where, again, Trajan is at one with Pliny both in giving them the benefit of the doubt as to any crimes there might be, connected with the Name and in desiring to facilitate their return to the worship of the gods. A third regulation, forbidding anonymous accusations, is of wider application, though of course, Christians stood to benefit under its terms.

It is clear, then, from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan that the latter inaugurated no new policy against the Christians, though he procured them real relief by mitigating the enforcement of the law. For this they were grateful; and the Apologists

¹ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi.

² Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi; tr. T. H. Bindley, *The Apology of Tertullian*, App. 151 sq.

³ 'Conquirendi non sunt,' § 2. Dr. E. G. Hardy (*Studies*, &c. 88, n. 32) quotes in illustration: 'Congruit bono et gravi praesidi curare ut pacata atque quieta provincia sit quam regit: quod non difficile obtinebit si sollicite agat ut malis hominibus provincia careat, eosque conquirat: nam et sacrilegos, latrones, plagiarios, fures conquirere debet, et prout quisque deliquerit in eum animadvertere,' Justinian, *Digestum*, I. xviii. 13, from Ulpian, †228.

looked back to Trajan as to a benefactor,¹ contrasting his lenity with 'the wanton cruelty of a Nero and the malignant caprice of a Domitian'. But this view is unhistorical; though nearer the truth than that of recent times which regards him 'as the first systematic persecutor of Christianity',² and his rescript as 'inaugurating a new era in the treatment'³ of the Church by the State. The truth seems to be that Trajan carried on but modified the policy of his predecessors. The Bithynian persecution was the only one for which he was, in any sense, personally responsible; but there were two other martyrdoms in his reign. Symeon,⁴ the last of the Lord's kinsmen, succeeded James and became bishop of Jerusalem⁵ 62-†104. He was accused, according to Hegesippus, by some Jewish sectaries⁶ on the double charge of being a descendant of David⁷ and therefore the claimant for the kingdom of Israel, and of being a Christian⁷ and therefore the adherent of an unlawful religion. He was tried 'before Atticus the governor', and crucified⁸; and his case is an illustration of the legal situation, accepted by Pliny and reaffirmed by Trajan, that to be charged as a Christian was in itself to be guilty of a capital offence. The other case is that of Ignatius. Owing, perhaps, to some local *émeute* at Antioch of which we have no further knowledge, he, too, as a Christian confessed, came within the operation of the maxim that it was not lawful for him 'to exist', and was carried off to perish in the arena at Rome.

(b) Hadrian,⁹ 117-†37, was first-cousin-once-removed to Trajan, and in character very different from his soldierly predecessor. Trajan had set himself to extend the Empire. Hadrian, by abandoning some of Trajan's conquests,¹⁰ recurred to the policy of Augustus, and devoted himself to the improvement of its

¹ So Melito, bishop of Sardis, c. 170, in his apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius *ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxvi, §§ 7-11, Trajan being included in *ἐν οἷς* of § 10; and Tert. *Apol.*, c. v. So, too, Eusebius himself, *H. E.* iv. xxxii, xxxiii; and cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 2, n. 3.

² Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 7.

³ *Ibid.* 8.

⁴ *Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxii, xxxiii: with comments in Lightfoot, *A. F.*² ii. i. 58 sqq.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* iii. xi.

⁶ *Eus. H. E.* iii. xxxii, § 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 6.

⁹ See 'The Church and the Empire under Hadrian, Pius, and Marcus' in Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*², ii. i. 476-545; P. Allard, *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, 195 sqq.; P. Allard, *Le christianisme et l'empire romain*, 40 sq.; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 108 sq.

¹⁰ Of Trajan's newly acquired provinces, he surrendered Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, but not Arabia or Dacia. See H. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, xxxiii.

administration. He was the first Emperor to wear a beard ; and, trifling as this may seem, it marked him for a ' Greekling ' ¹ in the eyes of his contemporaries—a cosmopolitan rather than a Roman. To acquaint himself with his people, he spent two-thirds ² of his reign in visiting the provinces. But he travelled from preference as well as from policy, to satisfy his inquisitive turn ; for we are told that he was ' a searcher into all things curious ' ³ and ' always given to change in everything ' .⁴ The legal position of Christians remained the same ; but in practice it was modified, and their lot proportionately eased, by the Emperor's character. Restlessly versatile, ' half sceptic and half-devotee ', he would sometimes indulge his scoffing temper, and sometimes his superstitions. In the former vein, he wrote to Servianus, Consul in 134, on the fickle religion of Egypt, which he visited just before the outbreak of the Jewish War. ' In Egypt ', he says, ' the worshippers of Serapis are really Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are votaries of Serapis. There is not a chief of a Jewish synagogue, there is not a Samaritan nor a Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer or a master of the ring. Why, when the patriarch ⁶ himself . . . comes to Egypt, one party forces him to worship Serapis, the other to adore Christ. . . . They have one god, money : he is worshipped alike by Christians, Jews and all nations. ' ⁷ Or again, he addressed these sportive verses to his dying soul :

Poor soul of mine, who canst not rest,
Fluttering still within my breast,

¹ ' Graeculus,' Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, i, § 5, ap. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, i. 3, ed. H. Peter (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1884). Spartianus wrote ' as early as under Diocletian ', i. e. 284-305 ; but ' the date and author of the collection [*Scr. Hist. Aug.*] as a whole is not known to us ', W. S. Teuffel and L. Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, § 392 (ii. 298 sq. ; tr. G. C. W. Warr : Bell & Sons, 1900).

² J. B. Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, 494, and note A, 519.

³ ' Curiositatum omnium explorator,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. v.

⁴ ' Semper in omnibus varius,' Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, c. xiv, § 11 ; ap. *Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 16, ed. H. Peter (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1884).

⁵ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ² ii. i. 456.

⁶ The Jewish patriarch of Tiberias, on whom see H. H. Milman, *The History of the Jews*, ⁵ ii. 447, 460 sqq. (Murray, 1883).

⁷ Text in Flavius Vopiscus [c. 300] *Vita Firmi, Saturnini, &c.*, c. viii, ap. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ii. 225 ; Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ² ii. i. 480 sq. ; E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 19 ; transl. in J. B. Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, 520, note D. Lightfoot and Bury both accept the genuineness of the letter, with some slight misgivings.

Of the body mate and guest,
 Whither bound art thou ?
 Pallid, bare and shivering left,
 Of thy wonted mirth bereft,
 Jests are done with now.¹

At other times he would yield to his vein of superstition, 'ever and anon scanning the heavens', as Julian—much like him in this²—describes him, 'and busying himself with what is secret'.³ Such a man 'would be less disposed than most rulers to deal hardly with a movement' like Christianity, 'which he must have viewed with mingled respect and amusement'.⁴ His subjects gauged his sympathies nicely; and on his visit to Athens, 125, Quadratus,⁵ the first Christian apologist of whose works any fragment has come down to us, addressed him in defence of our Lord's miracles. Quadratus assumed, according to Eusebius, that it was not the Emperor but 'certain wicked men' who 'had attempted to trouble the Christians'.⁶ He would then appear to have entered upon an exposure of heathen magicians who, perhaps in Hadrian's day, as in the Apostles' time, stirred up hostility towards the Christians. 'But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were genuine—those that were healed, and those that were raised from the dead—who were seen not only when they were healed and when they were raised, but were also always present; and not merely while the Saviour was on earth, but also after His death, they were alive for a long time, so that some of them came down even to our own times.'⁷

A year or two earlier a document had reached him from Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus,⁸ proconsul of Asia c. 123-4;

¹ For the original see Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, xxv, § 9 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 27, ed. H. Peter): for the translation above, *D. C. B.* ii. 837; and for other versions, Matthew Prior [†1721], *Works*, i. 142 (Bell & Sons, 1892), and Byron, *Works*, 4 (Oxford edition, 1904).

² 'Praesagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus, ut aequiparare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum,' Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, xxv. iv. 17, ed. V. Gardthausen, ii. 42 (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1875).

³ Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, Julian, *Caesares*, 311 D (*Op.* i. 400, ed. F. C. Hertlein: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1875-6).

⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 457.

⁵ For Quadratus see O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 46; and Document, No. 24. ⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iv. iii, § 1. ⁷ Ibid. iv. iii, § 2.

⁸ Eusebius calls him 'Serennius Granianus' (*H. E.* iv. viii, § 6), but his correct name was 'Licinius'. He was Consul suffectus A. D. 106: see *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani*, 19, ed. W. Liebenam ap. H. Lietzmann, *Kleine Texte*, Nos. 41-3 (Bonn, 1910).

it raised the question how far a magistrate should yield to the pressure of shouts¹ in the amphitheatre intended to make him proceed against the Christians. Hadrian took time to consider: and in 125 addressed a rescript²—probably quite genuine in the form in which it has come down to us—to the next proconsul of Asia, Caius Minucius Fundanus. As given by Tyrannius Rufinus, 345-†410, the translator of Eusebius, in a form probably reproducing the original Latin of Hadrian's missive, it runs:

'To Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me that the matter should be passed over without examination, lest innocent men be harassed and opportunity be given to informers for practising villainy. [§ 2] If therefore the inhabitants of the province can clearly sustain this petition against the Christians so as to give answer in a court of law, this course of action I do not forbid: but to have recourse, in this matter, to mere petitions and tumults I do not permit. For it is far more equitable, if any one wishes to make an accusation, that you should enquire into the points raised. [§ 3] If therefore any one accuses the men aforesaid and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, you will pass judgment according to the heinousness of the offence. But, by Hercules, you will make a special point of this that, if any one bring an accusation against any of these men out of mere calumny, you proceed against the fellow in proportion to his criminality and inflict severer penalties.'

The terms of this rescript begin somewhat vaguely; perhaps, of set purpose. But three points³ stand out with sufficient clearness. First, so far from rescinding the ordinance of Trajan, the Emperor assumes that it remains in force: so that the Christian religion is still an unlawful cult, and one who professes it fair prey to the informer. Second, Hadrian forbids magistrates to proceed in deference to popular clamour; but only when there is a responsible accuser, and on evidence. Third, he imposes heavy penalties on false accusers. Probably, these decisions did much to check public animosity against the Christians from finding

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. viii, § 6.

² Text in Eus. *H. E.* iv. ix, and, with the Latin, in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 476 sq.; E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 17 sq.; discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 477-80. It is accepted, on the authority of Mommsen, by E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 109. Justin quotes it in *Apol.* i. lxviii, where see Appendix II in Justin, *Apol.*, ed. A. W. F. Blunt; Document No. 25.

³ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 458.

outlet in acts of violence. At any rate, only one well-authenticated martyrdom belongs to this reign.¹ Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, c. 126–†37, was put to death.² We know no details; but he suffered at the end of Hadrian's reign, when the Emperor's mind was unhinged by his malady, and he lay at Baiae,³ praying for death but unable to die. At last release came, and Hadrian died 10 July 138.

(c) Antoninus Pius,⁴ 138–†61, was the adoptive son of Hadrian. He owed his surname either to the filial piety which led him, in spite of the reluctance of the Senate, to enrol his father among the gods,⁵ or, more probably, to his well-known clemency.

‘He was clement even to indulgence both by temper and on principle’⁶; and for this we have the testimony not only of the secular historians⁷ who wrote in the third and fourth centuries but of the Christian Apologists of his own day. They lay stress on the pious and pure lives of Christians, as if this were a plea that would weigh seriously with an Emperor of his benign and humane spirit. Thus *The Apology of Aristides*, the philosopher of Athens,⁸ ‘after [§ 1] a brief exposition of the idea of God, as it is forced on the human mind by the study of nature, invites [§ 2] the Emperor to look out upon the world and examine the faith in God exhibited by the different races of humanity. . . . [§§ 3–7] The barbarians adore God under the form of perishable and changeable elements. . . . [§§ 8–13] The Greeks attribute to their gods their own human frailties and passions; [§ 14] the Jews believe in one only God, but they serve angels rather than Him. But [§§ 15–17] the Christians rejoice in the possession of the full truth, and manifest the same in their lives.’⁹ The beautiful picture of the Christian life which concludes this

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 458.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii, § 4.

³ Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, xxv, § 5 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 27).

⁴ See Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 458–9, 481 sqq.; P. Allard, *Histoire des persécutions*, &c., 281 sqq.; P. Allard, *Le christianisme*, &c., 45 sqq.; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 111.

⁵ Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini*, c. v, § 1 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 39).

⁶ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 459 and note 1.

⁷ e. g. ‘*moribus clemens*’, Capitolinus, *Vita Ant.* ii, § 1 (*Scr. Hist. Aug.* i. 37); ‘*vere natura clementissimus et nihil temporibus suis asperum fecit*,’ *ibid.*, § 7; ‘*ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit*,’ *ibid.* x, § 8; ‘*serenus et clemens*,’ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, xxx. viii, § 12 (ii. 226, ed. V. Gardthausen: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1875).

⁸ *The Apology of Aristides*, edd. J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, in *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 1 (Cambr. Press), and transl. in *ibid.* 35–51, and in *A.-N. C. L.*, additional volume, 263–79, ed. A. Menzies (T. & T. Clark, 1897).

⁹ O. Bardenheuer, *Patrology*, 47.

*Apology*¹ has its parallel in the better known description—possibly by the same writer²—of the Christians as the saviours of society, contained in the *Epistle to Diognetus*,³ c. 150. [c. vi, § 1] ‘In a word, what the soul is in the body Christians are in the world. [§ 2] The soul is spread through all the members of the body; so are Christians through all the cities of the world. [§ 3] The soul dwells in the body, and yet it is not of the body; so Christians dwell in the world, and yet they are not of the world. [§ 4] The soul, itself invisible, is detained in a body which is visible; so Christians are recognized as being in the world, but their religious life remains invisible. [§ 5] The flesh hates the soul, and fights against it, though suffering no wrong, because it is prevented by the soul from indulging in its pleasures; so too the world, though suffering no wrong, hates the Christians because they set themselves against its pleasures. [§ 6] The soul loves the flesh that hates it; so Christians love them that hate them. [§ 7] The soul is enclosed within the body, and itself holds the body together; so too Christians are held fast in the world as in a prison, and yet it is they who hold the world together. [§ 8] Immortal itself, the soul abides in a mortal tenement; Christians dwell for a time amid corruptible things, awaiting their incorruption in heaven. [§ 9] The soul when it is stinted of food and drink thrives the better; so Christians when they are punished increase daily all the more. [§ 10] So great is the position to which God has appointed them, and which it is not lawful for them to refuse.’⁴ And again, the appeal made by Justin, in his *First Apology*,⁵ c. 150-5, is a sustained attempt, first, to refute the charges made against the Christians and to establish their innocence [cc. iii-xxii]; second, to establish the truth of Christianity and to show how it came to be misunderstood [cc. xxiii-lx]; and third, to put the institutions of Christian worship—Baptism, the Lord’s Day, and the Eucharist—so often traduced, in a favourable light [cc. lxi-lxviii].⁶

But, in spite of these appeals, ‘the even temper of Antoninus

¹ *The Apology of Aristides*, §§ 15, 16, and Document No. 26.

² G. Krüger, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, § 43 (Leipzig, 1895).

³ See *The Epistle to Diognetus* (text and transl.), ed. W. S. Walford (Nisbet, 1908), or ed. L. B. Radford (transl. and notes) in ‘Early Church Classics’ (S.P.C.K., 1908), and Document No. 29.

⁴ *The Ep. to Diogn.* (ed. Radford), 66 sqq.

⁵ Text and notes in *The Apologies of Justin Martyr* (Cambridge Patristic Texts), ed. A. W. F. Blunt.

⁶ Document No. 42.

Pius would not, on the whole, be so favourable to the Christians as the restless versatility of Hadrian'.¹ First, as a statesman, he would let the law take its course. Second, from the point of view of religion, he would look askance upon Christianity. Antoninus Pius was no sceptic like Hadrian, but 'personally a religious man, and really devoted to the worship of the national gods'.² His contemporaries compared him not only for his clemency but for his piety to Numa. Thus, he took seriously his office of *Pontifex Maximus*. The Senate erected a monument to him 'on account of his zeal for public religious ceremonies'.³ He not only deified his predecessor and looked forward to apotheosis himself, but was worshipped during his lifetime.⁴ On grounds of religion, therefore, he would have little sympathy with Christians: they represented a secession from the religion of the State. Nevertheless 'Antoninus, almost alone of Emperors, avoided shedding the blood either of citizen or of foe, so far as it rested with himself'⁵; and he would probably have extended this considerate treatment to Christians as to the rest of his subjects. So, at any rate, may be explained his intervention by letter to keep popular ill-feeling within bounds. For, according to Melito, bishop of Sardis, c. 160, he wrote 'to the people of Larissa Thessalonica, Athens, and to all the Greeks'⁶ to forestall any tumultuous proceedings against the Christians, incompatible with the regulations laid down by Trajan. It is true that the rescript alleged by Melito to have been addressed by him to the *Commune Asiae*⁷ is 'spurious'⁸; but, in attributing to him an attitude towards the Christians more favourable even than that of Hadrian, its author illustrates the conception of him entertained by Christians soon after his reign. The Emperor's aversion to

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* II. i. 458.

² J. B. Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, 528.

³ Ibid. 528: 'Ob insignem erga caerimonias publicas curam et religionem,' *C. I. L.* vi. 1001.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* II. i. 444, n. 2.

⁵ 'Solutus omnium prope principum prorsus sine civili sanguine et hostili, quantum ad se ipsum pertinet, vixit: et qui rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem pietatemque et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit,' Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini Pii*, xiii, § 4 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 46, ed. H. Peter).

⁶ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 10.

⁷ Originally attached to Justin, *Apol.* II, but not by Justin himself; q. v. in Justin *Opera*,³ I. i. 244 sqq. (ed. I. C. Th. Otto), or *The Apologies of Justin*, 131-4, ed. A. W. F. Blunt; and a different version in *Eus. H. E.* iv. xiii. See, too, E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 20-2, where the two versions are printed side by side, as in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* II. i. 465 sq.

⁸ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* II. i. 468.

bloodshed, with the limitation 'so far as it rested with himself', is the key to their situation under Antoninus Pius. In spite of his clemency, martyrdoms increased; and the increase may be due in part to his conviction, on grounds whether of policy or religion, that he could, in loyalty to Rome, only moderate the popular animosities, and in part to the fact that they were, in many cases, actually beyond his control. Thus Publius, bishop of Athens, was put to death,¹ perhaps in the outbreak which the Emperor had endeavoured to forestall. Ptolemaeus and Lucius, and a third Christian unnamed, were brought before Lollius Urbicus, Praefect of the City 144-60, and condemned, without tumult but without more ado and as a matter of course, for avowing themselves Christians.² The record of their trial 'is especially valuable, first because it shows what might happen at any moment, even when no regular persecution was raging',³ for Ptolemaeus was the victim of a heathen husband's wrath. He had taught the wife to become a Christian; and when she refused to gratify her husband in his foul desires, he turned upon her teacher and denounced him for a Christian.⁴ Ptolemaeus had merely to avow his faith⁵ before the Prefect to receive sentence of execution⁶: so, too, had Lucius, who remonstrated at this sentencing of an innocent man, simply because he declared himself a Christian.⁷ So these '*acta*' have further value because they 'exhibit the form of procedure' under Antoninus Pius, 'showing that there is no divergence from the principle formulated by Trajan, and that the mere confession of Christianity was regarded as a capital offence independently of any alleged crimes charged on the Christians'.⁸ The martyrdom of Polycarp⁹ and his companions, 156, belongs to this reign. Polycarp was 'sought out'¹⁰: so that under the pressure of popular excitement, fanned into flame by the Jews,¹¹ the restraints imposed by the Imperial Government were sometimes of no avail. Moreover, 'the gloomy forebodings of a coming persecution in the *Shepherd*

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 2.

² The story is told in Justin, *Apol.* ii, c. ii, and is reprinted in R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 14 sqq.; cf. Document No. 43.

³ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ii. i. 493.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.* ii. ii, § 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 10, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, §§ 16-18.

⁸ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ii. i. 493.

⁹ For the *Martyrium Polycarpi* see Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv; Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* (abridged edition) 189 sqq., and Knopf, *op. cit.* 1-10, and Document No. 36.

¹⁰ *Mart. Pol.*, cc. iii, vi, § 1.

¹¹ *Mart. Pol.*, cc. xii, § 2, xiii, § 1, xvii, § 2, xviii, § 1.

of Hermas¹; Justin's treatment of persecution in the *Apology*, as for the Name² and as a very present danger³; and his anticipation for himself of the fate that befel Ptolemaeus and Lucius⁴ fill in the picture of dark days under Antoninus. Public calamities, portents, and convulsions of nature beclouded his reign.⁵ They may have roused the fury of the populace, who would put them down to the Christians.⁶ And so the most clement of Emperors became responsible for persecutions that he could not control.

(d) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161-†80, was the adopted son of Antoninus Pius.⁷ He married his daughter Faustina, †175, and in 147 became his colleague in the Empire⁸ with the title of Caesar or heir presumptive. He succeeded, as of course; but was a different man from the clement Antoninus.

Marcus too was a prince of humane disposition; and by his legislation he set himself to aid the weak, in part from personal sympathy but also in deference to cherished ideals. He regarded himself as the philosopher-king, of whom Plato had prophesied that 'there would be no end to the ills of mankind till philosophers should become kings or they that are now called kings . . . should become philosophers'.⁹ The philosophy of Marcus was Stoicism. Certainly he was in sympathy with its humanitarianism. But he was also inspired by other of its associations and ideals which made it impossible for him to be anything but a persecutor of Christians. M. Cornelius Fronto, c. 100-†75, who lent his name to the vulgar charge of orgiastic love-feasts,¹⁰ had taught him letters¹¹

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 509. On p. 508 he refers to the following passages from the *Shepherd*: Visio I. iv, II. ii, iii, III. i, ii, v, vi; Mand. VIII. x; Sim. VIII. iii, vi, viii, x, IX. xxi, xxvi, xxviii.

² Τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἐλεγχὸν λαμβάνετε, Justin, *Apol.* I. iv. 4.

³ Justin, *Apol.* I. ii, iv, xi, xxiv, xxv, xxxix, xlv, lvii, lxxviii.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.* II. iii [=viii, ed. A. W. F. Blunt], § 1.

⁵ So Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* LXX, c. iv (iv. 168, ed. L. Dindorf: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1864), and Capitolinus, *Vita Ant. P.*, c. ix (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 43).

⁶ 'Existiment omnis publicae cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse in caussa. Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim "Christianos ad leonem",' Tert. *Apol.* xl.

⁷ For the genealogy of the Antonines see A. M. H. J. Stokvis, *Manuel d'histoire, de généalogie et de chronologie*, iii. 688 (Leide, 1890-3).

⁸ 'Post haec Faustina duxit uxorem et, suscepta filia, tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari,' Capitolinus, *Vita Marci*, vi, § 6 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 52, ed. H. Peter).

⁹ Plato, *Republic*, vii, § 18 (*Op.* 473 D).

¹⁰ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, cc. ix, § 6, xxxi, § 2.

¹¹ Capitolinus, *Vita Marci*, ii, §§ 4, 5; Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, i, § 11

when a youth and would have prejudiced him against them. Afterwards, as Emperor, he gave up literature for philosophy, and fell under the influence of Q. Junius Rusticus, consul 162. This high official was a Stoic of great distinction,¹ and next year, as prefect of Rome, put Justin Martyr and his companions to death,² so that he too would alienate the Emperor from them. Moreover, the self-sufficiency³ of his Stoicism would make Christianity, so far as Marcus could understand it, an offence in his eyes. In the Christians' contempt for death he could see nothing 'reasonable or dignified' as in a Stoic's, only 'sheer obstinacy'.⁴ With them it was a challenge to authority; and as it was his aim to be, before all things, a Roman,⁵ he must not only let the law take its course against them but actually enforce it. Moreover, they scorned the worship of Rome and the Augustus; and as this was 'the very core of Roman public life',⁶ they must suffer for it. Such were the ideals that determined the hostility of Marcus towards the Church.

The Apologists either failed to divine them, or, more probably, deliberately ignored them. Attracted by 'his exceptionally high character',⁷ they made haste to address him; and, sentiment being here fortified by policy, they found it a matter of vital moment to represent him, along with his great predecessors, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, as favourably disposed towards the Christians. What Melito⁸ urged, Tertullian repeated⁹; and hence the unhistorical contention that only bad Emperors, like Nero and Domitian, were persecutors. It was a good point to make. Had the Apologists in, or after, the days of Marcus Aurelius, branded a man, such as he was, for a persecutor, they would have provoked the retort, 'You condemn yourselves

(text and transl. by C. R. Haines in 'Loeb Library', 1916). For the relations between Fronto and M. Aurelius, see W. S. Teuffel and L. Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, § 355 (ii. 215).

¹ Capitolinus, *Vita Marci*, iii, §§ 3, 4 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 49, ed. Peter).

² See the *Acta Iustini* in Justin, *Opera*, ii. 266 sqq. (ed. Otto), or in R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 17 sqq.; transl. *A.-N.C.L.* ii. 367 sqq., and Document No. 49.

³ He says he learnt τὸ αὐταρκές ἐν παντί from his father, Antoninus Pius, *Meditations*, i, § 16.

⁴ Τὸ δὲ ἑτοιμον τοῦτο [*sc.* for death] ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν ὥς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγῶδως, *ibid.* xi, § 3.

⁵ Ὡς Ῥωμαῖος καὶ ἄρρην, *ibid.* ii, § 5; cf. iii, § 15.

⁶ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 527.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Melito *ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxvi, §§ 5-11, and Document No. 52.

⁹ *Tert. Apol.* v.; and Document No. 87.

by the charge: if *he* persecuted you, it was because you deserved it'.¹ Of the apologies addressed to Marcus, all, save one, are in Greek. Three are either lost or only preserved in fragments. They are Miltiades' apology addressed *To the temporal rulers*,² probably Marcus and his brother Lucius Verus, 161-9; *The Defence of the Christian Faith*,³ presented, c. 172, by Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, to Marcus; and an *Apology for the Christian Faith* which Melito, bishop of Sardis, addressed *To Antoninus*⁴ about the same time. Still extant is the *Supplicatio seu legatio pro Christianis*⁵ of 177, which Athenagoras the philosopher of Athens addressed to Marcus and his son Commodus⁶ to show the absurdity of the 'three charges'⁷ of atheism,⁸ Thyestean banquets⁹ and Oedipodean incest⁹ commonly brought against the Christians; while to this reign probably belong the three books *Ad Autolyicum*,¹⁰ c. 180, of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch and—the only Latin apology of the series—the *Octavius*,¹¹ c. 160-80, of Minucius Felix. Theophilus in the first book, *apropos* of a conversation with his heathen friend Autolyicus [§§ 2-11], treats of the faith of Christians in an invisible God and

¹ Cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 527.

² Πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας, Eus. *H. E.* v. xvii, § 5; cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 61.

³ Ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον λόγος ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως, Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 1 and xxvii; cf. Bardenhewer, 61. Claudius Apollinaris was probably the immediate successor of Papias in the see of Hierapolis, and the slightly younger contemporary of Melito, bishop of Sardis.

⁴ For the title, see Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, §§ 1, 2; and for extracts from it, *ibid.*, §§ 5-11; cf. Bardenhewer, 62 sq.

⁵ Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν in O. Gebhardt u. A. Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, iv. 2, pp. 1-47, and in *Die ältesten Apologeten*, 315-58, ed. E. J. Goodspeed (Göttingen, 1915); translation in *A.-N. C. L.*, vol. ii. 375 sqq., and Document No. 58.

⁶ For the date see Bardenhewer, 64, and Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 537. The latter observes that 'it shows clearly the principle on which the Roman government acted. The "nomen ipsum", independently of any "flagitia cohaerentia nomini", was a sufficient ground of condemnation; and at no period during the second century was this principle more rigidly enforced than under M. Aurelius. It appears in sharp outline alike in the martyrdoms of Justin and his companions at the beginning of this reign and in the persecutions of Vienne and Lyons at its close.'

⁷ Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, iii, § 1.

⁸ Refuted in cc. iv-xxx.

⁹ Refuted in cc. xxxii-xxxvi.

¹⁰ Text in *P. G.* vi. 1023-1168, and in *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum*, viii. 1-277, ed. I. C. T. Otto (Jena, 1861), and transl. in *A.-N. C. L.* iii. 49-133; Document No. 65.

¹¹ Text ed. C. Halm in *C. S. E. L.* ii. 1-56 (Vindobonae, 1867), and transl. in A. A. Brodribb, *Pagan and Puritan* (Bell & Sons, 1903). For the date, see discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 534-6 [prefers 160], and Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 71 sq. [prefers c. 180]; cf. Document No. 66.

[§ 12] of the name 'Christian'; in the second he [§§ 2-8] discusses the folly of heathen idolatry, and [§§ 9-38] offers a comprehensive view of the teachings of the prophets, 'men of God and representatives of the Holy Spirit', in the third [§§ 4-15] he shows the futility of the anti-Christian calumnies . . . and [§§ 16-29] offers proof that the sacred Scriptures of the Christians are much older than the beginning of Greek history and literature'.¹ Theophilus is the first to attribute the fourth Gospel by name to St. John the Apostle²; and the first to use the term Triad³ to indicate the distinction of persons in the Godhead. The Latin apology of Minucius is in every way worthy to rank with the best efforts of the Greek apologists. It is the work of an educated Roman layman, whose Latinity is not Christian, i.e. African, but Ciceronian⁴; and is one of the only two Christian writings of the second century—the other being the *Epistle to Diognetus*—which can be called 'charming'.⁵ It is a dialogue in which the Christian, Octavius Januarius, is matched with the heathen, Caecilius Natalis; and both are friends of Minucius Felix, a Roman barrister. 'It opens in a very lively manner: the disputants [cc. i-iv] are seated by the sea at Ostia, having chosen Minucius Felix as arbiter of the controversy. Caecilius [cc. v-xiii] advocates the teaching of the Sceptics, yet defends the faith of his fathers as the one source of Roman greatness⁶; Christianity is an unreasonable and immoral illusion. Octavius [cc. xvi-xxxviii] follows closely the arguments of Caecilius, makes a drastic *exposé* of the follies of polytheism, and refutes the usual anti-Christian calumnies. . . . He closes with a touching portrait of the faith and life of the Christians. No arbiter's judgment is needed, as Caecilius admits his defeat.'⁷

But in spite of the justice of their cause and of the skill with which it was urged the Apologists were bound to fail. All their efforts to show that Christians were loyal subjects were in vain. 'The persecutions under Marcus Aurelius extend throughout his reign. They were fierce and deliberate. They were aggravated,

¹ Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 66.

² Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, ii, § 22 (*P. G.* vi. 1088 B).

³ *Ibid.* ii, § 15 (*P. G.* vi. 1077 B).

⁴ H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study*, 69 sq.

⁵ C. T. Cruttwell, *Literary History of early Christianity*, ii. 613.

⁶ For this argument in favour of paganism, cf. the 'Relatio Symmachi' of A. D. 384, between Ambrose, *Epp.* xvii and xviii (*Op.* II. i. 828 sqq.; *P. L.* xvi. 966 sqq.),

⁷ Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 70.

at least in some cases, by cruel tortures. They had the Emperor's direct personal sanction. They break out in all parts of the Empire: in Rome, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa; possibly also in Byzantium.¹ They lasted on into the reign of his son. It will be enough just to indicate the chief cases, and then to examine the policy of persecution in the second century as a whole. Thus, c. 163, Justin and his companions were put to death at Rome, after trial before Q. Junius Rusticus, the Prefect of Rome. All were interrogated one after the other, confessed themselves Christians, and were ordered off to execution. In the account, which is usually appended to the writings of Justin, we have the first instance of *acta*² or minutes of the court. After Polycarp, Thraseas, bishop of Eumenia in Phrygia, Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, and others were put to death³ in those regions, c. 165: their martyrdom illustrates 'the dangerous position of the Christians throughout the reign of Marcus Aurelius'.⁴ In the days when Marcus had a colleague in Lucius Verus, 161-9, there took place at Pergamum the martyrdom of Carpus, and Papyrus, a 'citizen of Thyatira'.⁵ They were condemned to the stake, after a steadfast confession of their faith before the proconsul; and a Christian woman, Agathonice by name, threw herself into the flames.⁶ The account is from the narrative of an eye-witness.⁷ 'In the seventeenth year'⁸ of Marcus, 177, broke out the persecution which overwhelmed the Christians of Lyons and Vienne, at the festival of the Three Gauls on 1 August, for the worship of Augustus. When its fury was spent, the survivors sent an account of it to 'the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia', considerable extracts from it being preserved by Eusebius.⁹ They record the sufferings of Pothinus, bishop of

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 526.

² Text in Justin, *Opera*³, II. 266-79, ed. I. C. T. Otto, and R. Knopf, *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*, 17-20; transl. in *A.-N. C. L.* II. 363 sqq.; cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 509 sq.; Document⁴ No. 49.

³ For Thraseas and Sagaris, see Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus to Victor, bishop of Rome, c. 189-†99, *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv, §§ 4, 5, and Document No. 82.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 511.

⁵ *Acta Carpi*, §§ 25-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 42-4.

⁷ The names of the three martyrs are mentioned by *Eus. H. E.* IV. xv. 48 from their 'acta' which he had before him. These have now been recovered, and are given in O. Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. III, Hft. iv. 440-54, and Knopf, *op. cit.* 11-14; discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 510 sq.

⁸ *Eus. H. E.* v. prooem., § 1.

⁹ *Eus. H. E.* v. i, § 3-ii, § 8: see, too, Knopf, *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*, 20-33; discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 515 sqq., and Document No. 57.

Lyons; of Maturus and Sanctus; of Attalus, who 'was called for loudly by the people, because he was a person of distinction', and 'led round the amphitheatre with a tablet carried before him, "This is Attalus the Christian"'¹; of Blandina the maid-servant, and her brother Ponticus, 'a lad of about fifteen years old',² whom she encouraged to endure to the end, as he did,³ and then 'was sacrificed herself'. The heathen themselves confessed that never among them had a woman endured so many and such terrible tortures.⁴ Within three years of these horrors, Marcus Aurelius died at Vienna, 17 March⁵ 180, on the eve of a second Marcomannic war which might have carried the frontiers of the Empire to the Elbe. Commodus, his son, however, was eager to return to Rome and get rid of the war; but he did not succeed in returning till October. Meanwhile, the aftermath of his father's policy of persecution took effect in Africa. On 17 July 180, before the proconsul P. Vigilius Saturninus, twelve men and women of Scili, or Scillium, in Numidia, were brought to trial and condemned as Christians to be beheaded: and the genuine record of their sufferings has come down to us in the form of a *Passio*,⁶ brief and triumphant, and embodying the minutes of the court. Perhaps before the Scillitan Martyrs, or perhaps in December, there suffered the martyrs of Madaura, also in Numidia; for whose death our authority is the correspondence in 390, of the heathen grammarian Maximus of Madaura with St. Augustine.⁷ Maximus is indignant that the martyrs bore Punic names—Nymphamo, Miggin, Lucitas and—a woman's name—Samaë.⁸ But this adds to the interest of the correspondence. It shows that Christianity, though a Latin importation into Africa, had by this time got hold of the classes that spoke the vernacular. Maximus also speaks of Nymphamo as the *archimartyr*⁹ of Africa. Supposing, though this is uncertain,¹⁰ that the word is the equivalent of *protomartyr*, the martyrs of Madaura must have perished before those of

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, §§ 43, 44.

² Ibid., § 53.

³ Ibid., § 54.

⁴ Ibid., § 56.

⁵ Dion Cassius, *Epitome*, lxxi. xxxiii, § 4.

⁶ Text in *Texts and Studies*, i. No. 2, pp. 112 sqq., and transl. in *A.-N. C. L.*, additional volume (ed. A. Menzies), 285, and Document No. 67; discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 524 sqq., and E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, 153 sqq.

⁷ Aug. *Epp.* xvi, xvii (*Op.* ii. 19 sqq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 81-3).

⁸ Aug. *Ep.* xvi, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 20 c; *P. L.* xxxiii. 82).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See discussion in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 522 sq.

Scillium, and before the return of Commodus to Rome. He was a worthless creature, and bent on pleasure. He fell under the influence of his mistress Marcia¹: and she was a Christian. There was a truce to persecution, and the Church became free from molestation, though the legal position of Christians remained unaltered. Marcia sent to Pope Victor for a list of confessors who had been condemned to the mines of Sardinia, and procured their release.² Perhaps they were men of no standing; but there was a Christian of social distinction in Rome, too conspicuous to escape—the Senator Apollonius. He was put to death by the sword after an eloquent defence of his faith before the Prefect Perennis, 180–5, and the Senate: and his *acta*, once known to Eusebius,³ have recently been recovered both in Greek and Armenian.⁴ So ended the persecutions of the second century.

§ 4. It remains to sum up their characteristics as revealed in the *Acta*, the Passions and the stories of martyrdoms generally.⁵

In origin, persecutions usually sprang from mob fury. The shouts of the amphitheatre demanded Polycarp⁶; while at Lyons the martyrs ‘endured nobly . . . all things which an infuriated mob delight in inflicting on enemies’.⁷ Sometimes personal revenge led to persecution, as when a pagan husband, deserted for his immoralities by his Christian wife, delated her and her teacher, Ptolemaeus.⁸ Sometimes, professional rivalry: thus Crescens the Cynic betrayed the philosopher Justin.⁹ And sometimes the accusations of heathen servants, for fear of torture: as in the case of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne. It was under such fear that servants’ gossip gave vent to the accusations of cannibalism and incest against their Christian masters.¹⁰

The occasions on which persecution broke out are connected with the festivals: as of Rome and Augustus, on 1st August, for the Three Gauls,¹¹ which was fatal, 177, to the Christians of

¹ Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, LXXII. iv, § 7.

² Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12, pp. 454 sqq., edd. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin. ³ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxi, § 5.

⁴ Transl. in F. C. Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*², 35–48 (Swan Sonnenschein, 1896), and Document No. 81; discussion in E. G. Hardy, *Studies*, &c., 156 sqq.

⁵ For these stories, in English dress, see A. J. Mason, *Historic Acts of the Martyrs*.

⁶ *Mart. Pol.*, c. iii.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 7; cf. § 38.

⁸ Justin, *Apol.* II. ii, § 9; Knopf, *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*, 15.

⁹ If we are to trust Eus. *H. E.* IV. xvi, § 7, relying upon Tatian, and Justin’s own anticipation of evil from Crescens in *Apol.* II. iii, § 1.

¹⁰ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 14.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 47.

Lyons and Vienne; or on an Emperor's birthday¹; or whenever else there were gladiatorial shows.²

Trials were of two grades: preliminary, before the local magistrates; then before the Proconsul, as in the case of the Gallic martyrs³; or, in Rome, as with Justin and his companions, before the Prefect of the City.⁴

The procedure on trial seems to have followed a regular course. First, came questions as to identity: 'when [the bishop of Smyrna] came up [to the tribunal], the Proconsul asked if he were Polycarp'.⁵ Second, followed the question, direct and incriminating of itself, 'Are you a Christian?'. Lollius Urbicus asked it of Ptolemaeus,⁶ who answered, with equal directness, that he was.⁷ Third, the judge would ask whether the prisoner would 'Swear by the genius of Caesar', as the Proconsul asked Polycarp,⁸ or whether he would sacrifice. 'Come now', cried Rusticus to Justin and his companions, having put the question to each of them, 'Are you a Christian?', and received from each the answer, 'Yes', 'let us get to business: all of you together, sacrifice to the gods.'⁹ These demands were commonly refused, as in this instance: 'Do as you please,' replied the prisoners to Rusticus, 'We are Christians: and we do not sacrifice to idols'.¹⁰ Hence, fourth, as the magistrates were often humane and fair-minded men who carried out orders but did their horrid business with reluctance, they would embark upon attempts at persuasion. 'Think of your youth,' said Statius Quadratus, the proconsul who condemned Polycarp, to Germanicus¹¹ who was condemned to the beasts just before the bishop was brought in. 'Have regard for thine age,' he repeated to Polycarp.¹² 'Save your life!' 'Don't throw it away!' were common pleas for governors to put in with the accused, according to Tertullian,¹³ and sometimes there would follow a remand. 'Take a delay of thirty days', said Saturninus, the Proconsul of Africa, to the Scillitan martyrs,

¹ 'Ludi natalitii'; cf. [Antoninus Pius] 'circenses natali suo dicatos non respuit', Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini*, v, § 2 (*Script. Hist. August.* i. 39).

² Tert. *De spectaculis*, c. xxvii ad init.

³ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 8.

⁴ *Acta Iustini*, c. i; Knopf, 17.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 18.

⁶ Justin, *Apol.* ii. ii, § 12.

⁷ Ibid., § 13. So Lucius, asked the same question, answered 'Certainly', *ibid.*, §§ 17, 18.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 19; cf. Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxii; Origen, *c. Celsum*, viii, § 65 (*Op.* i. 790; *P. G.* xi. 1613 D).

⁹ *Acta Iustini*, c. v.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 5.

¹² Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 18.

¹³ Tert. *Scorpiace*, c. xi.

'and think it over.'¹ But these appeals fell on deaf ears: and led, fifth, to theological arguments, with plays on words as with Polycarp. Asked 'to repent and say, "Away with the atheists"', he looked upon the crowd that was gathered in the stadium, and waving his hand to them said, Away with the atheists'.² Such altercations were due, in no small measure, to Christians being eager to 'buy up the opportunity',³ so that through them, as through St. Paul before Nero, or Justin before Rusticus,⁴ or the Scillitans before Saturninus,⁵ 'the message might be fully proclaimed and that all the Gentiles might hear'.⁶ Or they were due to a passionate desire for martyrdom such as possessed Ignatius⁷ or Pothinus.⁸ In the face of so zealous a spirit of propagandism the Court, sixth, would have recourse to torture,⁹ on the Roman theory that it was an act of mercy to protect the prisoner from the extreme penalties. Its object was to break down constancy. But its results were to stiffen resistance. Governors found the spirit of Christians baffling. Arrius Antoninus, for instance, Proconsul of Asia, was suddenly confronted by 'all the Christians of that state presenting themselves in one body before his judgement seat. He ordered a few to be led away to execution, and said to the rest, "Wretched men! If ye wish to die, there are precipices and halters!"'¹⁰ To the heathen onlooker, it was teaching¹¹; to the authorities, mere obstinacy¹²; while their sufferings were to the catechumen 'a baptism of blood', with effects as efficacious as the Sacrament of Baptism¹³ for which they were preparing; to the Church, at once seed,¹⁴ since the bystanders—Lucius,¹⁵ Agathonice,¹⁶ and many more—

¹ 'Moram xxx dierum habete, et recordemini,' *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*, ed. J. A. Robinson in *Texts and Studies*, i, No. 2, p. 114, and Document No. 67.

² *Martyrium Polycarpi*, ix, § 2, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 19.

³ Eph. v. 16, R.V. marg.

⁴ *Acta Iustini*, cc. i, ii; Knopf, *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*, 17.

⁵ *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*; Knopf, 34 sq.

⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 17.

⁷ e. g. *Rom.* iv, § 1, v, § 2.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 29.

⁹ e. g. *Acta Pionii*, xx; Knopf, 73.

¹⁰ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, c. v.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 'Pertinaciam et inflexibilem obstinationem,' Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvii, § 3; ψιλὴν παράταξιν, Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, xi. 3. Tertullian defends it, *Apol.*, c. xxvii.

¹³ 'Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum . . . sanguinis scilicet,' Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, c. xvi; on martyrdom as a second baptism see Tertullian in *Library of the Fathers*, x. 106, note b.

¹⁴ 'Plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. l.

¹⁵ Justin, *Apol.* ii, §§ 15–20.

¹⁶ *Acta Carpi*, § 44.

declared their sympathy,¹ but also the door by which, through sheer admiration for these 'noble athletes'² of the arena, practices, which afterwards became superstitions,³ obtained entrance. To bishops, in particular, the persecutions opened up the occasion for an elucidation of the principles of Christian casuistry, as, for instance, whether flight was legitimate. Montanists said, 'No, never'.⁴ Polycarp, however, settled the question by retiring⁵: others began the discussion of it, as did Clement⁶ and Tertullian,⁷ and the discussion continued till persecution by Arians caused first Athanasius⁸ and then Augustine⁹ to intervene. To Christians one and all the hostility of the State proved a fiery trial; for after, seventh, a formal sentence, such as that of Rusticus upon Justin and his fellows, 'Let those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the command of the Emperor be scourged, and led away to suffer the punishment of decapitation, according to the laws,'¹⁰ the process ended, eighth and last, in death by sword, or fire, or wild beasts.

It was natural that Christians should treasure both the memories and the remains of those who so nobly gave their lives for the Faith. They procured and edited the *Acta* or minutes of the Courts; and they wrote *Passions*¹¹ as well. Into these documents, editors or authors introduced a miraculous element—visions,¹² a supernatural voice,¹³ and parallelisms with the Passion of the Lord.¹⁴ This does not necessarily mean that the originals were altered, but that the incidents were so viewed—no doubt, under stress of exalted feeling. A similar reverence led the Christians to

¹ *Acta Carpi*, § 45.

² Eus. *H. E.* v. i, § 19.

³ Cf. W. Bright, *Some aspects of primitive Church life*, 194 n. 1.

⁴ Tertullian, *De fuga in persecutione*, c. iv; *De Corona*, c. i.

⁵ *Martyrium Polycarpi*, v, § 1, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 9.

⁶ Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv, § 10 (*Op.* i. 216; *P. G.* viii. 1285 B), discus Matt. x. 23.

⁷ Tert. *De fuga in persecutione*; *Op.* ii (*P. L.* ii. 101-20).

⁸ Athanasius, *De fuga sua* (*Op.* i. 253-66; *P. G.* xxv. 643-80).

⁹ Augustine, *Ep.* ccxxviii [A. D. 428-9]; *Op.* i. 830-5 (*P. L.* xxxii. 1013-19).

¹⁰ *Acta Iustini*, c. v; cf. the sentence on the Scillitan martyrs: 'Saturninus proconsul decretum ex tabella recitavit: Speratum . . . et ceteros ritu Christiano se vivere confessos, quoniam oblata sibi facultate ad Romanorum morem redeundi obstinanter perseveraverunt, gladio animadverti placet,' *Texts and Studies*, I. ii. 116.

¹¹ e. g. *Passio S. Perpetuae* in *Texts and Studies*, I. ii. 60 sqq.

¹² e. g. *Mart. Pol.* v, § 2, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv. § 10.

¹³ e. g. *Mart. Pol.* ix, § 1, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 17.

¹⁴ e. g. *Mart. Pol.* i, § 1; and on this parallelism see Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 610-12.

collect, entomb, and care for the relics¹ of the martyrs, and to offer the Holy Sacrifice at their sepulchres, as often as their *Natalitia*² came round. The heathen resisted such Christian care for the holy dead, out of opposition to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.³

¹ *Mart. Pol.* xviii, § 1.

² *Ibid.* xviii, § 2, where we have mention of τὴν ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, and *Tert. De Corona*, c. iii, where there is also mention of the offering of the Eucharist, on the anniversary of the day of death—‘oblaciones pro defunctis, pro natalitiis (= τοῖς γενέθλοις) annua die facimus’; *Op.* ii (*P. L.* ii. 79 B).

³ *Eus. H. E.* v. i, § 63.

CHAPTER X

CREED, CANON, AND EPISCOPATE

By the end of the second century the Church was well on the road to victory. She emerged from the struggle, with pagan influences within, and beyond, her borders, in possession of definite advantages. Thus she had acquired, in the course of it, better equipment; and was now fully armed with Creed, Canon of Christian Scriptures, and Episcopate complete. Moreover, she had left Gnosticism, once a formidable adversary, dead on the field. She now stood forth, braced for that final struggle with her second and more formidable adversary, the State; a struggle which continued, though with long intervals, throughout the third century and into the fourth. In this chapter we shall deal with the disappearance of Gnosticism and the completion of Christian Institutions in Creed, Canon, and Episcopate resulting from the conflict with it. Chapter xi will concern itself with Montanism, best understood as at once a reaction from Gnosticism and a declaration against Institutionalism destitute of Spirit. Chapter xii will be devoted to a brief review of the Apologists and the Theologians of the second century who, in opposition to paganism or to heresy, carried the arms of the Church to victory.

§ 1. The decline of Gnosticism marks the close of the second century, when it began to appear that the Church had passed through her second crisis as successfully as she weathered the storm of the first. By St. Paul she was saved from presenting herself to the world as a mere porch to the temple of Judaism. Her embrace was to be Catholic, not national. By the Catholic theologians of the second century—Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian—she was rescued from the toils of the religious syncretism of that age; for while the Gnostic appealed, in support of his imported theosophy, to his possession of a secret tradition from the Apostles, it was now successfully shown that the Church alone could make good her claim to be Apostolic. In the West, Marcion's rebuff from Polycarp at Rome,¹ c. 155,

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. iii, § 4, and Document No. 74.

and the repudiation, c. 170, of his mishandling of the Scriptures both by Dionysius of Corinth¹ and by the Muratorian Canon,² mark the decline of Gnosticism there. It was in full retreat by 200, though Epiphanius, †403, says he knew of Marcionite congregations in his day, both in Rome and in Italy. It lingered on in the East. Thus Bardaisân flourished in Edessa, c. 220. *Pistis Sophia* and *The Books of Jeû*, which survive in Coptic, bear witness to the perverse ingenuity of a Gnostic school in Egypt, c. 250. And Epiphanius mentions Marcionite congregations, at the end of the fourth century, in Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, and even in Persia.³ But these were relics only. After its defeat in the second century, Gnosticism was never strong enough, either in volume or in vitality, to imperil the gains which had accrued to the Church by her victory over it.

§ 2. These gains, or the results of the conflict, consisted in the acquisition by the Church of fixed standards. Gnosticism had taken advantage of their absence in Christendom in three ways. The Gnostics claimed (a) to be in sole possession of the truth, (b) to criticize⁴ and to supplement⁵ at will the sacred writings, and (c) to refer themselves to a private tradition from the Apostles for justification of their teaching. This was a challenge to the Church all round; and she met it by establishing her authority as alone Apostolic. In her Creed she had the Apostolic rule of faith. In her Canon of the New Testament, the collection of the Apostolic writings. In her successions of Bishops, the guarantee of Apostolic tradition as to truth. We go on to trace out the development of Creed, Canon, and Episcopate in turn.

§ 3. First, as to the Creed.⁶

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxiii. 12, and Document No. 54.

² Line 65, Document No. 117.

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302; *P. G.* xli. 696 B).

⁴ 'The first commentator on a canonical Gospel (Heracleon), the first harmonist of the Evangelical narrative (Tatian), the first scholar to pronounce an opinion on the Canon (Marcion) were not orthodox Christians but Gnostics,' F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *History of the Christian Church to A. D. 461*, p. 145.

⁵ By apocryphal Gospels, e. g. the Gospel of Peter (*Eus. H. E.* iii. iii, § 2) in use, for a time, in the church of Rhossus and then condemned by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, c. 192-†209, in a letter to that church, *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xii. 3-6, and Document No. 85.

⁶ For texts of the Creeds see A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*³, ed. G. L. Hahn (Breslau, 1897) and—a convenient selection—H. Lietzmann, *Symbols of the ancient Church* (Cambridge, 1906) = Nos. 17 and 18 of *Materials for the use of Theological Students* (Deighton, Bell & Co.); for the subject see H. B. Swete, *The Apostles'*

(a) By A.D. 325, the year of the Council of Nicaea, Christendom stood possessed of two types of Creed, Conciliar¹ and Baptismal.²

Of the Conciliar Creed, the Creed of Nicaea³ itself is the most representative. It was the Creed of an assembly: so it begins with the plural 'We believe'. It was a test for teachers, designed as it was for subscription by bishops who are the official teachers of the Church, whence it was commonly spoken of as 'the Faith'⁴ which they had to teach or 'the Lesson',⁵ which others had to learn from their lips. Its purpose was thus to distinguish between teachers, and to sever orthodox from erroneous and Catholic from heretic. Whence, as in the Creed of Nicaea, it concludes with a formula in which the positive statements of the body of the document are hedged round by the repudiation, or anathematizing, of their opposites at its close.⁶ The Conciliar Creed thus distinguished Christian from Christian; but the first example of it, at Nicaea, was itself based on a Creed connected with Baptism,⁷ both with the preparation for it and with the rite.⁸

The Baptismal Creed as a formulary for profession by the individual began with the singular 'I believe'. Moreover, it was a Creed not for the teacher but for the learner, since it was taught him, and repeated by him, at his initiation into Christ. Its purpose, again, was to distinguish Christian from heathen. Hence it came to be known, at least from the time of St. Cyprian,⁹ †258, onwards, as the *Symbolum* or password of the Christian soldier; and its name should take rank with terms like 'Christian' itself, 'renounce', 'sacrament', 'station', 'pagan', and others which remind us that ours is a militant religion.

Creed (with documents); C. H. Turner, *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*² (S.P.C.K., 1910), with documents; E. C. S. Gibson, *The three Creeds*; A. E. Burn, *The Apostles' Creed and The Nicene Creed*.

¹ Lietzmann, pp. 22-32.

² Ibid., pp. 8-21.

³ Text in Hahn, § 142; Lietzmann, p. 22; Turner, p. 98; Documents vol. ii, No. 12.

⁴ Πίστις, *Fides*; e.g. Eusebius, *Ep. ad Caesarienses*, § 4 (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xx. 1540 A); Socrates, *H. E.* i. viii, § 31.

⁵ Τὸ μάθημα, e.g. Socrates, *H. E.* i. viii, § 44, iii. xxv, § 17.

⁶ Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἣν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν κτλ. . . ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *ibid.*, § 45.

⁷ viz. the creed of the Church of Caesarea, Hahn, § 123; Lietzmann, p. 14; Turner, p. 96; from Soer. *H. E.* i. viii, § 38.

⁸ Καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, *ibid.*, § 37; Eusebius, *Ep. ad Caes.*, § 2 (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xx. 1537 A).

⁹ 'Novatianum . . . eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare,' Cyprian, *Ep.* lxix, § 7 (ed. Hartel, *C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 756). He is here referring not to the complete, or catechetical, creed, but to the short baptismal creed, with its questions and answers; Document No. 150.

It is with the Creed as connected with Baptism that we are now concerned: and a glance at the rites of Christian initiation is sufficient to show that there are two forms of Creed belonging to them—the Catechetical and the Interrogatory. ‘The Catechetical Creeds of the several churches were the basis, each in its own church, of the dogmatic instruction given to the Competents, i.e. the catechumens in the last stage of their catechumenate, during Lent, preceding their baptism at Easter; and at some date, varying locally, the Creed was formally “delivered” to the Catechumens.’¹ This *Traditio Symboli* took place in Rome, of the seventh century, on Wednesday in the third week of Lent²; and in the non-Roman rite of the West, from the fourth century onwards, on Palm Sunday³; but these periods for the *Traditio* may have come down unchanged from quite early times. Then, to the *Traditio Symboli* succeeded at Rome on Easter Even⁴ and elsewhere on Maundy Thursday,⁵ at the administration of Baptism by the bishop and as part of the rite, a *Redditio Symboli*. The Competent repeated or ‘gave back’ the substance of the Creed he had learnt, usually in condensed form, in answer to brief interrogatories by the celebrant, and under three headings which suggest that the Interrogatory, or Baptismal Creed proper, had its origin in an expansion of the Trinitarian formula as soon as that formula came to be used as the ‘form’ of Baptism itself. We conclude, therefore, that as all Creeds, Conciliar and Baptismal, preserve this mould, that Christendom had for its Creed an originally Trinitarian formulary.

(b) The Catechetical Creed is specially our concern: for, whereas the three sections of the Interrogatory Creeds,⁶ say of the third

¹ F. E. Brightman in *Leaflet* 62 b, p. 19, of the Society of Sacred Study, April 1915.

² *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, I. xxxv (ed. H. A. Wilson, 53); L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 300 sqq.

³ Ambrose, *Ep.* xx, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 853; *P. L.* xvi. 995 A), Milan; Co. of Agde, A. D. 506, can. 13 (Mansi, viii. 327 B), Gaul; *Liber Ordinum*, 184 sq., ed. Dom M. Ferotin in *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica*, vol. v, edd. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq; Duchesne, *op. cit.* 319.

⁴ *Gel. Sacr.* I. xlv (ed. Wilson, 86).

⁵ As in Spain, see Hildephonsus [Abp. of Toledo, 659–†69], *De cognitione Baptismi*, c. xxxiv (*P. L.* xvi. 127 A); in Portugal, see Martin [Abp. of Braga, †580], can. 49 (Mansi, ix. 855 D); in Asia, Co. of Laodicea [? 363], c. 46 (Mansi, ii. 571 c).

⁶ q.v. in C. A. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, 103 sqq.; *ibid.* *De Fide et Symbolo*³, 48 sq.; Hahn, *Symbole*³, § 31.

century,¹ are of more or less equal length, the second paragraph of the Creed as delivered in preparation for Baptism bears traces of expansion. How, and under what circumstances, did such expansion take place? After, and in consequence of the conflict with Gnosticism? or before, and independently of, it?

Of Catechetical Creeds in use in the second century, at the time when Gnosticism was in power, there are discernible two types, an Eastern and a Western.

The Eastern type is well represented by the Creed which may be gathered from three passages² of Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, c. 185; and, as one might expect from its occurrence in an anti-Gnostic writer, it bears traces of having been formed, in part,³ by negative expansion in view of the need of combating heresy. We will return to this Creed of Irenaeus presently.

Meanwhile, there also existed, at that time, a Western type of Creed which, to judge by such traces of it as we now possess, grew more—though not entirely, or without *any* reference to heresy—by positive expansion in view of the needs of the catechumenate. ‘The origin of the Creed’, as has been suggested by Dr. J. A. Robinson, ‘is probably to be traced, not in the first instance to the triple formula’ (though that determined its structure) ‘but to the statement of the main facts about “the Lord Jesus”’⁴ as a prelude to “baptism in His name”’⁵; and Mr. C. H. Turner finds confirmation of this theory both from the Western Sacramentaries and from the New Testament. Thus, in *The Gelasian Sacramentary* of the seventh century and in the *Gellone* of the eighth, ‘the question is asked of the catechumens, “Qua lingua confitentur Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum?”’⁶

¹ The third paragraph, in Africa, c. 250, ran: ‘Credis in remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam?’; cf. Cyprian, *Epp.* lxi, § 7, lxx, § 2 (ed. Hartel, *C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 756, 768) and Lietzmann, *Symbols*, &c., 5.

² The three passages are Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. x, § 1; III. iv, §§ 1, 2; IV. xxxiii, § 7, q.v. in Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, Nos. i–iii, pp. 5–13; Hahn, § 5. Of these, the first is the most important, q.v. in Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*³, 29–31; Lietzmann, 3 sq.

³ But not entirely. Heurtley finds its basis in 1 Cor. viii. 6; *Harm. Symb.* 13.

⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. x. 9; Phil. ii. 11.

⁵ J. A. Robinson on Eph. v. 26. For baptism ‘in the name of Jesus Christ’, see Acts ii. 38, x. 48, viii. 12, or ‘the Lord Jesus’, viii. 16, xix. 5.

⁶ *Gel. Sacr.* I. xxxv (ed. H. A. Wilson, 53), and Plate VIII in *Facsimiles of the Creeds from early MSS.*, ed. A. E. Burn (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxxvi [1908]). The *Gellone Sacr.* was written in the Diocese of Meaux, c. 750; *ibid.* 8, 33.

though we should have expected "In what language do they confess the Father, Son and Holy Ghost?" for, of course, the triple formula follows in the baptismal rite'. And again, the New Testament 'expression "baptised in the name of the Lord" is analogous to this question in the Sacramentaries', and 'may be interpreted on the same lines'.¹ In a word, baptism in the name of the Lord would presuppose detailed instruction as to who and what the Lord was, such as we find in what is now the second paragraph of the Creed. If this, then, be so, the Western type of Creed took shape, in the main, by positive expansion, such as would be required for teaching the ordinary candidate for baptism. This type is seen in the *Apostles' Creed*, as we call it; or rather, in its earlier antecedents; and it will be most convenient to work backwards towards these from its final form. In the precise form, then, in which it is now recited by the Western Church, the *Apostles' Creed*² first appears in the *Scarapsus* of Pirminius, †753, a bishop who laboured near the lake of Constance during the first half of the eighth century. But for two slight omissions from its text—of 'Maker of heaven and earth' in the first clause and of 'God Almighty' in the sixth—the Creed of Pirminius goes back to the Creed of Caesarius,³ archbishop of Arles, 503–†43; and is an enlargement of the Creed of the Roman church, as found, c. 400, in the writings of Rufinus⁴ of Aquileia, †410, and of Pope Leo I,⁵ 440–†61. This formulary⁶ is distinguished only by its insertion of 'the Father' in the first clause, and its substitution of 'Jesus Christ' for 'Christ Jesus' in the second, from an earlier Roman form associated with the name of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, 314–†73. In 336 Marcellus was deposed by the Arianizers, and took refuge at Rome under Pope Julius I, 337–†52. On condition of accepting this formulary, he was received into communion with the Roman

¹ Turner, *Hist. and use of Creeds*, 17, n. 1.

² Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, No. xxxi, pp. 71 sq.; *De F. et S.* 42; Hahn, § 92; Lietzmann, 13; Swete, 103 sq.; *P. L.* lxxxix. 1034 c. d. The full title is *De singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*, i. e. *scarpus* or 'excerpts'; Document No. 223.

³ Hahn, § 62.

⁴ Tyrannius Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, ed. E. F. Morison (Methuen, 1916). For the Roman Creed as found in Rufinus, see Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, No. xi, p. 30; Turner, 95; Lietzmann, 8; Hahn, § 19.

⁵ Heurtley, *H. S.*, No. xx, p. 49; Hahn, § 21.

⁶ For the Creed of Rufinus and Leo together, see Heurtley, *De F. et S.* 40 sq.

church, 341 ; and though the *Creed of Marcellus*¹ is in Greek, there is reason to think not that it was the Latin creed of that church translated for his acceptance, but that it was the Roman creed preserved in its originally Greek dress at the then stage of its development. For the Roman church, even under Julius, had not forgotten the days when it spoke Greek. The Roman creed, as thus accepted by Marcellus, cannot, it is true, be traced further back than his time, in its entirety. But certain of its clauses are corroborated by references to the Creed in the writings of Felix,² bishop of Rome, 269–†74 ; of Dionysius,³ his predecessor, 259–†69 ; of Novatian,⁴ c. 250 ; and of Tertullian,⁵ c. 200. From Tertullian a creed may be collected closely resembling the old Roman Creed, and he himself asserts that the African church owed its creed to the Roman.⁶ Behind this date we have no external evidence by which to test the presence of this venerable formulary ; for, during the persecutions, it was not usual nor safe to betray the *Symbolum* or pass-word. But internal evidence carries it still further back. The Creed reads as if its chief opponents were ‘Jews, not heathen. There is no trace in it of a repudiation of polytheism, not even the “I believe in one God” found in some other formulas ; there is no trace of philosophy, or of the struggle against Gnosticism. . . . It represents the standpoint of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and bends its chief energies to establishing ‘not the teaching’⁷ (about which nothing is said) but ‘the Messiahship of Jesus’.⁸ Relying, therefore, on this primitive background of the Old Roman Creed, scholars are inclined to push it back at least to ‘the middle of the second century’,⁹ if not to its opening, or even into the last years of the first.

There are, however, two recently discovered forms of the

¹ q.v. in Heurtley, *H. S.*, No. ix, pp. 24 sq. ; *De F. et S.*³ 34 ; Hahn, § 17 ; Lietzmann, 3 ; Turner, No. 5a, p. 94 ; Swete, 105 ; and Document No. 204.

² Hahn³, p. 16, n. 38.

³ Ibid., and in the letter of Dio. Rom. printed in C. L. Feltoe, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, 182, ll. 3–8.

⁴ Hahn³, § 10 ; and Novatian, *De Trinitate*, cc. i, ix, xxix, ed. W. Y. Fausset.

⁵ Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, Nos. iv–vi, pp. 13–17 ; *De F. et S.*, 32 ; Hahn³, §§ 7, 44.

⁶ Tert. *De Praescr. Haeret.*, c. xxxvi ; Lietzmann, 5.

⁷ They would learn about this at worship, in the lessons and sermon of the non-eucharistic service, which came immediately to precede the Eucharist ; hence it has no place in the Creed.

⁸ Alexander Stewart, *Creeds and Churches*, 44 sq. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1916).

⁹ So A. Harnack, *The Apostles' Creed*, 22.

Western Creed which have contributed to the development of the Old Roman into the Apostles' Creed. They are the *Fides Hieronymi*,¹ c. 377, and the Creed of Niceta,² c. 375: both connected with the Balkan peninsula and the great highway³ which ran from Asia through Constantinople to Nish, Belgrade, Aquileia, and so to Italy and the West. Jerome was born in Pannonia, and, c. 377, had been travelling in the East; while Niceta was bishop of Remesiana, to the south-east of Nish. If, then, we take the Apostles' Creed and set out (1) in **black type** what is common to it and the Old Roman Creed, (2) in *italics* what it has in common with Jerome, and (3) in SMALL CAPITALS what it shares with the creed commented on in the *De Symbolo*⁴ of Niceta, the result will be to give us a clue to (a) what clauses are original in the Roman creed, and to (b) what clauses, if any, may be regarded as due to the desire to keep out Gnosticism, since (c) whatever is common to Jerome and Niceta, and is shown in *ITALIC CAPITALS*, may be presumed to have come via the Balkan route from the East with much else that is primitive, and probably, in origin, Scriptural, and only the residuum will be anti-Gnostic. The Creed, then, runs as follows:

1. **Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,**
*CREATOREM*⁵ *COELI ET TERRAE*;
2. **Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum,**
Dominum nostrum :
- [^a natus] 3. **Qui conceptus** ^a **est de Spiritu sancto,**
[^b et] *Natus ex* ^b **Maria virgine ;**
- [^c crucifixus] 4. *PASSUS*^c **sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,**
MORTUUS et sepultus ;
Descendit ad inferna ;
5. **Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;**
6. **Ascendit ad coelos**
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ⁶ ;

¹ q.v. in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III. iii. 199 sq.; A. E. Burn, *The Apostles' Creed*, 43.

² A. E. Burn, *The Apostles' Creed*, 41.

³ On this route see A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*², ii. 258; *J. T. S.* iii. 14 (October 1901), vii. 503 (July 1906); and B. J. Kidd, *How can I be sure that I am a Catholic?* 8 (Modern Oxford Tracts: Longman, 1914).

⁴ Text in A. E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, 38-52.

⁵ *Fides Hieronymi* has 'factorem'.

⁶ Probably a mere amplification. It appears first with Priscillian, †385, in Spain; and Faustus, bishop of Riez, †485, in Gaul: see Hahn³, §§ 53, 61; cf. E. C. S. Gibson, *The Three Creeds*, 109.

- [et]
7. **Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.**
 8. *Credo in Spiritum sanctum ;*
 9. **Sanctam ecclesiam CATHOLICAM,**
SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM ;
 10. **Remissionem peccatorum ;**
 11. **Carnis resurrectionem ;**
 12. **VITAM AETERNAM.**

The reader will at once perceive that there is no residuum. Even phrases such as *Creatorem coeli et terrae*, which might naturally be thought to have been introduced in order to keep out Gnostic dualism, and others such as *conceptus, passus, mortuus*, which might similarly be held to have been directed against Gnostic docetism, need not necessarily owe their place in the Creed to any such controversial exigency. They may antedate the controversy altogether. For certainly *carnis resurrectionem* did not come by the Balkan route,¹ but was native to the old Roman Creed ; though we know from the title of Tertullian's anti-Gnostic work, *De resurrectione carnis*, that he found the phrase most apposite in meeting Gnosticism. *Conceptus, passus, mortuus* may thus be regarded as 'amplifications . . . for the sake of completeness' ²; *passus* being already in some Eastern Creeds,³ but neither *conceptus* nor *mortuus*. *Creatorem coeli et terrae*⁴ and *catholicam*⁵ were both in effect, but not necessarily in origin, anti-Gnostic, for Gnosticism was a dualistic philosophy which, when it attempted to settle down in the Church, was quickly recognized as heresy. And as for two clauses which, to all

¹ It is not in Scripture, which has, usually, 'a resurrection of dead persons' (*ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*), Acts xvii. 32 ; 1 Cor. xv. 12, 13, 21 ; and, occasionally, a phrase to justify 'resurrection of the body', e. g. 1 Cor. xv. 44. *Resurrectio carnis* has a more materialistic sound, but may have been preferred in order to give more emphatic repudiation to docetism, which would spiritualize away the notion of a resurrection of the body. Such docetism ante-dates Gnosticism, though many Gnostics were docetics.

² Gibson, 61.

³ e. g. Irenaeus *ap.* Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, Nos. i, ii, pp. 8. 12.

⁴ Occurs, c. 120, in Aristides, *Apol.*, c. xv : see the reconstruction of the Creed of Aristides in *Texts and Studies*, i. 25 ; in Justin, *Apol.* i. xiii, § 1 ; in Irenaeus, i. x, § 1, for which see Hahn, §§ 2, 3, 5 : Gibson thinks that *Creatorem*, &c., was 'first inserted with the direct object of guarding against the Gnostic heresy', *Three Creeds*, 61 sq. Perhaps, but it may equally have been to embody the teaching of Gen. i. 1, or as a 'current phrase', Gibson, 65.

⁵ 'Catholic' appears in Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* viii, § 2, as an epithet of the Church, meaning 'universal' as opposed to 'particular' or 'local'. It occurs in the sense of 'orthodox' as opposed to 'heretical' in *Martyrium Polycarpi*, xvi, § 2 [c. 156] and *Muratorian Canon*, l. 66 [c. 170].

appearance, have no connexion with Gnosticism, *Descendit ad inferna*,¹ once ascribed to the fourth century, and *Communione sanctorum*, still assigned by scholars to the fifth² or the fourth³ or the third,⁴ it is probable that each of these originally did no more than sum up certain Scriptural teaching; the former that ‘in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth’,⁵ and the latter that the Church is the fellowship of all the faithful, living and departed⁶—which is, in fact, the ordinary and the first recorded⁷ meaning assigned to the clause. We conclude, then, so far as regards the Western form of the Catechetical Creed, that it grew by addition of statement of fact, so as to give complete, though still simple, instruction about ‘the Lord Jesus’; and that it was

¹ ‘The first baptismal [= catechetical] Creed of certain date to contain it is that of Aquileia, as commented on [c. 390] by Rufinus’, Gibson, 69; cf. Rufinus, *In Symb. Apost.*, c. xiv; Heurtley, *Harm. Symb.*, No. x, p. 26; *De Fide et Symbolo*³, 38; Hahn³, § 36; Lietzmann, 9. Earlier, it occurs in three Arian creeds of 359–60—the ‘Dated Creed’, accepted at Ariminum, 359; the Creed of Nice, 359, and the Creed of Constantinople, 360: see Hahn³, §§ 163, 164, 167; Lietzmann, 27–9. It is noteworthy that all these belong to the Balkan route, as does the *Fides Hieronymi* which contains it.

² It has been thought that the first insertion of the words was connected with the cultus of the saints departed, as if the phrase meant ‘communion with the martyrs and chosen saints’, and that they passed into the Creeds of the several churches of the West as a safeguard against the teaching of Vigilantius, a presbyter who, in the early years of the fifth century, protested strongly against the growing tendency to saint worship’, Gibson, 75. But ‘*sanctorum communionem*’ was in the creed by 375–7.

³ The clause is supposed, by some, to be anti-Donatist. ‘The Donatists declaimed against a church in which a *communis malorum*, or joint participation in sacraments of the evil and the good, was not only permitted but enforced’, H. B. Swete, *The Apostles’ Creed*, 83; referring to Aug. *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, ii, § 37 (*Op.* ix. 51 E; *P. L.* xliii. 79), and for the phrase, Aug. *De Baptismo*, ii, § 8, vii, § 49 (*Op.* ix. 100 C, 194 F; *P. L.* xliii. 131, 234). The clause will then mean that ‘though, in the Catholic Church, the evil are mingled with the good, and the Church is to that extent a mixed body, there is within her a true *communio sanctorum*’, Swete, 83. But this is not clearly expressed; and ‘the Donatists claimed the clause as exactly expressing their views’, Gibson, 77. He refers to Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxvi, *Sermo*, ii, § 20 (*Op.* iv. 279 D; *P. L.* xxxvi. 379), and to the Letter of the Donatists to Marcellinus [A. D. 411], §§ 3, 4 in Aug. *Op.* ix, App., col. 65 B, D, F (*P. L.* xliii. 835, 6). Cf. Gibson, 76 sq.

⁴ Dom Morin, *Sanctorum Communione* (Macon, 1904), ‘suggests that the clause originated in the third century when . . . Cyprian and Firmilian . . . were resisting the Novatianists and Montanists, being probably first inserted in Asia, in order to guard against admitting into the Church persons who had been baptized by heretics and schismatics. The holy Catholic Church was a “Communion of Saints”, and could not therefore admit such’, Gibson, 77.

⁵ Eph. iv. 9; Phil. ii. 10.

⁶ Eph. i. 10, iv. 15, 16; Col. i. 20.

⁷ So Niceta, *De Symbolo*, § 10: see *Niceta of Remesiana*, ed. A. E. Burn, 48; and Gibson, 78.

positive not controversial in intention, being concerned mainly with the facts of our Lord's life and not with the doctrinal interpretation of them. In both these respects it was characteristically Roman; and in both we have witness to its origin in remote antiquity, from a period before the heresies arose.

Returning to the Eastern type of Catechetical Creed, as found, for instance, in Irenaeus, we note some slightly different phenomena. Thus when it is said that He 'was incarnate for our salvation', we find the Eastern mind characteristically not content with the bare statement of fact, and impelled to supplement the fact by its interpretation. Again, not only some phrases of the Creed but its structure would seem at first sight anti-Gnostic. Thus [I believe] 'in one God'¹ would rule out Gnostic dualism, and 'of whom are all things'² would be fatal to the Gnostic distinction between God the Father and the Creator or Demiurge. Similarly 'in one Lord' or 'Christ Jesus'³ would serve against the Valentinian separation of the aeon Christ from the man Jesus; and 'through whom are all things'⁴ against Marcion's refusal to allow that the Creator was also the Redeemer. But the exclusive effect of certain phrases in the Eastern Creed, though welcomed by those who found them there, is quite probably secondary after all. The phrases were there before they were put to this use. For not only do the typically Eastern phrases which mark the structure of the Eastern Creed—'In one God, the Father', 'In one Lord' or 'Christ Jesus', and 'In one holy Spirit'⁵—run back upon Scripture,⁶ but there is a continuous chain of evidence, through the Apostolic Fathers,⁷ to carry these expressions back to Apostolic times. Further, one of them was certainly not anti-Gnostic: the controversy with the Gnostics did not bring the question of the Holy Spirit into dispute. Why, then, 'One God', 'One Lord', save for the same reason as 'One Spirit', viz. that all three phrases and the whole structure of the Creed go back to the language of the Apostle Paul?

The Creed, then, Western or Eastern, is certainly prior to

¹ Iren. Caesarea, Jerusalem, Nicaea, &c.: Hahn³, §§ 5, 123, 124, 142, 188; Lietzmann, pp. 3, 14, 15, 22.

² *Const. Apost.*, Hahn³, § 129; Lietzmann, 19.

³ Iren., Caes., Jer., Nicaea, &c., *ut sup.*

⁴ Caes., Jer., Nic., &c., *ut sup.*

⁵ Caes., Jer., &c., *ut sup.*

⁶ 1 Cor. viii. 6, xii. 13; Eph. iv. 4-6.

⁷ Hermas, *Pastor*: Mand. I. i; Ign. *ad Philad.* iv; *ad Magn.* vii, § 2, viii, § 2; Clem. *ad Cor.* i. xlvi, § 6; and *J. T. S.* iii. 6 sq.

Gnosticism, though it received amplification and exactitude in condemnation of it. So the Church of the second century showed herself Apostolic. In her Rule of Faith she alone possessed the Apostolic standard; and this was her sufficient answer to the Gnostic claim to be in sole possession of the truth. To confute it, she 'brought forth out of her treasure things new *and* old'.¹

§ 4. The Canon² of the New Testament has a history not unlike that of the Creed; for writings acknowledged as Apostolic can be discerned in process of collection before the controversy with Gnosticism, though the controversy itself had much to do with setting limits to the canon or *list* of writings finally recognized as alone Apostolic.

During the first century reference of any sort to Scriptures would be to the Scriptures of the Old Testament; the list, or canon, of which was finally closed in the second century, under the threefold division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. These Scriptures were regarded as canonical in proportion as the men who wrote them were held to be inspired. 'Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost.'³ What they spake was taken for 'the Word of God',⁴ and what they wrote was reckoned as 'the holy scriptures'⁵ or 'the scriptures of the prophets'.⁶ Thus the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament stood, to the first Christians, in a unique position; and, since the Christian Church was 'the Israel of God'⁷ or the New Israel, they were claimed by it and taken over, as of course.

This pre-eminence of the Jewish Scriptures might alone have been sufficient to hinder the growth of a canon of Christian Scriptures of equal, and *a fortiori*, of greater authority. But two other causes operated in the same direction. First, so long as controversy lay mainly with the Jews, the Old Testament continued to be the battle-ground between the Christian and his opponent; as in *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, and Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. Even in discussion with

¹ Matt. xi. 52.

² See B. F. Westcott, *The Canon of the N. T.*; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the N. T.* (Duckworth, 1913); and the essay, by Dr. Chase, on *The History of the Canon of the N. T.* in *St. Margaret's Lectures on the criticism of the N. T.*, ed. H. H. Henson (Murray, 1902). To this essay § 4 is largely indebted.

³ 2 Pet. i. 20.

⁴ The Gospel message = the Word of God: 1 Thess. ii. 13; Rom. x. 17; Heb. iv. 2, i. e. ranks with O. T. prophecy which is, therefore, *a fortiori*, the Word of God,

⁵ Rom. i. 2.

⁶ Rom. xvi. 26.

⁷ Gal. vi. 16.

the heathen, the Old Testament occupied the first line, because great weight was felt, both by heathen and by Christian, to attach to the argument from prophecy. Attention would therefore be concentrated mainly on the Old Testament. But, secondly, it would also be diverted from any respect to, or even expectation of, Christian Scriptures, because of the established position of oral teaching in the earliest Church. It was the *Ipse dixit*¹ of the Master that men cherished; not any Christian writings, but such sayings as 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'; 'That day shall overtake you as a thief'²; 'A faith that can remove mountains'.³ These sayings of Jesus were treasured up and set down in collections now lost, if we may accept the theory⁴ that a document consisting mainly of Sayings of our Lord lies behind our first and third Gospels, and has been drawn upon by them as a well (Q = Quelle = well) or source. Similarly, it was the utterance of the Christian prophet, as no less 'the Word of God' than the oracle of the Israelitish prophet, to which Christians paid reverence; and, like Papias, they did not think they could get so much profit 'from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice'.⁵ Books, therefore, or writings of Christian Apostles and Prophets would, at first, be of less account; and, in any case, they never have been regarded by the Catholic Church as the sole, or even as the primary, source of Christian truth. There is no book in the New Testament but implies that it was written for those who had already been instructed in the truth.⁶ Christians, therefore, and the Christian Church, might conceivably have gone on indefinitely without Christian Scriptures. They were not disposed to write them, without occasion; nor, when written, to collect them. Indeed they lost Q; and nearly left our second Gospel to perish on the shelf.⁷

¹ Μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν κτλ. = 'meminisse verbi Domini Iesu, quoniam ipse dixit', &c., Acts xx. 35, with which cf. Clement, *Ad Cor.* i. xiii, § 1, xlvi, § 7; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* ii, § 3, vii, § 2.

² 1 Thess. v. 4; cf. Matt. xxiv. 43; Luke xii. 39.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 2; cf. Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21; Mark xi. 23; Luke xvii. 6.

⁴ The theory, however, has received some searching criticism from W. W. Holdsworth, *Gospel Origins*, cc. iii, iv, vi.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxxix, § 4.

⁶ e. g. Luke i. 4; John xxi. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 23, xv. 3; Gal. i. 6-8; Heb. v. 12; Jas. i. 19; 2 Pet. i. 12, iii. 1; 1 John ii. 20, 21; Jude 3; and cf. C. Gore, *The Incarnation*, 189 sq. (Murray, 1891).

⁷ This seems to be the explanation of its mutilated ending.

On the other hand, the growth of a Canon of the New Testament was promoted by causes more masterful than those which at first impeded it. These are, in the main, four.

And first among them the needs of Christian worship: for a 'canon is a *list* of biblical books which may be read in the public services of a church; and, if such be produced with the authority of a synod or council, of *the Church*'.¹ In the non-eucharistic service of Christians, it was customary, after the Synagogue lessons from the Law and the Prophets,² to read any Apostolic letter. Thus 1 *Thessalonians* was to 'be read unto all the brethren'³ at Thessalonica; and, when the epistle to the *Colossians* 'had been read among them', they were to 'cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans', and were, in turn, to 'read the epistle from Laodicea',⁴ by which is probably meant the circular letter which we call the epistle to the *Ephesians*. Similarly, Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, c. 170, speaks of Clement's letter to the *Corinthians*, and an epistle of Soter, bishop of Rome, being read in the worship of the Corinthian church⁵; while Justin Martyr, †163, had lately mentioned a similar use of 'the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets'.⁶ These memoirs, he explains, 'we call Gospels'.⁷ Thus, by the mere custom of Christian Worship, in which Old and New Testament were read together, it came about that the writings of the Apostles and Christian Prophets were put on the same level with the 'scriptures of the prophets' of the Old Testament. In the homily delivered at Corinth, c. 140, on the Scriptures just read, which is known as the second epistle of Clement to the *Corinthians*, the Scriptures of the Old and the New covenant are ranked side by side and spoken of together as 'the Bible (the books) and the Apostles'.⁸

A second cause that led to the formation of a canon of the Christian Scriptures was literary habit. 'As time went on, a Christian literature grew in volume and was circulated in the different churches. Christian writers wove into their own written words the familiar phrases of the Apostolic writers; and, in a few cases, expressly quoted them. Thus they registered the decisions

¹ Souter, *op. cit.* 156.

² Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21; Luke iv. 17.

³ 1 Thess. v. 27.

⁴ Col. iv. 16.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii. 11, and Document No. 54.

⁶ Justin, *Apol.* i. lxvii, § 3.

⁷ Ibid. i. lxvi, § 3; and Document No. 42.

⁸ 2 Clem. *ad Cor.* xiv, § 2.

of popular usage; they tended to co-ordinate the customs of different churches and to give them permanence.’¹ No better example of the literary habits of a mind saturated with Apostolic phraseology could be found than Polycarp. His epistle to the *Philippians* is an unconscious mosaic of New Testament quotations²: and he once quotes from *Ephesians* as from the Scriptures.³

Thirdly, translations into the Versions⁴ of the second century contributed to the same result. Syriac Versions circulated in Syria⁵ and a Latin Version in Africa⁶ before A.D. 200; while, in Sahidic, the dialect spoken in Upper Egypt, there was a Version which ‘may date from the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth’.⁷ The range of books so rendered into any vernacular would tend to form a canon of the New Testament for that region.

Finally, controversy had its effect in the same direction. There were discussions with Gnosticism. Thus, Marcion would not allow the Old Testament as a court of appeal, though he was ready to admit the appeal to Apostolic writings. In discussions about Montanism, its exponents claimed recognition for their revelations. And thus questions were raised as to what writings were Apostolic, and as to the *status* of apocalypses.

The range of Christian literature thus brought under discussion came to be considerable. It required pruning. After the age of production, there set in a period of selection and limitation.

¹ Chase *ap. St. Margaret's Lectures*, 102, and Appendix, pp. 183–207, on ‘Quotations from the N. T. in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers’.

² These are marked by special type in the Greek text of Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* (abridged edition), 168 sqq., and in the English translation by B. Jackson (Early Chr. Classics, S.P.C.K., 1898); Document No. 20.

³ Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* xii, § 1, quoting Eph. iv. 26.

⁴ On ‘Ancient Versions of N. T.’ see F. C. Burkitt, in *St. Margaret's Lectures*, 68–95.

⁵ The Church of the East Syrians read the Gospels in (a) a harmony, the *Diatessaron* of Tatian made at Rome and translated, c. 170, into Syriac, the language of the Euphrates valley, and also (b) ‘in a version which is now known as the Old Syriac, but was, in the days when it was used, known as the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*, “The Gospel of the Separated Ones” —in other words, the separated Gospels . . . the work of Palut, the third bishop of Edessa, and . . . prepared under the auspices of Serapion, bishop of Antioch, c. 200’, Souter, 57 sq. The church of this region possessed the Epistles of St. Paul, 1 John, 1 Peter, and James.

⁶ The Scillitan martyrs, 17 July 180, had ‘libri et epistulae Pauli’ with them—probably in Latin. In Tertullian’s time a Latin N. T. already existed in Africa, and was ‘the result of a long period of translation commenced not later than 150’, Souter, 35 sq.; Document No. 117.

⁷ Burkitt *ap. St. Margaret's Lectures*, 88; cf. Souter, 65 sq.

Thus among the earliest of admitted books were the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. Apostolic writings, therefore, must include the writings not only of Apostles but of Apostolic men. Were, then, all such 'Apostolic' books to be admitted? For the epistles of Barnabas and Clement were read in churches. Again, *The Shepherd* of Hermas was an apocalypse not rejected by any orthodox Christian. But if all apocalypses were to be accepted, what of the Montanistic effusions?

The question so raised between the Church and the sects was, To what books could the appeal in the dispute be made? And the answer was arrived at in two ways.

First, by councils in particular churches. For Tertullian, speaking of *The Shepherd* and as a Montanist to Catholics, observes that 'it might have deserved to be included in the New Testament had it not, by every council of your churches, been classed among works of an apocryphal and spurious kind'.¹ Such conciliar decisions, however, can have been but few and local.

So, secondly, it was individual writers who did most to fix the limits of the canon of the New Testament. These were sometimes bishops in official correspondence, as Dionysius and Soter²; or as Serapion of Antioch, c. 192-†209, who addressed to the church of Rhossus, on the gulf of Issus, a letter recalling his permission to read *the Gospel of Peter* in church, for he now knows that it is docetic.³ Sometimes they were bishops writing for literary purposes, if the conjecture is to be adopted that the *Muratorian Fragment*,⁴ c. 175-200, now extant in a rude Latin translation, was originally composed in Greek iambics, as a kind of *memoria technica* of books to be admitted in the church of Rome as canonical, by Hippolytus,⁵ bishop of the foreign congregations there. Sometimes, again, the writers whose influence can be traced in the process of selection were scholars of humbler rank. One such was the 'learned' Roman presbyter, Gaius, who, under Pope Zephyrinus, 199-†217, held a debate with the Montanist Proclus,

¹ Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, c. x.

² Letter of Dionysius to Soter *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 12, where he refers to the mutilation of the Scriptures, probably by Marcion and others: see Document No. 54.

³ *Ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xii, §§ 3-6, and Document No. 85.

⁴ q. v. in B. F. Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵, App. C; H. Lietzmann, *Materials*, &c., No. 1 (Deighton, Bell, 1905); E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 129 sqq.; *J. T. S.* viii. 540 sqq. (July 1907); Souter, 208 sqq.; Document No. 117.

⁵ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* i. ii. 407, 412.

in which he accepted the thirteen epistles of St. Paul but rejected 'the novel scriptures' of that sect.¹

When arrived at, the result issued, c. A.D. 200, in the practical, though not the final, closing of the canon. It then consisted of two classes of Christian Scriptures. There were the 'accepted'² books—the four *Gospels*, the *Acts*, and St. Paul's *Epistles*.³ There were also books, or collections, still on the border-line⁴—*Hebrews*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Catholic Epistles*.⁵

In regard to *Hebrews* the line of cleavage coincided with the boundary between East and West. The Alexandrians came to acknowledge its Pauline character, but not St. Paul as its author.⁶ The Antiochenes acknowledged it as St. Paul's.⁷ In the West, which made Apostolic authorship, in the strictest sense, the criterion of canonicity,⁸ its admission to the canon was held in suspense,⁹ till Jerome¹⁰ and Augustine¹¹ deferred to the Eastern view and received it.

The *Apocalypse* had a similarly chequered career. In the second century it was widely accepted¹²; but it fell into discredit in the third, along with the *Gospel* of St. John, because the Montanists had rested their distorted doctrine of the Paraclete on the *Gospel*, and of the Millennium on the *Apocalypse*. Thus the *Apocalypse* came to be looked upon with suspicion, because of the extravagances of those who misused it. Gaius, apparently, ascribed it to Cerinthus¹³; and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xx, § 3: for other references to Gaius see *ibid.* ii. xxv, §§ 6, 7, iii. xxviii, § 2, xxxi, § 4, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 125–34.

² τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων (canonical) καὶ ὁμολογουμένων (accepted) γραφῶν, *Eus. H. E.* iii. iii, § 3; cf. xxv, §§ 1, 2, and Document No. 183.

³ For details see Chase, *ap. St. Margaret's Lectures*, 112–22, 183–207.

⁴ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων (disputed), *ibid.* iii. xxv, § 3. Eusebius further reckons two other classes, (1) νόθοι (spurious or rejected), *ibid.*, § 4, and (2) αἱρετικοί (heretical), *ibid.*, § 7.

⁵ For these see Chase, *ap. St. M. Lectures*, 123 sqq.

⁶ Clement *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xiv, §§ 2, 3; Origen *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xxv, §§ 11–14, and Document No. 124.

⁷ Chrysostom, †407, and Theodore, †428, comment on it as undoubtedly the work of St. Paul. Chase, *ap. St. M. Lect.* 125.

⁸ *Eus. H. E.* iii. iii, § 5.

⁹ It is omitted in *Mur. Can.*, and 'not reckoned' as St. Paul's by Gaius, *Eus. H. E.* vi. xx, § 3.

¹⁰ Jerome, *Ep.* cxxix, § 3 (*Op.* i. 971; *P. L.* xxii. 1103 sq.).

¹¹ Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis*, i. xxvii, § 50 (*Op.* x. 27 B; *P. L.* xlv. 137).

¹² e. g. by Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. xxx, § 1 [c. 185], and Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 81; cf. *Eus. H. E.* iv. xviii, § 8 [c. 150], and others; Chase, *op. cit.* 128 sqq.

¹³ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iii. xxviii, § 2.

247–†65, in ‘a piece of criticism unsurpassed in ancient times’,¹ hesitated to accept it as canonical.² Ultimately, however, Jerome rehabilitated it, on the authority of ‘ancient writers’.³

The collection of the *Catholic Epistles*⁴ attained completeness in three stages; the first consisting of two—1 *Peter* and 1 *John*; the second, of three—1 *Peter*, 1 *John*, and *James*, as in the Old-Syriac version of the second century⁵; and the last of the present seven.⁶

Thus all those elements of the Canon of the New Testament which still stood on the frontier of canonicity, c. 200, established their position within it by c. 400. In the East, this was largely due to the need for discriminating between writings sacred and secular that was imposed upon the various local churches by the first Edict of Diocletian, 24 February 303, which commanded the surrender of the Scriptures⁷; and to the official standard set up by the preparation which Constantine entrusted to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea 314–†40, of ‘fifty copies of the Divine Scriptures’.⁸ In the West, it was due to the influence of Jerome, †420, and Augustine, †430—the first scholar and the first theologian of their day.

The results of the process are registered in the lists of the Canonical Scriptures put out by the Council of Laodicea⁹ in Phrygia, ? 363; by Athanasius in his Festal Epistle for 367¹⁰; and by the Council of Carthage, 397.¹¹ In the two last the enumeration is exactly that of our New Testament.

Thus the conflict with Gnosticism led the Church to close her Canon of Apostolic writings: a process consciously nearing conclusion in the last quarter of the second century when the

¹ H. M. Gwatkin, *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, p. xix.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. xxv, §§ 17–27, and Document No. 165.

³ Jerome, *Ep.* cxxix, § 3 (*Op.* i. 971; *P. L.* xxii. 1103 sq.).

⁴ Chase, *ap. St. M. Lect.* 133 sqq.

⁵ Souter, 59.

⁶ First mentioned in *Eus. H. E.* ii. xxiii, § 25. ‘Catholic’ means ‘general’, not written to any particular church or individual. In regard to 2 & 3 *John*, it is a misnomer; but, as held to be St. John’s, they are classed with 1 *John* among the Catholic Epistles.

⁷ *Eus. H. E.* viii. ii, § 4, and Document No. 185.

⁸ See the letter of Constantine in *Eus. V. C.* iv, § 36; and Docs., ii, No. 2.

⁹ Canon 59 [*al.* 60]; q.v. in Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*, App. D, No. i, p. 541; Preuschen, *Analecta*, No. 8, pp. 160 sq.; Souter, 195 sq. The list is identical with our N. T., save for the omission of the *Apocalypse*.

¹⁰ q.v. in Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*, App. D, No. xiv, pp. 554 sq.; Preuschen, *Analecta*, No. 4, pp. 144 sqq.; Souter, App. E, pp. 213 sqq.; and Documents, ii, No. 53.

¹¹ Canon 39, q.v. in Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*, App. D, No. ii; Preuschen, No. 9, pp. 162 sq.; Souter, App. K, pp. 220 sq.

Muratorian Fragment speaks of 'the prophets' as 'complete in number'¹ and of books as 'received', or not, 'in the Catholic Church'.² The distance traversed in that century between a sense of having sacred books and an exact appreciation of which they are can best be seen at a glance, by noting the contrast between the vagueness with which Justin refers to 'memoirs of the Apostles'³ and the positiveness with which Irenaeus affirms it to be 'impossible that the Gospels should be in number either more or fewer than four. For since there are four quarters of the globe, and four principal winds, it is natural that the Church should have four pillars'.⁴

§ 5. The Episcopate, like the Creed and the Canon of the New Testament, was consolidated⁵ before the second century had run its course. And in the successions of bishops in their several sees, it was argued, as against the Gnostics, that the Church had her guarantee of Apostolic tradition as to truth.

The Gnostics had treated the Christian Scriptures at will. Thus Marcion mutilated them and acknowledged only an expurgated Gospel of St. Luke and a selection from the Epistles of St. Paul.⁶ Heracleon placed his own interpretations on the Gospel of St. John.⁷ Other Gnostics did not scruple to forge 'Apostolic' writings in the interests of docetism.⁸ These pretensions threw the anti-Gnostic writers back upon an appeal to Apostolic tradition as a thing to be sought naturally with the greater churches which could show, in their successions of bishops, from Apostolic times, security for their inheritance of Apostolic truth. Three stages mark the progress of events which gave this contention force. About the opening of the period now before us, the Apostolic Fathers brought into prominence the ideas for which the Episcopate came to stand. Thus Clement of Rome, c. 95, established the principle of succession⁹; while Ignatius, c. 115,

¹ Line 79, 'conpleto numero', sc. three large and twelve small, the reference being evidently to O. T. 'prophets' as they are contrasted with 'apostles', Souter, 211.

² Il. 66, 68.

³ Justin, *Apol.* i. lxvii, § 3.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xi, § 8; and Document No. 75.

⁵ For the chief sees known to have been in existence, c. 150, see ch. v, § 1, and C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, 109-18, 149-51 (Murray, 1919).

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xxvii, § 2, Document No. 73; see above, ch. viii, § 5.

⁷ See above, ch. viii, § 4.

⁸ e. g. *The Gospel of Peter*; see above, ch. viii, § 1, and Document No. 23.

⁹ Clement, *Ad Cor.* i. xlv, §§ 1-5; Document No. 12; and see above, ch. vi, § 2.

taught 'no bishop, no church',¹ and looked upon the bishop as the guardian of valid sacraments.² About 160-80 we have instances of inquirers travelling from the one end of Christendom to the other in order to satisfy themselves that what they had been taught at home was also the tradition of other churches. Thus Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian of inquiring mind, visited the different churches to see whether the faith delivered by the Apostles was the same in every place. Everywhere he found faith linked with order; and he connects its preservation with the succession first at Corinth and then at Rome, where he compiled a catalogue of the Roman bishops down to Anicetus, 155-†67, and says that, in each succession and in each city, the teaching of the Church is what is 'proclaimed in the Law and the Prophets and by the Lord'.³ In like manner Abercius Marcellus, bishop of Hieropolis, c. 180, made journeys both to Rome and to Nisibis; and naïvely expresses his delight at seeing, between Euphrates and Tigris, as well as on the Tiber, evidence of Baptism and Eucharist in use,⁴ just as he had known them in his native city.

It was about this time, 185-200, that the anti-Gnostic Fathers began to turn this consent of the churches into argument; and, in answer to the claim of their opponents to be in possession of private sources of truth, they appealed to the tradition of the Apostolic churches publicly handed down in their official teaching and practice, under the authority of the bishop in each church. Irenaeus argues that by reason of 'the faithful' who 'resort' to Rome 'from every quarter',⁵ the Roman church is Christendom in miniature; so that the tradition of the churches may be found most easily there.⁶ He scouts the idea of an esoteric tradition⁷ that could be called Apostolic; and he connects the preservation of truth with the succession in the episcopate.⁸ Tertullian contends that, for a guarantee of truth, we must look to churches

¹ Ignatius, *Ad Trall.* iii, § 1: see above, ch. vii, § 3 (a).

² Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.* viii, § 2; Document No. 19; and see above, ch. vii, § 3 (a).

³ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* iv. xxii, § 3; Document No. 63; and see above, ch. iv, § 3.

⁴ Text in E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 25 sq.; text and tr. in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 496; Document No. 64: see above, ch. v, § 1.

⁵ We are not here concerned with the bearing of this famous passage on the Roman claims; but for this see E. Denny, *Papalism*, §§ 496 sqq.

⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii, §§ 1-4; Document No. 74.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. iii, § 1, xv, § 2.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. iv, § 1, iv. xxvi, §§ 2, 5.

with Apostolic founders,¹ and not to the heretics who have no succession.²

Certainly, if it be historically true that 'an invisible but an indissoluble connection will . . . be found to exist between the tenets of ministerial succession and of sacramental grace', so much so that, while 'the first will never be found without the second', 'the second will not long survive the extinction of the first',³ the same, as a matter of historical fact, is true of the dependence of truth for its retention also on the possession of the episcopate. It was a connexion to which appeal could be made in the age of Irenaeus and Tertullian; when 'a sure gift of truth'⁴ was associated with the maintenance of the succession of bishops in their churches. In later ages, after the confusion introduced by the Reformation, the same dependence of Faith upon Order appears again: for, where the episcopate has been lost,⁵ there the full faith of the Creed has been imperilled too.⁶

¹ Tertullian, *De praescr.*, cc. xxi, xxxii; Document No. 95.

² Tert. *De praescr.*, c. xli; Document No. 96.

³ W. E. Gladstone, *Gleanings of Past Years*, iii. 24.

⁴ 'Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet his qui successionem habent ab apostolis . . . qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt,' Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xxvi, § 2; and Document No. 78.

⁵ It was abolished with violence by the Lutherans of Denmark, 1536-7, and rejected with contumely by the Calvinists of Scotland, 1560: see B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, Nos. 131, 132, 132 A, 349, 350.

⁶ On the breakdown of the old protestant orthodoxy, see C. Gore, *Orders and Unity*, 190 sqq.; and W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, 366.

CHAPTER XI

MONTANISM

§ 1. MONTANISM, if we may anticipate its character by way of illustrating its career, wore a twofold aspect.

It began as a reaction from Gnosticism. No sooner had the ferment of Gnosticism shown signs of subsiding than Montanism sprang up as a movement within the Church to reassert those very elements of the Christian life which the Gnostics disparaged. Thus the Gnostics made war on the Old Testament; but Montanism seized upon apocalypse and chiliasm, the one represented in the Old Testament and the other based on it, so as to divert attention from the problems of the present to the prospects of the future. The Gnostics held that the Christian might without offence eat flesh offered in sacrifice to idols and shun persecution, for these things, being of the material order, were indifferent; but Montanism insisted on 'No compromise'. The Montanists, further, substituted ecstasy for knowledge as the means of communion with God. The two movements, in short, were related as intellectualism to revivalism. The one represents the religion of the study and the lecture-room; the other, the religion of the home and the street. And, as the latitudinarians of the eighteenth century were ousted by the evangelicals of that and the early nineteenth, so in the earlier instance of this usual succession. The professorial Christianity of the Gnostic found its nemesis in 'the new prophecy'¹ of Montanus. Such was Montanism at the outset: a reaffirmation of Christian hope, courage, and simplicity against a type of religion that was merely academic.

But before the career of Montanism was run, it proved to be a reaction against mere institutionalism too. By the development of Creed, Canon, and Episcopate in order to rid itself of the Gnostic intruder, the Church of the middle of the second century wore the aspect of a society relying much more on organization

¹ Tertullian claims that 'fidem laborantem resurrectionis carnalis'—faltering because of Gnostics denying it—had been revived 'per novam prophetiam de Paraclete inundantem', *De resurrectione carnis*, c. lxiii.

than hitherto. African Montanism, by the contrast of its own rigorism with the 'laxity' of the Church, succeeded for a time in belittling the organized religion of authority by the side of the 'freer and purer religion' of the Spirit.

§ 2. The authorities for Montanism are, first, a few fragments of, or references to, lost anti-Montanist treatises. The authors of three of these wrote, *c.* 160–80, under Marcus Aurelius. Thus Miltiades¹ of 'Asia', a contemporary of Tatian and possibly, like him, a pupil of Justin,² composed a work against the Montanists in which he endeavoured to show that 'a prophet should not speak in ecstasy'.³ Claudius Apollinaris,⁴ bishop of Hierapolis in succession to Papias, attacked the heresy, according to Eusebius, 'as soon as it began to show its head'⁵ in 'writings' afterwards circulated with approval by Serapion,⁶ bishop of Antioch, 199–†211; and, later on, by synodical action.⁷ Melito, bishop of Sardis,⁸ wrote 'On the conduct of life and the prophets'.⁹ Under Septimius Severus, 193–†211, the Anonymous,¹⁰ 192–3, and Apollonius,¹¹ *c.* 197, from both of whom Eusebius preserves considerable extracts, together with Serapion,¹² entered the lists against Montanism during the period of its decline. The Anonymous and Apollonius attacked it in pamphlets, Serapion in a letter. Secondly, the history and tenets of the sect with a view to its refutation are given in the anti-heretical writers of the second to the fourth century—Irenaeus,¹³ Hippolytus,¹⁴ the

¹ O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 61.

² Hippolytus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxviii, § 4.

³ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν, *Anon. ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvii, § 1.

⁴ O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 61; M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 157–62.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvii.

⁶ Serapion *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xix, § 2.

⁷ Anon. refers to synodical action, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, § 10: a much later authority mentions the share of Apollinaris in it: see extract from the *Libellus Synodicus* of the ninth century in P. Labbe et G. Cossart, *Concilia*, i. 599 (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1671); Mansi, i. 691–4.

⁸ O. Bardenhewer, 62 sqq.; M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 113–25; Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi.

⁹ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν, Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 2.

¹⁰ O. Bardenhewer, 123; M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 183–93; Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, xvii; Document No. 83.

¹¹ O. Bardenhewer, 124; M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 465–72; Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii; Document No. 84.

¹² O. Bardenhewer, 126; M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² i. 449–53; Eus. *H. E.* v. xix.

¹³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xi, § 9.

¹⁴ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, viii, § 19, and Document No. 119.

Pseudo-Tertullian,¹ Epiphanius,² and Philaster³: of whom Epiphanius uses older authorities. On the other hand, the Montanist point of view found an able and irrepressible exponent in Tertullian who went over to Montanism, c. 207; and his Montanist works⁴ consist of *De exhortatione castitatis*, 208–11; *De virginibus velandis*, 208–11; *De pallio*, 209; *De corona militis*, 211; *De fuga in persecutione*, 213; *De monogamia* and *De ieiunio adversus psychicos*, i.e. churchmen, after 213; and *De pudicitia*, 217–22. Finally, we have an old Montanistic writing preserved in the *De Trinitate*⁵ of the blind scholar Didymus, 310–†95, who for more than half a century was head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria⁶; and there is a valuable summary of the tenets of Montanism in the forty-first letter of Jerome.⁷ He wrote it in 384 to the great Roman lady Marcella, who just then spent much of her time in sitting at his feet and some of it in teaching him to keep his temper and mind his manners.⁸

§ 3. Montanism⁹ was a movement of a double character and a double home. As a movement of enthusiasm, it took its rise in Asia. Then, after attracting the attention of the church in Rome, it reappeared in 'Africa' in its later form, as a movement whose main feature was rigorism.

(a) In Asia, Montanus, a native of 'the village of Ardabau in that part of Mysia which borders on Phrygia',¹⁰ became a convert to Christianity. He had formerly been 'priest of an idol'¹¹; and Jerome's jibe at him as only 'half a man'¹² suggests that he had been attached to the orgiastic worship of Cybele. At any rate, Asiatic Montanism was a corybantic form of Chris-

¹ *Adv. omn. haer.* c. vii.

² Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlviii, xlix (*Op.* i. 402–19; *P. G.* xli. 855–82).

³ Philaster (Filaster), *Diversarum haereseon liber* [A. D. 383], § 49 (*C.S.E.L.* xxxviii. 26: ed. F. Marx).

⁴ For these, see H. B. Swete, *Patristic Study*, 61; and, for their dates, S. A. Donaldson, *The Church in North Africa*, 193 sq.

⁵ Didymus, *De Trinitate*, III. xli (*Op.* 445–9; *P. G.* xxxix. 983–90).

⁶ O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 307–9.

⁷ Jerome, *Ep.* xli. (*Op.* i. 188–90; *P. L.* xxii. 474–6); and Doc. No. 207.

⁸ *Ibid.* *Ep.* xxvii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 134; *P. L.* xxii. 432).

⁹ For this account, cf. G. Salmon, s.v. 'Montanus', in *D.C.B.* iii. 935–45; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 192–9; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus* (Erlangen, 1881): see also Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ii. 418–48, and Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 427–33.

¹⁰ Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvi, § 7.

¹¹ Didymus, *De Trinitate*, III. xli, § 3 (*Op.* 449; *P. G.* xxxix. 989 B).

¹² 'Abscisum et semivirum,' Jerome, *Ep.* xli, § 4 (*Op.* i. 190; *P. L.* xxii. 476).

tianity, and racy of Phrygian soil. About the year 157¹ he gave himself out to be a prophet ; and, holding that there is no reason to think of the divine self-revelation as limited to apostles, he taught that under the dispensation of the Spirit whom our Lord had promised to send down upon His Church, a fuller revelation was now to be expected. He looked upon himself as the organ of the Paraclete and charged with this fuller Gospel. In ‘a sort of frenzy and false kind of ecstasy’,² he delivered it in strange utterances which led some to take him for a man possessed by an evil spirit and others to revere him as an inspired prophet.³ His view of inspiration was characteristic.⁴ Treating the relation of a prophet and the God who inspired him as parallel to that between the violin and the bow, he held that the prophet was simply passive under the stroke of the Spirit⁵ ; and consequently that his utterances were in no sense his own but directly those of God Himself. ‘I am come’, he cried, ‘neither as angel nor ambassador but as God the Father’.⁶ Not that Montanus identified himself with God the Father : nor with the Paraclete, when he spoke in the above terms of his relation to the Holy Spirit. He meant to claim authority for his teaching as in no sense his own, but wholly the utterance of God.

These raptures and claims of his were speedily outdone by two ladies⁷ who deserted their husbands⁸ to become his disciples, Prisca, †c. 175, and Maximilla, †c. 179.⁹ Attaching themselves to him as prophetesses, they declared that the mission of Montanus and his followers was to inaugurate the dispensation of the Paraclete. In succession to the era in which the Father had

¹ ‘We could reconcile the authorities by supposing 157 to be the date of the conversion of Montanus, 172 that of his formal condemnation by the Asiatic church authorities.’ So G. Salmon, after a discussion of the chronology, in *D. C. B.* iii. 937.

² Ἐν κατοχῇ τινὶ καὶ παρεκστάσει, Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvi, § 7.

³ *Ibid.*, § 8.

⁴ But not peculiar to himself. The same figure, of the plectrum and the lyre, with its suggestion of a mechanical conception of Inspiration, occurs in Justin, *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, § 8 ; but see B. F. Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*⁶, App. B, p. 423.

⁵ Εὐθὺς γὰρ ὁ Μοντανὸς φησιν, Ἰδοὺ, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα, καὶ γὰρ ἐφίπταμαι ὡσεὶ πληκτρον, ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται καὶ γὰρ γρηγορῶ. Ἰδοὺ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξιστάνων καρδίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδούς καρδίαν ἀνθρώποις, Epiph. *Haer.* xlviii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 405 ; *P. G.* xli. 861 A).

⁶ Εἶτα πάλιν φησὶ . . . Μοντανὸς ὅτι οὔτε ἄγγελος οὔτε πρέσβυς, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἦλθον, *ibid.*, § 11 (*Op.* i. 413 ; *P. G.* xli. 872 D).

⁷ Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvi, § 9.

⁸ Apollonius *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xviii, § 3.

⁹ For the date of Maximilla’s death, see Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvi, § 19, and Dr. McGiffert’s note *ad loc.* (*N. & P.-N. F.* i. 233, n. 32).

been known to the Jews and to that in which the Incarnation had revealed the Son, there was now to come the plenitude of God's revelation of Himself through the Spirit; and of this final revelation Montanus, with Prisca and Maximilla, announced themselves, c. 172, the exponents.¹ They fell into strange ecstasies²; and settled down to await the second Advent, in a community of true saints, at Pepuza and Tymion, two villages of Phrygia, which they called the New Jerusalem.³ Prisca appears to have died while these expectations were running high: for 'after me', declared Maximilla, 'there shall be no prophetess more, but the end.'⁴ Probably Montanus died about the same time, and Maximilla was thus left alone to carry on the community. But not without difficulty. No objection, as yet, appears to have been raised by Catholics against the substance of the Montanistic prophesyings; but the frenzied ecstasy in which they were delivered roused speedy opposition. Sotas, a bishop of Anchialus⁵ in Thrace, on the western shore of the Black Sea, attempted to treat the prophetess Prisca as possessed, and assayed to cast out the demon from her by exorcism, while Zoticus, bishop of Comana in Pamphylia, similarly resisted Maximilla.⁶ Naturally, the Montanists resented the indignity⁷ of thus being ranked with *energumens*. The hierarchy then took concerted measures; and, by the new device of synodical action,⁸ dealt with the situation. Their weapon was probably effective, for all the leading bishops of Asia Minor took part: Maximilla complained, 'I am driven away from the sheep like a wolf: though I am no wolf, but Word, and Spirit and Power'⁹; and the next stage in the history of Montanism is an attempt to get its condemnation by the local episcopate reversed by the intervention of sympathizers oversea.

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* xli, § 4 (*Op.* i. 190; *P. L.* xxii. 476), and Document No. 207.

² Anon. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, § 9.

³ Apollonius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii, § 2; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlviii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 416; *P. G.* xli. 877 A).

⁴ Μετ' ἐμὲ προφῆτις οὐκέτι ἔσται, ἀλλὰ συντελεία, *ibid.*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 405; *P. G.* xli. 857 B).

⁵ Now Ankiolu in Bulgaria.
⁶ Apollonius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xviii, § 13: for this Zoticus, see also v. xvi, § 17.

⁷ Serapion *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xix. § 3.

⁸ Anon. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, § 10. On this passage, no doubt, are based the statements of the *Libellus Synodicus* as to anti-Montanistic synods, *ap.* Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, i. 599. They are accepted by C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, i. 77 sq., but doubted by McGiffert (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. xvi, § 10 *ad loc.*) and G. Salmon *ap.* *D. C. B.* i. 938.

⁹ Anon. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, § 17.

(b) Repulsed in Asia, the Montanists, before the death of Maximilla, endeavoured to make interest in Rome. But Asia had closer connexion, and that of long-standing, with the south of Gaul: and while the martyrs who perished in 177 at Lyons and Vienne were 'still in prison' awaiting their trial, they received an appeal from their kinsfolk in Asia. It is thought by some that they listened sympathetically; and that in the letter which they sent by their presbyter Irenaeus to pope Eleutherus, 171-†85, they interceded on their behalf. But Eusebius, no friend to Montanism, describes their 'decision' in the matter as 'pious and most orthodox'; and speaks of them as writing on the one hand 'to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia', and on the other 'to Eleutherus who was then bishop of the Romans, negotiating for the peace of the churches'.¹ It seems clear that the purport of the letter which the Gallic martyrs sent to pope Eleutherus was to forestall the disturbance to 'the peace of the churches' that might ensue if the church of Rome should, for lack of information or otherwise, lend its countenance to what the bishops on the spot had condemned. The letter, backed by the personal representations of Irenaeus,² already well known to the Roman church, was successful. The popes took no immediate action, except to lend a deaf ear to Montanism. At last, some twenty-five years later, Proclus,³ the leader of one section of the disciples of Montanus, arrived in Rome, and began to publish their doctrines there. Proclus was orthodox in respect of the doctrine of the Trinity; though there was another section of Montanists headed by Aeschines who inclined to Modalism.⁴ This party would probably find itself less suspect in the eyes of pope Zephyrinus, 197-†217, for he had tendencies of his own towards an indiscriminating emphasis on the unity of God.⁵

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. iii, § 4.

² Ibid. v. iv, §§ 1, 2.

³ Probably to be identified with the anti-Gnostic writer, 'Proculus noster, virginis senectae et Christianae eloquentiae dignitas', Tert. *adv. Valentinianos*, c. v.

⁴ 'Privatam autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt Kata Aeschinen hanc habent qua adiciunt etiam hoc, uti dicant Christum ipsum est Filium et Patrem,' Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. vii; cf. Didymus, *De Trinitate*, III. xli, § 1 (*Op.* 445; *P. G.* xxxix. 984 B; Jerome, *Ep.* xli, § 3 (*Op.* i. 189; *P. L.* xxii. 475), and Document No. 207.

⁵ 'Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam haeresim introduxit quam Victorinus corroborare curavit,' Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. viii. 'Victorinus' is, perhaps, a combination of 'Victor' and 'Zephyrinus' (so T. H. Bindley, *ad loc.*; Tert. *de Praescr.*, p. 167), or a confusion; cf. A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, p. xxiv, n. 2.

Proclus, on the other hand, lay open to suspicion : just about the time when Praxeas, the author of Modalism and an opponent of Montanism, came from Asia to Rome and won his way there, with the rulers of the Roman church. For, says Tertullian, writing from the point of view of an opponent of Modalism and a convert to Montanism, Praxeas managed to ' bring off two bits of jobs for the devil in Rome : he drove out prophecy and brought in heresy ; he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father '.¹ In other words, Praxeas successfully put the Roman bishop on his guard against the Montanists of Asia ; and Zephyrinus refused to communicate with them, apparently in the person of Proclus. After this rejection, however, Proclus stood his ground in Rome ; for, a few years later, he held a dispute with the ' learned ' ² Roman presbyter Gaius. Proclus seems to have urged, on behalf of Phrygian prophecy, that Philip and his daughters who had prophesied had lived and died at Hierapolis, where they had their tombs.³ ' Yes ', replied Gaius, ' but in Rome you may see tombs of more importance than theirs : we have " the trophies " ⁴ of Peter and Paul who were apostles greater than Philip.' Much as Wilfrid at the Conference of Whitby, 664, put Colman in his proper place by referring the Roman customs to Peter and Paul, while Colman could only appeal, in support of those which he advocated, to John,⁵ so Gaius would clinch the decision of the Roman church against Montanism by pointing to its possession of the sepulchres of its founders, Peter and Paul. Better, however, than this pitting of tomb against tomb in the disputation, Gaius appealed to the Christian Scriptures. The canon of the New Testament, he alleged, was closed : for this, in effect, is what he meant when, according to Eusebius, ' he curbed the rashness and boldness of his opponents in setting forth new scriptures '.⁶ This was only to reaffirm in discussion what the Roman church had, of late, affirmed officially that ' the prophets were complete in number '.⁷

¹ ' Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit ; prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit ; Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit,' Tert. *Adv. Praxean*, c. i, and Document No. 102.

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xx, § 3.

³ Proclus *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxxi, § 4.

⁴ Gaius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* ii. xxv, § 7. For the fragments of Gaius, see M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 125-34, and Document No. 53.

⁵ Bede, *H. E.* iii. 25 ; cf. W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*³, 225 sq.

⁶ Gaius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xx, § 3.

⁷ ' Pastorem [sc. of Hermas] . . . legi . . . quidem oportet se publicare vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas completum numero, neque inter

A few words may be added as to the effect upon Montanism in Asia of its definite separation from the Church, first by the action of the bishops of Asia and then by the churches of Gaul and Rome. It fell into the hands of lesser men and, under the leadership of Themiso, degenerated towards laxity.¹ Doubtless to this period of its decline the strictures of its critics, the Anonymous and Apollonius, are to be referred. It is obvious that they cannot be taken at their face value. But professional prophecy, taking the field for pay, has from the days of Balaam² and Gehazi,³ invariably offered a target for the taunts of opponents, which are not wholly baseless. Montanism had now become professional prophecy, and its prophets, by contrast with the Catholic clergy who were supported by oblations, a salaried class.⁴ Now, too, in addition to the spirit of 'Judaical localism' characteristic of Montanus and seen in his making of Pepuza the centre of the world's religious life,⁵ his followers developed the 'arrogant' and 'self-righteous temper' of the sectary, which in its 'scorn for the historic church and its ministry',⁶ regarded itself as alone possessed of the prophetic gifts of the Paraclete. Montanists, like Gnostics, alone were 'Spiritual'. Churchmen were simply 'animal' or 'carnal'.⁷ Thus the revivalist came round to the standpoint of the intellectual from which he had revolted at the start; and both, by adopting the principle of an aristocracy of souls, betrayed the pagan origin of their creed.

(c) In Africa, however, Montanism by this time had found a second home. Here it not only took a new lease of life; but, by contrast with its growing disrepute in Phrygia, redeemed

apostolos, in finem temporum potest,' *Muratorian Fragment*, ll. 77-80, and Document No. 117.

¹ Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E. v. xvi*, § 17; Apollonius *ap. Eus. H. E. v. xviii*, § 5.

² 2 Pet. ii. 15, Jude 11, and W. Lock, *The Bible and Christian Life*. 145, 149; quite the best clue to 'Balaam'. ³ 2 Kings v. 20.

⁴ Apollonius *ap. Eus. H. E. v. xviii*, § 2; and for the way in which the Catholic clergy were, at this time, supported, see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, v. iv, § 15.

⁵ Jerome, *Ep. xli*, § 3 (*Op. i.* 189; *P. L.* xxii. 416).

⁶ W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, 42, referring, in part, to the hierarchy of Patriarchs, Stewards, and Bishops—the last only in the third place—which the Montanists set up at Pepuza, 'putting that last', says Jerome, 'which we put first', *Ep. xli*, § 3 *ut sup.*, and Document No. 207. Here for 'cenonas' read, perhaps, 'economos'.

⁷ Μὴ τοίνυν 'ψυχικούς', ἐν ὀνειδούς μέρει, λεγόντων ἡμᾶς οἱ προειρημένοι [*sc.* Valentinians], ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Φρύγες· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς τῇ νέᾳ προφητείᾳ μὴ προσέχοντας 'ψυχικούς' καλοῦσιν, Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv, § 13 (*Op. i.* 219; *P. G.* viii. 1300 c).

its credit and acquired a name for devotion and austerity. This was due to its martyrs, Perpetua and Felicitas with their companions,¹ and to its distinguished convert, Tertullian.

The martyrs perished at Carthage 7 March 203, and their story belongs to the persecution under Septimius Severus, 193–†211. It will be told in that connexion. What interests us now is the way in which they helped the cause of Montanism. Vibia Perpetua was a girl of ‘twenty-two’, ‘married’, and ‘with an infant son at her breast.’ She was ‘of good birth’, and ‘of liberal education’,² for she spoke Greek³ and wrote with her own hand,⁴ in Latin, the record of her visions and sufferings up to the day before her martyrdom.⁵ This *Passio S. Perpetuae* was supplemented with visions, seen and related by Saturus⁶ the priest. He was responsible for the conversion of Perpetua and her company,⁷ and he died with his converts.⁸ The whole was then provided with a preface,⁹ and a description of the final scenes in the arena,¹⁰ by an editor who has been perhaps too readily identified with Tertullian.¹¹ He may have been one of the two deacons¹² of the church of Carthage appointed to attend on Perpetua,¹³ but he was certainly known to her and wrote by her last request.¹⁴ The editor gives as his reason for the publication of her *Passion* that new ‘prophecies’ and ‘visions’ were promised at Pentecost,¹⁵ and that these ‘we receive with a recognition and reverence’ equal to that paid to ‘ancient examples’ of Divine power.¹⁶ He tells how Perpetua, when tossed by the infuriated cow, was ‘in the Spirit and in ecstasy’.¹⁷ He urges that her example not less than any of old time should be read for the edification of the Church, so that new graces may testify to the perpetual activity of that one and the selfsame Spirit to this very day. We may rightly conclude from language of this kind that Perpetua and her companions were Montanists. But they were not schismatics. They were Church Montanists. There are references in

¹ The *Passio S. Perpetuae*, in the original Latin and a Greek translation, is edited by J. A. Robinson in *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 2 (Cambridge, 1891), and there is a free rendering into English in A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*, 87–105.

² *Passio*, § 2.

³ *Ibid.*, § 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 3–10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 11–13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, §§ 17, 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 1, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 14–21.

¹¹ So J. A. Robinson in *Texts and Studies*, i, No. 2, pp. 56 sq.

¹² So C. Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, i. 293, n. 3.

¹³ *Passio*, § 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, § 16.

¹⁵ Acts ii. 17.

¹⁶ *Passio*, § 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, § 20.

their story to prayers for the departed, not for the faithful departed that they may have peace in Paradise but for Dinocrates, Perpetua's little brother who, as having died unbaptized, would according to the opinion of the Church at that time be in hell and so in need of prayer for deliverance thence¹; to baptism, for martyrdom they regarded as a 'second baptism'²; to the Eucharist received on 'folded hands'³; to the *Sanctus*, at that date sung in Greek⁴ at Carthage as also at Rome; and to the kiss of peace.⁵ Moreover, the local clergy were as familiar and dear to them as the sacraments. The deacons of Carthage were officially told off to succour them⁶; and so affectionate an interest did the martyrs feel in the bishop, or 'pope', Optatus, and in Aspasius, the priest whose office it was to give the instructions to catechumens,⁷ like themselves,⁸ that they sent them from prison a sharp rebuke for the bickerings they permitted to exist in the church. Thus the martyrs of Africa revived the credit of Montanism not only by their constancy, but by their association with the Church. They 'continued stedfastly'⁹ with it to the end, and were zealous for its reform.

Tertullian was not less distinguished for zeal; but, on becoming a convert to Montanism, he left the Church and fell into schism. He was a great acquisition to the sectaries; and, in a series of pamphlets, not all of which are extant,¹⁰ he put their case as vigorously as it could be presented. In the *De exhortatione castitatis* and the *De monogamia* he maintains the Montanist view that second marriages are to be utterly banned. In the former he addresses himself to a widowed friend and declares that they are simply fornication.¹¹ In the latter he rejects them with still greater emphasis, partly on the ground of analogy—'We admit but one marriage; just as we confess but one God'¹²—

¹ Ibid., §§ 7, 8; purgatory is not in question here: see A. J. Mason, *Purgatory*, &c., 23, n. 1.

² Ibid., §§ 18, 21.

³ 'Iunctis manibus,' ibid., § 4.

⁴ 'Aius' (= ἄγιος), ibid., § 12.

⁵ Ibid., § 21.

⁶ Ibid., §§ 3, 6.

⁷ 'Papa', 'presbyter doctor', ibid., § 13. The phrase occurs in Cyprian, *Ep.* xxix, where it seems that, as a rule, at Carthage, a presbyter was the 'doctor audientium'; but, owing to a scarcity of clergy, Cyprian says that he had appointed Optatus, one of the Readers, to this office. Cf. J. Bingham, *Ant.* III. x, § 2.

⁸ Ibid. § 2.

⁹ Acts ii. 42.

¹⁰ e. g. the *De ecstasi*, written after 213.

¹¹ 'Non aliud dicendum erit secundum matrimonium quam species stupri,' *De exhort. cast.*, c. ix.

¹² 'Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum,' *De monog.*, c. i.

and partly on the ground of consistency. For if, as all agree, the laity are priests, then they ought to be 'monogamists', i.e. once married, like the clergy.¹ The point is interesting. It shows that, whereas, at that time, married men might be promoted to Holy Orders, yet the clergy were never digamists.² While still a Catholic, Tertullian had maintained, in the *De oratione*, c. 200-6, that Christian virgins³ should be veiled in church.⁴ As a Montanist, in the *De virginibus velandis*, while protesting, with truth, that he held fast to the faith⁵ of the Church, he carried his disciplinary requirement further and insisted that, once they had reached the age of maturity, they ought 'always and everywhere'⁶ to wear the veil. The *De corona militis* is connected with the distribution of an imperial bounty by Septimius Severus, 193-†211, and his two sons Caracalla and Geta who received the dignity of Augustus in 198 and 208-9 respectively. A soldier refused to wear the laurel-wreath customary on such occasions on the ground that he was a Christian⁷; and this incident gave an opportunity to Tertullian to round off a favourite theme of his Catholic days. In the *De spectaculis*, c. 200, he had contended that the public amusements⁸ and in the *De idololatria*, c. 211-12, that art, trade, and public life were so much mixed up with idolatry that Christians were not at liberty to find either relaxation in theatre or amphitheatre or to enter without discrimination upon a career in trade in the liberal professions or in public life.⁹ He now urges, in the Montanist spirit of 'No compromise', though himself a centurion's son,¹⁰ that military service is not open to a Christian; and that the soldier, who declined both wreath and largess and took the consequences, was completely justified.

¹ 'Certe sacerdotes sumus a Christo vocati, monogamiae debitores, ex pristina Dei lege, quae nos tunc in suis sacerdotibus prophetavit,' *ibid.*, c. ix *ad fin.*; cf. c. xi *ad init.*, and *De exh. cast.*, c. vii.

² On this point see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, iv. v, §§ 1, 2.

³ i. e. not 'dedicated virgins', but all unmarried women.

⁴ 'Quid denudas ante Deum [*sc.* in church] quod ante homines tegis [*sc.* in public]! Verecundior eris in publico quam in ecclesia?' *De orat.*, c. xxii. ⁵ *De virg. vel.*, c. i; cf. A. Hahn, *Symbole*³, § 7.

⁶ 'Omni tempore et omni loco,' *De virg. vel.*, c. xvii. *ad fin.*

⁷ *De cor. mil.*, c. i.

⁸ 'Ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare,' *De spect.*, c. iv, a statement which he supports in cc. iv-xiii.

⁹ 'Nulla igitur ars, nulla professio, nulla negotiatio quae quid aut instruendis aut formandis idolis administrat, carere poterit titulo idololatriae,' *D. idol.*, c. xi *ad fin.* On the 'Relation of Christianity to Art', see B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*², 331-74 (Macmillan, 1886).

¹⁰ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liii. (*Op.* ii. 889; *P. L.* xxiii. 661 c).

The wearing of the wreath was definitely one of the rites of idolatry,¹ and, if custom required this as part of military service, then the career of a soldier was not open to a Christian.² A similar spirit of rigorism displays itself in the *De fuga in persecutione*. 'Persecution is the judgment of the Lord. . . . It makes God's servants better.'³ . . . If then we are agreed as to the source from Whom persecution comes . . . it must be our duty not to flee from it.⁴ . . . What comes from God, ought not to be avoided, because He is good. It cannot be evaded, because there is no escape from His will.'⁵ Trenchant as ever, in this contention, Tertullian, in the last pair of his Montanist pamphlets, becomes positively offensive. In the *De ieiunio adversus psychicos*, it is but a small thing that, whereas Montanists are 'spiritual', Catholics are consistently written down as 'animal'. He denounces them, for their moderation in fasting, as gluttons⁶; and does not refrain from such outrageous taunts as that 'with you, love shows its fervour in saucepans, faith its warmth in kitchens, and hope its anchorage in waiters'.⁷ The *De pudicitia* is an equally violent attack on what he considers the laxity of the Roman church under Pope Callistus, 217-†22, in remitting sins against the seventh commandment, after penance done.⁸ 'Such sins, indeed, will be forgiven, but by the Church of the Spirit, through a Spiritual man: not by the Church which consists of a mere battalion of bishops.'⁹

§ 4. We may now take a summary review of Montanism.

(a) Asiatic or African, its common principle lay in its announcement of the new dispensation of the Paraclete, which was not

¹ 'Quale igitur habendum est apud homines Dei veri quod a gentibus, candidatis diaboli, introductum et ipsis [*v. l. ipsi*] a primordio dicatum est?' *De cor. mil.*, c. vii.

² 'Of the early views as to military service' see Tertullian, Note E (*Library of the Fathers*, x. 184-6).

³ 'Domini iudicium est persecutio . . . meliores efficit Dei servos,' *De fuga*, c. i.

⁴ 'Igitur si constat a quo persecutio eveniat . . . fugiendum in persecutione non esse,' *ibid.*, c. iv.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *De ieiunio adv. psychicos*, c. i.

⁷ 'Apud te agape in caccabis fervet, fides in culinis calet, spes in ferculis iacet,' *ibid.*, c. xvii.

⁸ 'Pontifex Maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta paenitentia functis dimitto,' *De pudicitia*, c. i, and Document No. 104.

⁹ 'Et ideo ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia Spiritus per Spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum,' *ibid.*, c. xxi, i. e. the Montanist church, by the mouth of some Montanist prophet.

indeed to contradict but to supersede ¹ that of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament,² and so to be the final stage of Revelation, in view of the nearness of the second Advent. Not custom but 'truth' was its guide in practice,³ and its conception of religion was not static but progressive.⁴

(b) Its relation to the Church, therefore, was somewhat ambiguous.

In doctrine Montanism was no heresy. It is true that the section of Asiatic Montanists who followed Aeschines inclined to Modalism. But Tertullian, the representative of African Montanism, asserted his identity of belief with the Church, and took the field against the Modalist, Praxeas. In the *Adversus Praxean*, written after 213, he charges him with Patripassianism, i.e. with teaching, in effect, that 'the Father . . . was born and the Father suffered'; and then continues: 'We, however, as we indeed always have done (and more especially since we have been better instructed by the Paraclete, who "leads men into all the truth" ⁵), believe that there is only one God but . . . that this one only God has also a Son, His Word . . . who also sent from heaven . . . the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete. . . . And this rule of faith has come down to us from the beginning.'⁶ Tertullian had already made similar profession of loyalty to the common faith of the Church in the *De virginibus velandis* ⁷ of 208-11. And both of these protestations are of value as witness to the Creed of the

¹ 'Dicens enim [Dominus], "Adhuc multa habeo quae loquor ad vos, sed nondum potestis portare ea, cum venerit Spiritus sanctus, ille vos ducet in omnem veritatem" (John xvi. 12 sq.), satis utique praetendit ea acturum illum quae et nova existimari possint, ut nunquam retro edita, et aliquando onerosa, ut idcirco non edita,' Tert. *De monog.*, c. ii.

² Tertullian, for instance, held that as the imperfections of the Old Covenant were tolerated 'for the hardness of men's hearts' and then superseded by our Lord (cf. Mark x. 5; Deut. xxiv. 1-4), so allowance was made for 'infirmity of the flesh' under the New Covenant till a stricter morality came to be required under the dispensation of the Spirit. 'Regnavit duritia cordis usque ad Christum, regnaverit et infirmitas carnis usque ad Paracletum. Nova lex abstulit repudium (habuit quod auferret) nova prophetia secundum matrimonium, non minus repudium prioris,' *De monogamia*, c. xiv.

³ 'Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem, cognominavit,' *De virg. vel.*, c. i.

⁴ 'Quid est ergo [sc. in consequence of John xvi. 12] Paracleti administratio nisi haec, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod scripturae revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficetur?' *ibid.*, c. i.

⁵ John xvi. 13.

⁶ *Adv. Praxean*, c. ii; A. Hahn, *Symbole*, § 7.

⁷ *De virg. vel.*, c. i; A. Hahn, *Symbole*, § 7.

Church of Africa,¹ as it stood at the opening of the third century. But Tertullian did more than accept the current orthodoxy. He shaped all subsequent Latin theology.² He contributed indirectly to the moulding of the phrase 'Of one substance with the Father' into its final meaning in the East.³ And owing to the accident that, while Huldreich Zwingli was promoting the reformation in Zürich, one of the earliest of patristic texts to issue from the press of Johann Froben at Basel was the works of Tertullian, edited by Beatus Rhenanus⁴ in 1521, Tertullian has exercised an influence on protestant orthodoxy, so far as it is of Swiss lineage,⁵ second only to that which he established over the development of the theology of the Church. Montanism, then, may have gone beyond, but it did not abandon, the belief of the Church. It was no heresy.

But, in the matter of order, relations were not so happy. Montanism is the first schism on record. And after its repudiation by the bishops of Asia and Rome and by the martyrs of Gaul, it came into conflict with the Church in three points.

First, in regard to the manner of revelation. It was agreed by churchmen and Montanists alike that 'prophecy was a gift which should continue in the whole Church to the end of time'.⁶ But, according to her conception of prophecy, the Church held it an objection to Montanism *in lumine* that the Montanist prophets spoke either in ecstasy or in parecstasy,⁷ i.e. in false

¹ A. Hahn, *op. cit.*, § 44.

² Athanasius, *Select Works*, ed. A. Robertson (*N. & P.-N. F.*, vol. iv), p. xxiv.

³ J. F. Bethune-Baker, *The meaning of Homoousios in Texts and Studies*, vol. vii, No. i, pp. 23 sq. (Cambridge, 1905).

⁴ Bild, of Schlettstadt, 1485-†1547, whose family came from Rheinau in the Canton of Zürich. He was a correspondent of Zwingli [see B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No. 180] and a fellow-humanist [*ibid.*, No. 28].

⁵ e. g. 'Sed [*sc.* the opponent will say] quod non prohibetur, ultro permissum est. Immo [*replies Tert.*] prohibetur quod non ultro est permissum,' *De cor. mil.*, c. ii *ad fin.* The former part of the sentence became, in the matter of ceremonial and Church government, the rule of Catholic and Lutheran in the sixteenth century: see Kidd, *Documents*, No. 52; the latter became the rule of the Reformed, whether Continental, *ibid.* Nos. 170, 260, 261, 277, 284, 291, 295, 301, 305, Scots, *ibid.*, No. 351, or English Puritan, cf. R. Hooker, *E. P.* II. i, § 2, and his rejection of Tertullian's rule, *ibid.* II. v, § 7. For a similar sentence dominating first Catholic and then Reformed, cf. 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, "Hoc est corpus meum" dicendo, id est figura corporis mei,' Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, iv, c. 40.

⁶ Miltiades *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvii. 4.

⁷ Anon. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xvi, §§ 7, 9.

kind of ecstasy that was simulated or artificially induced. There seems to have been some division of opinion among Catholics as to the mode in which inspiration should operate: nor to this day has the Church any theory on that point; she is only committed to belief in the fact that 'the Holy Ghost . . . spake by the prophets'.¹ Miltiades, for instance, maintained that ecstasy was wholly to be condemned, and that if one speak in ecstasy he is no true prophet.² This test would seem to be in accordance with the distinction observable in Holy Scripture between prophecy and divination. The prophets, whether of the Old or the New Covenant, remained conscious under inspiration; and 'the spirits of the prophets' were, as St. Paul reminded the Corinthians, 'subject to the prophets'.³ Balaam, on the other hand, who prophesied in a trance,⁴ was a 'soothsayer'.⁵ But Tertullian defended trance⁶ and urged in reply, that St. Peter on the mount of Transfiguration spoke as in a trance 'not knowing what he said',⁷ and certainly St. Paul, when caught up into Paradise, had revelations made to him under conditions of trance.⁸ The Church therefore fell back upon the contention that what was wrong was frenzy: and Montanism was no true prophecy but heathen divination.

Second, in regard to the completeness of the Christian revelation. Here the opponents of Montanism were on much safer grounds, for the test of true prophecy lay not merely in the mode of its inspiration but in its conformity with apostolic truth as well.⁹ The closing of the Canon of the New Testament already in process enabled churchmen to refuse a place to the effusions of Montanist prophets on the score that the prophetic succession¹⁰

¹ 2 Pet. i. 21, and 'Nicene' Creed.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xvii, § 1.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 32; cf. verse 19.

⁴ Num. xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16.

⁵ Joshua xiii. 22; cf. Num. xxiii. 3, xxiv. 1. He 'divined for money' (Mic. iii. 11), and what he wanted but did not know how to get, without forcing his conscience, was 'the rewards of divination' (Num. xxii. 7).

⁶ A Montanist sister had visions, after Tertullian's sermon, in church, and he quotes these as authoritative, *De anima*, c. ix, and Document, No. 100.

⁷ Luke ix. 33. "Nesciens quid dicerit." Quomodo nesciens? Utrumne simplici errore, an ratione qua defendimus [*sc.* in his *De ecstasi*] in causa novae prophetiae gratiae ecstasin, id est amentiam, convenire? In spiritu enim homo constitutus, praesertim cum gloriam Dei conspicit, vel cum per ipsum Deus loquitur, necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina, de quo inter nos [*sc.* Montanists] et psychicos [*sc.* Catholics] quaestio est,' Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, iv, c. 22.

⁸ 2 Cor. xii. 1-3.

⁹ Jerome, *Ep.* xli, § 2 (*Op.* i. 189; *P. L.* xxii. 475). Document No. 207.

¹⁰ The cessation of the succession of prophetic individuals is a different thing from the 'withdrawal of gift or cessation of prophecy; what we see in the history of the Church's life is neither of these things—it is a develop-

had ceased. Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia were the last of their kind,¹ and now *The Shepherd* had been rejected because it was recognized that 'the prophets were complete in number'.² No addition to the subject-matter of revelation, therefore, could be entertained. For while our Lord provided for the increasing apprehension of His truth under the guidance of His Spirit,³ He had, nevertheless, delivered to His Apostles not merely the truth but the whole truth.⁴ Montanism stood for the legitimacy of accretive developments. But the Church admitted explanatory development alone.⁵

And hence a third point of collision between Montanism and the Church, in regard to the contents of revelation. The Montanist developments were all in the direction of rigorism; and this, no doubt, is what attracted Tertullian to the sect. We have seen him insisting on the veiling of all unmarried women; on the duty of shunning heathen amusements and of giving up part or lot in any trade or profession connected with idolatry; on the sinfulness of flight from persecution and of second marriage. He also maintained that for 'sins unto death',⁶ by which he meant apostasy, murder, and incest,⁷ there is no forgiveness after baptism. For much of this programme he would have had considerable support among his fellow-churchmen. But, according to Jerome,⁸ the matters of discipline on which Montanists carried austerity to a point of which churchmen disapproved, were that the sect forbade second marriage, set up new fasts and—in pursuance of its policy of disparaging the episcopate by contrast with

ing capacity to contain and to express the Spirit in congruously spiritual ways. "The prophetic spirit must continue in the whole church": the more it is the energy of the Church as a whole, the less will it be distinguishable as the exceptional possession of any one member of the Church. The prophetic gift diffused in the Church is, in a sense, the antithesis of the prophet as an individual', H. J. Wotherspoon, *The ministry in the Church*, 203.

¹ Miltiades *ap. Eus. H. E. v. xvii*, §§ 2-4. Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. lxxxii, and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer. v. vi*, § 1, *ap. Eus. H. E. v. vi*, § 6, both speak of the continuance of prophetic gifts in their day. Origen, on the other hand, denies altogether that there were 'in the days of Celsus', as that opponent of Christianity affirmed, 'any prophets like those of old time.' Origen, *contra Celsum*, vii, § 11 (*Op. i. 702*; *P. G. xi. 1437 A*).

² *Muratorian Canon*, ll. 77-80.

³ John xvi. 12, 13

⁴ John i. 17; xiv. 6, 26.

⁵ For these terms, and the statement here made, see H. P. Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord*¹¹, 435 sq.

⁶ 1 John v. 16.

⁷ *De pudicitia*, c. xix, and Acts xv. 29, omitting καὶ πνικτῶν.

⁸ Jerome, *Ep. xli*, § 3 (*Op. i. 189*; *P. L. xxii. 475 sq.*): Document No. 207.

its own hierarchy—reserved the power of forgiveness to ‘Spiritual’ men. As to second marriages, Catholics, says Jerome, ‘do not encourage them: but they allow them, because Paul bids “the younger widows to marry”’¹: whereas Montanists ‘suppose a repetition of marriage to be a sin so awful that he who has committed it is to be regarded as an adulterer’. In respect of fasting, the Church of Tertullian’s time regarded no fast as obligatory but that which it held to have been instituted by our Lord Himself for ‘the days when the bridegroom shall be taken away’.² Thus they kept a Lent of forty hours of unbroken fasting from the hour of our Lord’s death on the cross at 3 p.m. on Good Friday to the hour of His rising again early on Easter morning; no bath and no food was taken; and, as now, no Consecration³ was held possible because then the Church was thinking of her Lord as dead. This primitive Lent of forty hours of continuous fasting had become, by Jerome’s day, a Lent of forty days of intermittent fasting⁴: and, according to him, the Montanists kept three such fasts in the year (Tertullian says two⁵), ‘as though three Saviours had suffered’.⁶ Further, in Tertullian’s time, the Church kept its ‘Station’-days, Wednesday and Friday.⁷ And again, any bishop was wont, at discretion, to order a special day of fasting, the money thus saved being paid over to the church funds: so that fasting was recognized as an occasion for almsgiving and an expedient of church-finance.⁸ At such fasts Catholics fasted only till the ninth hour, when our Lord died upon the cross,⁹ i.e. they refrained from *prandium*, *déjeuner*, or breakfast, but took *cena* or dinner. Montanists, on the contrary, kept up the fast till nightfall, the hour of our

¹ 1 Tim. v. 14.

² Mark ii. 20. ‘Certe in evangelio illos dies ieiuniis determinatos putant in quibus ablati sunt sponsus: et hos esse iam solos legitimos ieiuniorum Christianorum,’ Tert. *De ieiunio*, c. ii.

³ Hence the Mass of the Pre-sanctified, in the Roman rite on Good Friday: the present Mass on Easter Even is really the Mass of the Vigil of Easter anticipated. Communion, but not consecration, is possible on these days.

⁴ Cf. the fifth canon of the Co. of Nicaea, and W. Bright, *Canons*², 18 sqq.

⁵ ‘Duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet sabbatis et dominicis, offeremus Deo,’ Tert. *De ieiunio*, c. xv.

⁶ Jerome, *Ep.* xli, § 3 (*Op.* i. 189; *P. L.* xxii. 475); Document No. 207.

⁷ ‘Stationum . . . quartae feræ et sextae,’ Tert. *De ieiunio*, c. ii.

⁸ ‘Bene autem quod et episcopi universae plebi mandare ieiunia adsolent, non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestrae capturae est, sed interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticae causa,’ Tert. *De ieiunio*, c. xiii.

⁹ Tert. *De ieiunio*, c. x.

Lord's burial.¹ They took neither *prandium* nor *cena*; but late in the evening, a supper of water only, dry bread, and the driest of fruits and vegetables. All this they made into an iron rule.² The Church, on the other hand, refused to exalt ascetic practices into first principles, and stood out for freedom. Good in themselves, and permissible for some, austerities such as these were not to be made matter of revelation and so binding on all. We do not know whether, in resisting Montanist inroads on liberty, the Church acquired any insight into the meaning of Montanist revolt against the hierarchy; nor how far she learned the lesson that externals, whether of organization or of discipline, *can* become form without Spirit. But Montanism served a purpose, so far as it brought to light the danger of institutionalism, growing *pari passu* with moral laxity.

§ 5. The significance of Montanism has sometimes been sought in the supposition that it represents a reaction in favour of an originally 'enthusiastic' Christianity untrammelled by organization.³ But this is to beg the question of the character of primitive Christianity: and there is no evidence to show either that Spirit to the exclusion of body was its distinguishing mark, or that Montanism was consciously an attempt to recover the past. On the contrary, Montanism, like Modernism, was contemptuous of the past; concentrated upon the present; and confident of the future. Its strength, like that of Modernism, lay in its grasp of the idea of Christianity as part of a progressive revelation. But, in the apprehension of this idea, it was both one-sided and premature. So Montanism gradually disappeared, after its condemnation by the churches of East and West, *c.* 180. About 230 a synod of Iconium⁴ decreed that converts from 'those who

¹ Ibid.

² 'Arguant [*sc.* Catholics] nos [*sc.* Montanists] quod ieiunia propria custodiamus, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producimus, quod etiam xerophagias observemus, siccantes cibum ab omni carne et omni iurulentia et uvidioribus quibusque pomis, nec quid vinositatis vel edamus vel potemus: lavacri quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido victui,' Tert. *De ieiunio* 1; and Document No. 103.

³ 'Die Montanisten sind die Altgläubigen. Als daher seit der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts die Bedingungen der äussern Lage für die Christenheit sich änderten und die Kirche durch wirklichen Eintritt in die römische Gesellschaft einer Weltmission im Grossen sich zuwandte, aus einer Gemeinde von religiösen Enthusiasten zu einem staatlichen Rechtsverband wurde, da wollten sie die ursprünglichen Lebensformen der Kirche bewahren und verlangten Umkehr zur apostolischen Einfachheit und Reinheit,' A. Harnack, as summarized by G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*, 14.

⁴ Hefele, *Councils*, i. 89.

receive the new prophets but appear to adore the same Father and the same Son as ourselves' should not be received into the Church without rebaptism,¹ in spite of their orthodoxy. In the fourth century, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem,² 350–†86, and Epiphanius³ make vile and baseless charges against them, and Basil, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 370–†9, accuses them of 'blasphemy against the Holy Ghost'. He supposed, though mistakenly, that Montanists regarded their founder as an incarnation of the Holy Spirit, and 'baptised into the Father and the Son and Montanus'.⁴ Epiphanius, on the other hand, pronounces them orthodox on the doctrine of the Trinity.⁵ The so-called seventh canon, however, of the Council of Constantinople, 381, refused to regard them as Christians.⁶ And the *Code of Theodosius* testifies to their continuance,⁷ while providing for their extinction by its penal laws.⁸ In Africa they had disappeared by the time of Optatus, bishop of Milevum,⁹ c. 370; and elsewhere by the sixth century.¹⁰

¹ So Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 232–†64, in his letter to Cyprian: 'Plane quoniam quidam de eorum baptismo dubitabant qui, etsi novos prophetas recipiunt, eosdem tamen Patrem et Filium nosse nobiscum videntur, plurimi simul convenientes in Iconio diligentissime tractavimus et confirmavimus repudiandum esse omne omnino baptismum quod sit extra ecclesiam constitutum,' Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv, § 19 (ed. G. Hartel, *C. S. E. L.* iii. 822 sq.); cf. *ibid.*, § 7.

² viz. the charge of 'ritual child-murder' once made, as Cyril notes, against Christians, *Catech. Ill.* xvi, § 8 (*Op.* 247; *P. G.* xxxiii. 929 A).

³ Epiph. *Haer.* xlviii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 416; *P. G.* xli. 878 c).

⁴ Basil, *Ep.* clxxxviii, can. 1 (*Op.* iv. 269; *P. G.* xxxii. 668 A, B).

⁵ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlviii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 402; *P. G.* xli. 856 B).

⁶ W. Bright, *Canons*², &c., xxiv. 121 sqq.

⁷ For this, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlviii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 416; *P. G.* xli. 877 A); and Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. xxxii, § 6, who, writing about 430, says that though reduced by persecution elsewhere, under Constantine [*ibid.*, §§ 1, 2], there were still plenty in Phrygia and the neighbourhood.

⁸ e. g. *Omnes omnino* of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 10, of 20 June 383); *Eunomianae* of Arcadius and Honorius (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 34, of 4 March 398); *Quid de Donatistis* of the same (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 40, of 22 February 407); *Montanistas* of Honorius and Theodosius II (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 48, of 21 February 410); and *Montanistas* of the same (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 57, of 31 October 415).

⁹ Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum*, i, § 9 (ed. C. Ziwsa, *C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 11); so Aug. *De Haeresibus* [A. D. 428], § 86 (*Op.* viii. 24 F, G; *P. L.* xlii. 46).

¹⁰ G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*, 173.

CHAPTER XII

APOLOGISTS AND THEOLOGIAN

WE have now to consider the Apologists and the Theologians of the second century. In the conflict with paganism, whether of society and the State or of the Gnostics, they prepared the way for the ultimate victory of the Church.

I

And, first, the Apologists, omitting those whose writings survive only in fragments.

§ 1. In order of time, the Apologists, so far as their dates can be approximately ascertained, may be taken as eight in number (for Clement is best reckoned with the Catechetical school of Alexandria) and arranged as follows : (1) Aristides, *c.* 140, and (2) the author—if Aristides was not the author—of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, *c.* 140 ; (3) Justin, *c.* 150–5 ; his pupil (4) Tatian, *c.* 165 ; (5) Athenagoras,¹ 177 ; (6) Theophilus, *c.* 180 ; (7) Minucius Felix, *c.* 180, and (8) Tertullian, *c.* 200. The contents of their several works have, for the most part, been indicated² as each appeared, under Antoninus Pius, 138–†61, or Marcus Aurelius, 161–†80. But the apologetic writings of Tertullian remain to be noticed. They are the *Ad nationes*³ of 197, in which he begins by showing in Book I that the accusations levelled against the Christians are true rather of the heathen, and then proceeds in Book II to ridicule the heathen belief in the gods ; and *The Apology*,⁴ also of 197, dependent, in some measure, upon the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. In this, the most drastic and famous of the Christian apologies, Tertullian begins by claiming [c. i] that it is unjust to condemn the Christian religion unheard, for [c. ii] the mere name

¹ The text of Aristides, Justin, Tatian, and Athenagoras is contained in *Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. L. J. Goodspeed (Göttingen, 1915) ; and there are translations in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* : Tatian, vol. iii ; Athenagoras, vol. ii ; Theophilus, vol. iii.

² *Supra*, cap. ix.

³ Text in Tertullian, *Opera*, i. 59–133 (*C.S.E.L.*, vol. xx) ; tr. in *The writings of Tertullian*, i. 416–506 (= *A.-N.C.L.* xi).

⁴ Text, with introduction and notes, in T. H. Bindley, *The Apology of Tertullian* (Clar. Press, 1889) ; tr. in T. H. Bindley, *The Apology of Tertullian* (Parker & Co., 1890), or *A.-N.C.L.* xi. 53–140.

of 'Christian' is made a crime [c. v]. It is the worst Emperors¹ who are responsible for this. But let that pass, and let us proceed to the refutation of the principal accusations you bring against us. [cc. vii-ix] There are secret crimes—infanticide, a feast of blood, and incest; and then open crimes—[cc. x-xxvii] sacrilege and [cc. xxviii-xxxviii] disloyalty²; besides minor charges such as [c. xxxix] an objectionable worship,³ [cc. xl-xli] the calamities we are supposed to bring on the Empire, and [cc. xlii-xlv] the damage we do to trade. We are [cc. xlvi-xlviii] taken for a school of philosophy, yet refused the liberty conceded to philosophers. Why, then, in conclusion, [cc. xlix-l] do you blame us for holding opinions which are at least harmless, if not actually beneficial? And how is it that, for all your injustice to us, you cannot prevent us from continually attracting new converts by our sufferings and our example? The *Apology* was presently followed up by the *De testimonio animae*,⁴ 197-200—an appendix intended to justify one of its famous epigrams to the effect that the testimony of the unsophisticated conscience of mankind is naturally in favour of the Christian religion.⁵ Next came the *Adversus Iudaeos*,⁶ between 200-6. It was called forth by a discussion between a Christian and a proselyte to Judaism⁷; and was intended to show that the grace of God had been offered to the Gentiles, only after it had been deliberately rejected by the Jews. Finally, in 212, Tertullian addressed the brief letter, *Ad Scapulam*,⁸ to a persecuting pro-consul of Africa of that name, in order to remind him of the judgements that had overtaken persecutors in times gone by. Such was the output of Tertullian as apologist. Minucius and he were the only Latin apologists of the second century: their predecessors all having written in Greek.

§ 2. Attempts have been made to classify the Apologists.⁹ They are instructive but not entirely successful. Thus if the

¹ See Document No. 87.

² See Documents Nos. 90-91.

³ See Document No. 92.

⁴ Text in Tertullian, *Opera* (edd. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa), i. 134-43; tr. in *Writings*, i. 36-45 (= A.-N. C. L. xi), or in T. H. Bindley, *Tertullian on the testimony of the soul, &c.*, in 'Early Church Classics' (S.P.C.K., 1914).

⁵ *Apol.*, c. xvii, and Document No. 88.

⁶ Text in Tertullian, *Opera* (ed. F. Oehler, Lipsiae, 1854), ii. 699-741; tr. in *Writings*, iii. 201-58.

⁷ Tert. *Adv. Iudaeos*, c. i.

⁸ Text in Tert. *Op.*, i. 539-50 (ed. F. Oehler); with introduction and notes in T. H. Bindley; Tertullian, *De praescr. haeret. &c.*, 123-42; and tr. in *Writings*, i. 46-52.

⁹ C. T. Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist. of early Christianity*, i. 277 sq.

Apologists are distributed into two classes, according as they addressed themselves to the Government or to the educated public, Justin and Tertullian will belong to both.¹ If, again, they are arranged according as they took up the challenge of Jew or of heathen, Justin and Tertullian will again be found in both lists²; though this classification corresponds, as might be expected, to a real difference of method. If, once more, they are divided according to whether they conceive of the relation between God and man as an essential kinship progressively manifesting itself up to the Incarnation of our Lord, or as a relation broken off and then as suddenly restored by that event, these rival conceptions correspond to a difference in temper between East and West. For Justin,³ Athenagoras,⁴ and Clement⁵ represent the tendency characteristic of Eastern Apologists and Theologians, to make the most of what Christianity has in common with other religions: while the tendency of Tertullian,⁶ the typical Apologist and Theologian of Western Christendom, is to lay stress on 'the distinctiveness and finality of the Christian creed'.⁷

§ 3. The task of the Apologists⁸ was to meet and defeat antagonistic forces in the anti-Christian environment of their day. These, in the main, were four: Judaism, philosophy, paganism, and the state.

(a) Judaism⁹ was usually of the popular and fanatical type.

Already, by the time of St. Paul's arrival in Rome, the dislike of the Jews to Christians was a force to be reckoned with. 'As concerning this sect, it is known to us that everywhere it is spoken against.'¹⁰ But such dislike had not yet passed into organized hostility. 'We neither received letters from Judaea concerning thee, nor did any of the brethren come hither and report or speak

¹ Justin, by his *Apology* and his *Discourse against the Greeks*, mentioned in Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. xviii, § 3, but now lost: Tertullian, in his *Apology* and his *Ad Nationes*.

² Justin, by his *Dialogue with Trypho* and his *Apology*: and Tertullian by his *Adv. Iudaeos* and his *Apology*, &c.

³ e. g. Justin, *Apol.* i. xlvi, §§ 1-3, and Document No. 41; cf. John i. 9.

⁴ e. g. Athenagoras, *Legatio*, §§ 7, 9.

⁵ e. g. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. v, § 28, and Document No. 108.

⁶ e. g. Tert. *Apol.* xlvi and *De praescr. haeret.*, c. vii, and Document No. 93.

⁷ R. L. Ottley, *The Incarnation*, i. 207 (Methuen, 1896).

⁸ Cf. W. Bright, *Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, c. v (Longman, 1898), and C. T. Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist. of early Christianity*, i. 257-276, to which § 3 is much indebted.

⁹ On the conflict with Judaism, see T. R. Glover, *The conflict of Religions in the early Roman Empire*, c. vi.

¹⁰ Acts xxviii. 22.

any harm of thee.' ¹ By the time, however, that the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel were written, 'the Jews', ² as such, were counted as hostile and as 'the synagogue of Satan'. ³ Not without cause. For they took a leading part in inciting the populace against the Christians, as at the martyrdom of Polycarp. ⁴ Justin speaks of them as 'the authors of that evil opinion which men entertain of the Just One, and of us His followers'. ⁵ And Tertullian singles out 'the synagogues of the Jews', along with the Public Shows, ⁶ as 'the well-springs of persecutions'. ⁷

But not all Jewish opposition was fanatical. Sometimes it emanated from the educated and liberal Jew, of whom Trypho, the opponent of Justin, is the type. The court of appeal, in this controversy, was naturally the Old Testament, and, with the Christian disputant, the prophets in particular. For the main points on which the Apologists rest their case, we may take as typical the argument of Justin, in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. ⁸ For though there were other anti-Judaic Apologies, e. g. the *Epistle to Diognetus* ⁹ and Tertullian's *Adversus Iudaeos*, the case as a whole is most fully presented by Justin. After [§§ 1-9] a scenic introduction, at Ephesus, ¹⁰ in which Justin comes across Trypho, and tells the story of his own conversion, Trypho begins by propounding [§ 10] his objections to 'the Gospel'. He dismisses the common talk against Christians as 'not worthy of credit', and then raises two difficulties. 'What chiefly perplexes us', he says, 'is that you Christians profess to serve

¹ Acts xxviii. 21.

² John i. 19, &c. 'The general use of the term "the Jews" for the opponents of Christ . . . belongs . . . to the position of an apostle at the close of the first century,' B. F. Westcott, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, p. x a (Murray, 1882).

³ Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9, where it means 'those who insisted on their literal descent and ceremonial position, and claimed the prerogatives of Israel outside the Church. Such false-styled Jews were the worst enemies of the Gospel; and a Christian writing at the close of the century could not but speak of the people generally by the title which characterised them to his contemporaries', *ibid.* p. x b.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, c. ix.

⁵ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 17.

⁶ Tert. *De spectaculis*, c. xxvii.

⁷ 'Synagogas Iudaeorum fontes persecutionum', Tert. *Scorpiae*, c. x.

⁸ For an analysis of the argument see Justin, *Opera* ³, i. i, pp. lxxxv-xc (ed. I. C. T. de Otto: Ienae, 1876); *D. C. B.* iii. 571, and O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 51 sq.; tr. *L. F.*, vol. 40; *A.-N. C. L.*, vol. ii.

⁹ He attacks the Jews in c. iii for their system of material sacrifices, just like those of the heathen, except that they are offered not to idols but to the true God, and in c. iv for their ridiculous customs concerning meats, sabbath, circumcision, fasting, new moon, &c.

¹⁰ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xviii, § 6.

God and yet (a) both break His Law and (b) 'put your trust in a crucified man'. Justin's reply falls into three parts, in the first of which [§§ 11-47] he challenges Trypho's conception of the permanent obligation of the Law; in the second [§§ 48-108], he affirms the Divinity of our Lord (which entitled Him to abrogate the Law), and shows how it is consistent with monotheism; while, in the third [§§ 109-142], he points to its consequences in the conversion of the Gentiles and their admission, free of the Law, into the Christian Church. As the argument proceeds, four points emerge as those upon which the author rests his case. First, the succession of covenants,¹ [§ 11] from that of Moses² to the New Covenant anticipated by Jeremiah³: or in Justin's words, 'the Law given at Horeb has become obsolete, and was for you Jews only: but the new law of which I speak is for all men alike', and this is his answer to Trypho's charge of impiety on the part of Christians towards God, based on the supposed permanence of the Law. Second, the two Advents; for, as to our Lord being man, it was foretold that [§ 14] He should come in humility before 'his second Advent when He shall appear in glory'. Third, the indications throughout the Old Testament of there being a plurality of Persons⁴ within the Godhead and the fulfilment of these indications in Jesus and in Jesus only. They suggest His inclusion within the Godhead, and this is sufficient to show that the Crucified in whom Christians trust is no mere man. [§ 63] 'He is to be worshipped, and is God': or [§ 76], as Daniel says, 'one like the Son of Man',⁵ yet 'not a human production': for the prophecies [§ 83], such as 'Sit thou on my right hand'⁶ are fulfilled, not in Hezekiah, as Trypho would have it, but in 'our Jesus, who, though He has not yet come in glory, has sent forth . . . the word of calling and repentance to all nations'. Fourth and last, the abrogation of the claim of Israel to be the exclusive people of God in favour of us [§ 119], 'another people' who are now [§ 123] the 'Israel of God',⁷ the former Israel having

¹ Cf. 'Whose are the covenants,' Rom. ix. 4.

² Exod. xix. 5, 6.

³ Jer. xxxi. 31-4; cf. Luke xxii. 20; 2 Cor. iii. 6; Heb. viii. 8-12, x. 16.

⁴ e. g. § 56, where he notes the change in Gen. xviii from plural ('three men', verse 2) to singular ('he', verse 10): see also §§ 59, 61, and 62 on 'Let us make man' of Gen. i. 26. But to 'regard the plural as expressing a plurality of Persons in the Godhead and so, as suggesting . . . the doctrine of the Trinity . . . is to anticipate a much later stage in the history of revelation'. It is rather 'a plural of majesty', S. R. Driver, *Genesis*, ad loc.

⁵ Dan. vii. 13, and Document No. 48.

⁶ Ps. cx. 1.

⁷ Gal. vi. 16.

[§ 136] 'not received the Christ of God' and so having passed away.

Justin and his fellow-apologists were sometimes at a disadvantage in argument through their ignorance of Hebrew: and Trypho could reply, as, no doubt, Jews frequently did reply, 'What you say is not *in*, or is not *so* in the original'. The Scripture, for instance [§ 61], does not say 'behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son', but 'behold, a young woman shall conceive'¹: where, of course, the scholarship of to-day would side with the Jewish, and not with the Christian, exponent. The Apologists, by way of rejoinder, could only charge their adversaries with [§ 71] ignoring the Septuagint, or with mutilating it. We are not surprised that, with this temper of suspicion on either side, the controversy made little progress. Further, the Apologists imported much fancifulness into their interpretation: they found [§§ 86-90] the Cross, for instance, in almost every situation of the Old Testament.² Yet for all this, they struck out the main lines of Old Testament exegesis, on principles still accepted as sound: and if, for example, in their use [§§ 98-107] of the twenty-second Psalm, they reached what we should consider right and spiritual conclusions by methods which we should regard as strained, it is the conclusions that matter and not the devious paths by which they are reached. The Apologists, after all, only followed along the path of interpretation taken by St. Paul; who, in his turn, did but wrest the weapon of allegorism³ out of the hands of his teachers and contemporaries, the Rabbis, and then wield it to their confusion.

(b) Philosophy, or the attempt of the human spirit to win its own way to truth, was the second of the adverse forces with which the Apologists had to cope.

There was much in common between Greek philosophers on the one hand and Hebrew prophets and Christian apostles on the other. St. Paul, for example, when he says that 'the Gentiles', though they 'have no law . . . are a law unto themselves',⁴ is borrowing, perhaps without knowing it, from Aristotle.⁵ He is able to find in the thought of the poet Aratus that 'we are also His offspring',⁶ an argument from the spiritual nature of man which should convince the Epicureans and Stoics of Athens of the folly of

¹ Isa. vii. 14, and Document No. 47.

³ Gal. iv. 24.

⁴ Rom. ii. 14.

² e. g. §§ 86, 90, 91.

⁵ Aristotle, *Ethics*, iv. viii, § 9.

⁶ Acts xvii. 28.

'thinking that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art and device of man'.¹ In claiming that he has 'learnt, in whatever state I am, therein to be content',² he is adopting at least the language of the Stoics about self-sufficiency. Such kinship between Christianity and philosophy the Apologists freely recognized. They spoke of philosophers as Christians before Christ. 'We are taught', says Justin, 'that Christ is the Word' [or Divine Reason] 'of whom the whole human race are partakers; and those who lived according to reason are Christians, even though accounted atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heracleitus, and those who resembled them.'³ Apologists, with here and there a philosopher also, as if to explain this kinship, held that the philosophers were indebted to the Prophets, though this explanation perhaps would hardly be taken so complementarily as it was meant. 'Moses', says Justin, 'was before all the writers of Greece, and in all that both philosophers and poets have said about the immortality of the soul, or punishments after death, or the contemplation of celestial subjects and the like doctrines, they have taken their suggestions from the Prophets.'⁴ Nay, 'What is Plato,' exclaims Numenius, the eclectic of Apamea in Syria, c. 150, 'but Moses in Attic dress?'⁵

How, then, are we to account for the hostility of philosophy to the Christian religion? The answer is to be found in the authoritative claim of Christ. Thus (a) Christianity presented itself as having an exclusive claim and Truth as one: whereas the philosophical schools were endless and all at variance⁶ with and yet tolerant of each other. Men trained in the schools found them one after the other unsatisfying; but the moment they left them for the school of Christ, they tell us, as do Justin,⁷ Tatian,⁸ and Theophilus,⁹ in recounting their conversions, that when they came across a Christian teacher or the Scriptures, they felt themselves

¹ Acts xvii. 29.² Phil. iv. 11.³ Justin, *Apol.* i. xlvi, § 4, and Document No. 41.⁴ Ibid. i. xlv, § 9.⁵ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. xxii, § 150 (*Op.* i. 148; *P. G.* viii. 893 c). On Numenius, see C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*² (Clar. Press, 1913), 298-301.⁶ e.g. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, iii, § 7 (Justin, *Op.* 384; *P. G.* vi. 1129 sqq.).⁷ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 3-8 (*Op.* 104 sqq.; *P. G.* vi. 477 sqq.), and Document No. 45.⁸ Tatian, *Oratio adv. Graecos*, § 29 (Justin, *Op.* 267; *P. G.* vi. 865 sqq.), and Document No. 50.⁹ Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* i, § 14 (Justin, *Op.* 346; *P. G.* vi. 1043 sqq.), and Document No. 65.

in possession of finality and the Truth.¹ Again, (b) whereas all that the philosopher professed was to be engaged in discovery as a seeker after truth, the Church held that she had a Revelation. 'Ye worship', said our Lord to the woman of Samaria, 'that which ye know not : we worship that which we know.'² Christians knew it on authority, for 'there once lived men', says Justin, 'called prophets. They were anterior to any of those who are called philosophers. They spake by the Holy Ghost. It is true they have not given demonstrations. They are above all demonstration, as faithful witnesses of the truth.'³ This was to touch the pride of the philosopher, for it denied the competence of human 'wisdom'.⁴ Further, (c) Christianity offered itself as a school of moral discipline, whereas some philosophers—Justin's rival, for instance, the Cynic, Crescens—were men of vicious life⁵ : while all the philosophers taken together had proved powerless to raise the moral tone of the masses, or rather they did not think it worth attempting. On the contrary, (d) they derided Christianity, as did Celsus, for going to the simple⁶ and the outcast,⁷ and looked upon its author as a magician who learned his trade in Egypt,⁸ and His followers as a race of barbarians who had contributed nothing to human refinement.

Thus it is easy to see how wide a gulf yawned between philosopher and Christian. The Greek Apologists, indeed—Justin,⁹ Athenagoras,¹⁰ and Clement¹¹—adopted a conciliatory attitude towards philosophy ; but Syrian and Latin were unsympathetic. Tatian¹² denounced it as a medley of folly, contradiction, and hypocrisy ; Tertullian, as speculatively false and in practice immoral.¹³ If the appeal of God to the soul is to meet with any response at all, it must be made not to the cultivated but to the

¹ Cf. *The Apology* of Aristides, c. xv, and Document No. 26.

² John iv. 22. ³ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 7 (*Op.* 109 ; *P. G.* vi. 492).

⁴ As does St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 21.

⁵ Tatian, *Oratio adv. Graecos*, § 19 (Justin, *Op.* 260 ; *P. G.* vi. 848 B), and Eus. *H. E.* iv. xvi, §§ 8, 9.

⁶ Origen, c. *Celsum*, iii, § 49 (*Op.* i. 479 ; *P. G.* xi. 983 B), and Document No. 128.

⁷ Ibid. iii, § 59 (*Op.* i. 486 ; *P. G.* xi. 997 c).

⁸ Ibid. i, § 68 (*Op.* i. 382 ; *P. G.* xi. 788 A), and Document No. 127 ; or Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* [written c. 303–5], i, § 43 (ed. A. Reifferscheid in *C. S. E. L.* iv. 28 sq.).

⁹ Justin, *Apol.* i. xlvi, §§ 1–3 *ut sup.*

¹⁰ Athenagoras, *Legatio*, §§ 7, 9 *ut sup.*

¹¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. v, § 28 *ut sup.*

¹² Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, §§ 22–9.

¹³ Tert. *Apol.* c. xlvi, and *De praescr. haer.*, c. vii *ut sup.*

average man. Its answer will be found in 'the testimony of the soul that is naturally Christian'.¹

(c) Paganism was the third of the opposing forces which confronted the Apologists.

At first sight, one might suppose that the force of its opposition to religion was weakening. For the scepticism of the writers of the late Republic—Lucretius, †55 B.C., Cicero, †43 B.C., Caesar, †44 B.C.—and of the early Empire—Pliny the elder, †A.D. 79, Juvenal, †c. A.D. 120, Tacitus, †c. A.D. 120—was disappearing by the time of the Apologists, and a friendlier attitude towards religion was taking its place. Thus Plutarch, †c. 120, 'the quiet and simple-minded Greek gentleman', who lived on into the second century, was 'afraid of life without religion', and was convinced that 'the ancient faith of our fathers suffices'.² Pliny the younger, †113, was deeply interested in religion.³ Apuleius of Madaura⁴ in Numidia, c. 128–†80, the strolling rhetorician who married a rich wife of Oea, near the modern Tripoli, and defended himself against the charge of having obtained her by magic, protests that he 'had been initiated in many mysteries'⁵ and that he was not, like the prosecutor, a man who 'thought it mirth to mock at things divine'.⁶ On the other hand, the spirit of mockery finds scope enough with Lucian of Samosata, fl. c. 165. In one of his skits, Damis the Epicurean succeeds in showing it to be exceedingly doubtful whether, after all, the Gods do exist. 'What are we to do?' exclaims Zeus, who with the other gods had been listening to the argument as it took place, below, at Athens. Whereupon Hermes intervenes. 'Never mind', says he, 'if a few men are persuaded by Damis: we have still the majority—most of the Greeks and all the barbarians.'⁷ This is the point. Cultivated paganism, during the second century, may have been divided between men who mocked at religion and men who took it

¹ Tert. *Apology*, c. xvii, and Document No. 88.

² Plutarch, *Amatorius*, § 13 (*Op.* 756 B, iv. 416 [Teubner]); cf. T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the early Roman Empire*, 76.

³ *Supra*, c. ix.

⁴ For whom see Aug. *Epp.* cxxxvi, § 1, cxxxviii, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 401 A, 418 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 514, 534); written A.D. 412, the latter in answer to Marcellinus who had asked, in the former, how to deal with opponents who alleged that our Lord's miracles were not a patch on those of Apollonius of Tyana or of Apuleius of Madaura.

⁵ Apuleius, *Apologia*, § 55 (ed. R. Helm, p. 62: Teubner, 1902).

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 56, and cf. T. R. Glover, *op. cit.* 230.

⁷ Lucian, *Zeus Tragoedus*, § 53 (*Op.* 701; ii. 376, ed. C. Iacobitz: Teubner, 1897), and Glover, *op. cit.* 210.

seriously. But the literature of that age is no true guide to public opinion, as a whole: the inscriptions give us that. They show that the masses still held tenaciously to polytheism as a creed. 'The various modes of worship', as Gibbon says, 'which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true'¹; and one of the best proofs that belief in the gods was still strongly rooted may be seen in the fact that the Apologists themselves, in writing them down as 'demons', take it for granted. There was, then, an immense volume of conviction, as well as of tradition—such as that to which Celsus² appeals—in favour of the heathen religions of the Empire; and to the force of this must be added the impetus given by the State, through its establishment and maintenance of the worship of the Augustus; by the Platonic philosophy, in its doctrine of spirits or 'demons', and by the Mysteries. Of Caesar-worship we have already said enough³; but the 'demons' and the Mysteries demand further consideration.

The Platonic doctrine of God as Pure Being⁴ required that somehow the gulf between God and the Universe should be bridged. This, according to Plato, is the function of 'spirits [demons] intermediate between the divine and the mortal. . . . They interpret between gods and men, conveying to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods. They are the mediators who span the chasm which divides them, and in them all is bound together, and through them the arts of the prophet and the priest, their sacrifices and mysteries and charms, and all prophecy and incantation, find their way. For God mingles not with man; but through [demons] all the intercourse and speech of God with man, whether awake or asleep, is carried on. . . . Now these spirits or intermediate powers are many and diverse'.⁵ Their management, however, was an art and could be learned, and this art the main business of religion. The professional—soothsayer or priest—who knew it

¹ *Decline and Fall*, c. ii (i. 28, ed. J. B. Bury, 1896).

² e. g. Origen, c. *Celsus*, viii, § 24 (*Op.* i. 760; *P. G.* xi. 1552 D).

³ Cap. iii *supra*.

⁴ Οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, Plato, *Republic*, vi, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 509 B).

⁵ Plato, *Symposium*, c. xxiii (*Op.* iii. 202 sq.); tr. B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*², ii. 54, and Document No. 1. For Plutarch's adoption of this doctrine see Glover, *Conflict*, &c., 97, and Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, § 13 (*Op.* 416 F, iii. 87, ed. G. N. Bernadakis: Teubner, 1891).

could arrange things for the layman, and hence the reality of religion to the average pagan. For not only could he make terms with the gods by recognized ways; but belief in 'demons' and the practice of religion as based upon it, had satisfying results both to mind and heart. Thus, in philosophy, belief in 'demons' 'safeguarded the Absolute . . . from contact with matter and relieved the Author of Good from responsibility for evil'¹: while, in religion, it met and satisfied two paramount needs of the soul,² the demand for a special providence, i.e. for a God who cares for me,³ and the demand for mediation, i.e. that God shall come into contact with me through beings less awful than Himself and more on my own level. Thus the doctrine of 'demons', which became widely current in the age of the Apologists, added immense vitality to the conviction of some of the educated⁴ and of all the masses in favour of traditional religion.

Equally contributory to the revival of paganism which marked their age was the practice of the Mysteries.⁵ They were of double origin, Hellenic and Oriental.

The Mystery-cults of ancient Hellas were of two kinds: those recognized by the State and those of a private character.

The Eleusinian Mysteries⁶ are the well-known example of the former class; and they continued from long before the day when, in 415 B.C., Alcibiades was accused of profaning them, to the proscription of pagan rites by Theodosius,⁷ 379-†95, and the destruction of the sacred buildings at Eleusis during the invasion of Greece by Alaric,⁸ 396. They were the Mysteries of Demeter

¹ Glover, *Conflict*, &c., 97.

² C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*², 309, n. 2.

³ Heathenism, ordinarily, laughed at the Christian belief in a 'curiosus deus', cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, § 10. 'The doctrine of the Demons, properly understood, would, it was hoped, make the belief in Christ unnecessary,' Bigg, *ut sup.*

⁴ It 'changed their philosophy into religion', Bigg, *ut sup.* 306.

⁵ For these, see A. Chandler, *The cult of the passing moment*, c. v (Methuen, 1914), where he also discusses their relation to Christianity. On the question of St. Paul's debt to the Mystery-cults, see H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions* (1913) (who, however, underrates the sacramental element in Christianity); Maurice Jones, *The N. T. and the Twentieth Century*, 120 sqq. (Macmillan, 1914); A. Chandler, *op. cit.* 168 sqq.; W. L. Courtney, *The literary man's New Testament*, pp. xxxix sqq.; and cf. the words *λόκληρος* (1 Thess. v. 23), *γνώσις* (1 Cor. i. 5; Phil. iii. 8, &c.), *ἀποκάλυψις* (2 Cor. xii. 1, &c.), *πνευματικός* (1 Cor. ii. 13), *σοφία* (1 Cor. ii. 6), *τέλειος* (*ibid.*), *ἄρρητα ῥήματα* (2 Cor. xii. 4), *σφραγίζεσθαι* (Eph. i. 13), &c.

⁶ Cf. J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 315.

⁷ In a series of enactments of 391-2, *Cod. Theod.* xvi. x. 10, 11, 12.

⁸ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxx (iii. 244, ed. J. B. Bury, and app. 15).

and Persephone, both deities of the under-world ; and, as Mysteries, in the pagan sense of that word,¹ a secret cult. Admission to it was prepared for by ceremonial purification and effected by a rite of initiation. The neophyte then received sacred symbols, and became spectator of a kind of sacred drama or Mystery-play which represented the story of Demeter bereft of Persephone, the mother's unavailing search for her daughter, and their final reunion. The spectacle would 'induce in the worshipper . . . the feeling of intimacy and friendship with the deities ; and a strong current of sympathy was established by this mystic contact'.² Hence peace and joy here, with hope of happiness beyond the grave. Such, so far as our scanty information goes, was the attraction of the State Mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, and native to Greek soil. They did not burden the votary either with moral code or with creed ; but they made a great appeal to the emotions. 'The initiated', says Aristotle, 'do not learn anything : they feel certain emotions, and are put into a certain frame of mind.'³

The private Mysteries of Dionysus⁴ originated in Thrace, crossed over to Phrygia, and thence were given back to Greece. They are the rites in which Aeschines, in attendance on his mother, is said to have played a sorry part, as described by Demosthenes, 330 B.C., *De Corona*.⁵ Dionysus, as the son of Zeus and Persephone, was, also, a deity with a *status* in the underworld ; and his story, too, had an interest moving enough to provide the plot of a Mystery-play. His rites were orgiastic ; and the ecstasy they induced was the means of establishing communion with the deity, and so of securing promise of immortality in a life to come. Indeed, communion with the deity here and hereafter was the common attraction of the Mystery-cults of Hellas ; and as they lay open to the Hellenic world and to all classes within it, not excluding

¹ 'In the case of the pagan cults, the truths are hidden from all except the initiated members of the society ; in the New Testament, they were hidden from all without exception, but are now revealed universally to all.' 'Note on "mystery" in N.T.', A. Chandler, *op. cit.* 183-5.

² L. R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek States*, v. 197, quoted by Chandler, *op. cit.* 154.

³ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιῶ τοὺς τελουμένους, οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, Synesius, *Dion*, § 7 (*Op.* 47 ; *P. G.* lxvi. 1133 D).

⁴ See J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 316.

⁵ Demosthenes, *De Corona*, §§ 259-60 (*Op.* 313 ; i. 323, ed. F. Blass : Teubner, 1892) ; tr. C. R. Kennedy, 96 sq. (Bell & Sons, 1898), and Document No. 3. Plato, 429-†347 B.C., has a similarly poor opinion of the Orphic mysteries : see *Republic*, ii, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 364 sq., iv. 43, ed. C. F. Hermann : Teubner, 1893), and Document No. 2.

women and slaves, they brought within the reach of all the blessings of a real religion; conferring, as they did, upon the individual a sense of being in personal relation with God and a sense of privilege higher and more lasting than that of mere membership in the City-State, which was all that official ceremonies [conducted by the magistrate] could bestow.

Still more effective for religious ends were the Mystery-cults which came from the East, and were given recognition in the Roman world under the early Empire.

First among these were the Mysteries of Cybele, the Great Mother, and Attis.¹ They came to Rome from Pessinus as far back as 204 B.C. But for two hundred and fifty years they were celebrated under restrictions; and not until the reign of Claudius, 41-†54, were these limitations removed. The cult then achieved a wide popularity. Cybele and Attis had also an affecting story, and they occupied a position of influence in the underworld: while to these qualifications, essential to the objects of a Mystery-cult were added, in their case, the attractions of a naturalistic religion, for Cybele represented the productive power of nature and Attis was her lover.² Their festival took place in spring at the sanctuary of Cybele on the Palatine, with mourning for the death of Attis and riotous rejoicing to celebrate his return to life.

Second, and of greater vogue, was the cult of Isis³ and her husband Osiris. It was brought from Egypt, and received official recognition, 38, in the reign of Caligula, 37-†41. These rites, too, had a sensational story, Osiris having been murdered by his brother; and the action centred in the mourning of Isis, when searching for the body of her husband, its discovery, and the revival of Osiris, who then became king of the dead and judge of souls. Osiris afterwards was identified with Serapis; and the cult enjoyed wide popularity over the Roman world⁴ till Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, 385-†412, burnt the Serapeum, 391, and

¹ For the Mysteries of Cybele, see S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 547 sqq. For Augustine's 'indignant contempt' of its obscenities see *De civitate Dei*, ii, §§ 4, 5 (*Op.* vii. 34 sq.; *P. L.* xli. 50).

² In the burlesques, 'Cybele pastorem suspirat fastidiosum', Tert. *Apol.*, c. xv.

³ For the Mysteries of Isis and Serapis see S. Dill, *op. cit.* 560 sqq., and C. Bigg, *The Church's task under the Roman Empire*, 39 sqq. (Clar. Press, 1905).

⁴ Thus 'officers of the sixth Legion worshipped Isis at York', S. Dill, *op. cit.* 569.

destroyed the statue of the god.¹ Of the Mysteries of Isis we have fuller information than of any other such rite: for, about 150, Apuleius gives a glowing account of the initiation of Lucius, at Cenchreae, into this worship of the Queen of Heaven.² 'The prominent features in the description are the abstinences, the solemn baptism, the communication of mystic formulae, and the overpowering scenes which form the climax of initiation: all of which are closely associated with the preparation of the heart, the sense of cleansing, the conception of regeneration, and, finally, identification with the deity. The description closes with the impressive prayer of thanksgiving offered by Lucius to the goddess.'³

The cult of Isis was specially attractive to women; but for men, and pre-eminently for soldiers,⁴ was reserved the third of the Mystery-religions brought from the East—the cult of Mithra.⁵ It was introduced from Persia, about the end of the first, or the opening of the second, century; and was distinguished by seven degrees of initiation,⁶ a sacred feast,⁷ and the blood-bath or horrible rite of the *taurobolium*. The worshipper stood in a pit, covered with boards on which a bull was slain, so that the blood trickled down upon him and he emerged from its baptism 'regenerated for ever'.⁸ In spite of the fact that they alone, among the

¹ Socrates, *H. E.* v. xvi, xvii; Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. xv; Rufinus, *H. E.* ii. xxiii (*Op.* 293–7; *P. L.* xxi. 529–33); Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 200 sq., ed. J. B. Bury).

² Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, lib. xi (*Op.* i. 266 sqq., ed. R. Helm: Teubner, 1913), reproduced, in summary translation, by S. Dill, *Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire*² (Macmillan, 1899), 85–91, and T. R. Glover, *The Conflict*, &c., 234–7, and Document No. 35.

³ Maurice Jones, *op cit.* 127.

⁴ For the 'soldier of Mithra', see Tertullian, *De cor. mil.* c. xv. He is referring to the third grade of Mithraic initiates, and contrasting him with the 'miles Christi'.

⁵ For the Mysteries of Mithra, see S. Dill, *op cit.* 585 sqq.; F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Kegan Paul, 1903); an article by H. Stuart Jones in *The Quarterly Review* for July 1914; and C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists*², 282 sqq., and *The Church's Task*, 47 sqq.

⁶ For 'the monstrous images' of the Crow, the Hidden One, the Soldier, the Lion, the Persian, the Courser of the Sun, the Father, used in these seven stages of initiation, see the letter [A.D. 403] of Jerome to Laeta, Ep. cvii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 678 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 868 sq.), and Document No. 209. They have been verified by a relief from Arçar [Ratiaria], now at Sofia: see description and photograph in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xv. 156 sqq.; Tafel, i. 4 (Teubner: Leipzig, 1912).

⁷ See the photograph of the Mithraic Communion on a relief found in Bosnia and now in the museum of Sarajevo, reproduced in *Quarterly Review* for July 1914; and for Mithraic baptism, Tert. *de Praescr.*, c. xl.

⁸ 'Renatus in aeternum' is a phrase frequent on the inscriptions. The *taurobolium* properly belonged to the Great Mother.

Mysteries, were accompanied by a severe and regular moral discipline,¹ so popular were the rites of Mithra that Mithraism at one time threatened to become the religion of the Roman world. Its missionaries were the Roman armies, recruited, as they were, in the main, from the East; and, in the inscriptions, we may trace the progress of Mithraism wherever the Roman legionary had his camp: in Dacia and Pannonia, where, 307, 'Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius consecrated a temple at Carnuntum to Mithra, as "the champion of their Empire" ' ²; and as far away as our own island where sanctuaries of Mithra were set up at London,³ York,⁴ and Caerleon-on-Usk.⁵

Now the Mystery-cults exerted an attraction because they offered something of the real nature of religion, for religion is not merely an ethical system, nor merely a doctrinal creed, but communion with God in this life and—by consequence—the hope of a fuller and more blissful life in His company after death. This offer the Mysteries made. Moreover, they made it to the individual: so that those religions of the ancient world which were merely the religion of the State were easily outstripped, and Christianity found itself face to face with a series of rival cults which, from the second century, gave a new strength to paganism. They re-inforced it, in fact, with elements of true religion ⁶ akin to those of which the Church claimed to be the sole distributor to mankind—purification by baptism, new birth, immortality, a communion-feast, the gift of sacred knowledge, a mediator between God and man. Moreover, these privileges were administered by a clergy for the benefit of members of a fraternity.⁷ Mithraism alone added some sort of moral obligation: for 'what gave it a power of its own, and contributed largely to its success, was the conception of morality as a conflict derived from the

¹ Julian speaks of the 'commandments of Mithra', *Caesares*, ad fin. (*Op.* 336, ed. F. C. Hertlein, i. 432 c: Teubner, 1875).

² A. Chandler, *Cult*, &c., 167; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, &c., 619. Carnuntum is now Hainburg on the Danube between Vienna and Pressburg; the inscription runs: 'Deo Soli invicto Mithrae, fautori imperii sui Iovii et Herculii religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares sacrarium restituerunt,' F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii. 146 (Bruxelles, 1896).

³ Inscr. 471; *ibid.* ii. 160.

⁴ Inscr. 474; *ibid.* ii. 160.

⁵ Inscr. 472; *ibid.* ii. 160.

⁶ 'The matter common to Christianity and the mysteries is of the essence of religion, and must at all costs be retained if Christianity is to be a religion at all and not a mere code of morality,' A. Chandler, *op. cit.* 153: see also 167 sq.

⁷ Cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, &c., 612.

Zoroastrian dualism'.¹ But elsewhere, in spite of the religious revival of paganism, there was no corresponding improvement in the moral laxity of the age: for the religion of the leaders in the pagan revival was never more than merely emotional, and its mysteries as obscene² as of yore. Paganism, therefore, was still as fatal as ever to the acceptance of a purer faith.

The Apologists, in dealing with it, are frank and vigorous. They repudiate the three stock charges³ of 'atheism', incest, and infanticide. All three, they retorted, might be made with greater success against the heathen⁴: while as to 'atheism', which had its sting in that it was only another name for disloyalty, they protested that not only are Christians good citizens,⁵ but that their conversion has made them the most loyal of subjects and the salt of society.⁶ As for the 'demons', the Apologists—who were no less under the spell of Plato⁷ than their contemporaries—accept them as real beings, intermediate between God and man; but they identified them with the fallen angels of Scripture and regarded them as the inventors and maintainers of heathenism⁸: whence, no doubt, exorcism⁹ as a prominent feature in the rites of baptism,¹⁰ exorcists as an order in the ministry,¹¹ and the exclusively bad sense which the name 'demon' has carried to Christian ears ever since. They treated the Mysteries in similar fashion. 'So prejudiced', in fact, 'were the Apologists against the Mysteries that they treated them in some respects unfairly. They failed to recognize the element of truth which these cults expressed and the witness which they bore to the real essence of religion. In

¹ H. S. Jones in *Quarterly Review* for July 1914, p. 121.

² Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, §§ 18, 36, 55 (*Op.* 358 B, 365 B, 373 C; ii. 488, 507, 529, ed. G. N. Bernadakis: Teubner, 1889); T. R. Glover, *Conflict*, &c., 111.

³ The apology of Athenagoras is devoted to the refutation of 'the three charges', *Legatio*, § 3; and Document No. 58.

⁴ For the 'atheism' of pagans see Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, cc. xx-xxiv; for their infanticide, *ibid.* xxx, § 2; Tert. *Apol.* c. ix; for incest among them, M. F. *Oct.* xxxi, §§ 2, 3; Tert. *Apol.* c. ix.

⁵ Justin, *Apol.* i, c. xii; Tert. *Apol.* xxx-xxxiii, and Document No. 90.

⁶ Justin, *Apol.* i, c. xiv; Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxix, and Document No. 92.

⁷ Justin, *Apol.* i. viii, § 4.

⁸ Justin, *Apol.* i. v, and Document No. 39; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, cc. xxiv-xxvii.

⁹ For the Fathers on exorcism, see Justin, *Apol.* ii. vi, § 6; *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 30, 49, 76, 85; Tert. *Apol.*, §§ 23, 27, 32, 37.

¹⁰ L. Duchesne⁵, *Christian Worship*, 296 sqq.

¹¹ Letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, 250-†2, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, 250-†2, *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xliii, § 11; Duchesne, *op. cit.* 345, and Document No. 145.

their eyes such pagan cults were simply Satanic parodies of Christianity.’¹ Tertullian was always hostile to everything pagan; and we should expect him to say, ‘The devil rivals the realities of divine sacraments with his idolatrous mysteries. He himself baptizes his own believers and faithful ones, promising the riddance of sins at the font; and Mithra, if I remember aright, signs his own soldiers on the forehead, celebrates an offering of bread, represents a symbol of the resurrection, and recovers his crown at the sword’s point’.² Or again: ‘Here, too, we recognize [sc. in the use of water at the mystery-worship] the zeal of the devil in rivalling the things of God and celebrating baptism among his own. The unclean cleanses, the destroyer liberates, the damned absolves. He will ruin, forsooth, his own work, by washing away the sins which himself inspires.’³ But not less emphatic is the language of Justin and Clement—both ready, as a rule, to make the most of what paganism has in common with Christianity. It is true that Clement ‘deliberately uses Dionysiac topics and phraseology in a plea for Christianity’.⁴ But Justin sees in ‘the mysteries of Mithra’ a travesty of Baptism⁵ and the Eucharist due to their imitation by ‘the evil demons’⁶; while Clement ‘has nothing but withering scorn for the mysteries of Demeter and Dionysus’⁷: he treats them as being on precisely the same level as the crude and licentious mythology from which they sprang’.⁸

(d) Fourth and last among the forces confronting the Apologists was the organized power of the State. There is no need to examine further its attitude towards Christianity, and the reasons for it, after what has been said above.⁹ The State could not but be hostile: the better the Emperor—and they were the best of Emperors all through the second century—the more certain was persecution. Nevertheless, the State has no answer, at the bar of history, to the uniform complaint of the Apologists, from Justin¹⁰ to Tertullian,¹¹ that Christians were condemned unfairly because they were condemned unheard.

¹ A. Chandler, *The cult*, &c., 169.

² Tert. *De praesc. haeret.*, c. xl.

³ Tert. *De baptismo*, c. v.

⁴ Clem. Al. *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, c. xii (*Op.* i. 34; *P. G.* viii. 240 B sqq.), and Document No. 105.

⁵ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 70.

⁶ Justin, *Apol.* i. lxvi, § 4, and Document No. 42.

⁷ Clem. Al. *Cohortatio*, c. ii (*Op.* i. 4 sqq.; *P. G.* viii. 69 B sqq.).

⁸ A. Chandler, *The cult*, &c., 169.

⁹ *Supra*, cap. ix.

¹⁰ Justin, *Apol.* i. cc. ii–iv; cf. Athenagoras, *Legatio*, cc. i, ii.

¹¹ Tert. *Apol.*, cc. i–iii.

§ 4. The Apologists wrote as philosophers rather than as theologians.¹ Even the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* is anxious to present Christianity as the highest philosophy: and says 'the tree of knowledge does not kill. Disobedience kills. . . . There is no life without knowledge nor sound knowledge without true life: wherefore each [the tree of knowledge and the tree of life] was planted near the other.'² They hold that the Christian view of God, the world, and the soul is as old as creation³; that 'what other philosophers have well said, belongs to us Christians'⁴; but that, what philosophy possessed piecemeal as having a share in the Seminal Divine Word, Christians have in its entirety, 'because in Christ the whole Word became incarnate'.⁵ This 'barbarian philosophy of ours',⁶ i.e. Christianity as the Apologists held it, was indebted to the eclectic Platonism of its age for its abstract conception of the Deity; for its dualistic opposition of God to the universe; for its idea of redemption, as consisting in knowledge and attainable by discipline; but also, in the case of Tertullian, to the current Stoicism for its conception of Christianity as the natural religion and for its tenacious grasp of ethical ideas.

Thus, in their doctrine of God, the Apologists describe Him, under Platonist influences, as 'above and beyond all essence',⁷ whence the later 'Superessential Essence'.⁸ They said that 'the form of God is ineffable and incommunicable, such as cannot be seen of bodily eyes'⁹: yet never was He without His Word or Reason but 'eternally rational'.¹⁰

So, in their doctrine of Christ, they proceeded to explain the common belief of Christians in the divinity of our Lord by the help of the Stoic doctrine of the Divine Reason. As His Immanent Reason He ever existed in the Father, but as His Reason Uttered¹¹

¹ For the theology of the Apologists, see R. Seeberg, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, § 10 (Leipzig, 1901); F. Loofs, *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte*⁴, § 18 (Niemeyer, 1906); J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 206 sqq. (Herder, 1910); and *Athanasius*, ed. A. Robertson, xxiii (*N. & P.-N. F.*, vol. iv).

² *Ep. ad Diognetum*, c. xii.

³ Justin, *Apol.* i. xlvi, §§ 1-3, and Document No. 41.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.* ii. xiii, § 4, and Document No. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.* x, § 1; cf. xiii, §§ 2, 3.

⁶ 'Ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, Tatian, *Ad Graecos*, c. xxxv.

⁷ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 4; cf. Plato, *Republic*, vi, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 509 B).

⁸ Ὑπερουσίος οὐσία, Ps.-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, i, c. i. (*Op.* i. 284; *P. G.* iii. 588 B).

⁹ Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, i, § 3 (Justin, *Opera*, 339; *P. G.* vi. 1028 B).

¹⁰ Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεός, νοῦς αἰδῖος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, αἰδῖως λογικὸς ὢν, Athenagoras, *Legatio*, § 10 (*ibid.* 287; *P. G.* vi. 909 A).

¹¹ For this distinction between the two states of the Divine Word or

He issued forth from the Father, by an act of the Father's will,¹ in order to create.² He thus had a beginning of existence in time, and, so far forth, was creaturely. Yet He was pre-existent ; and, coming forth as He did from the Father 'like flame from fire',³ He was distinct from, yet never separate from, the Father. Justin, Tatian,⁴ Athenagoras, and Theophilus are the chief exponents of this doctrine of the Son in His relation to the Father. In thus conceiving of theology as philosophers and so approaching the doctrine of the Person of our Lord from the cosmological side,⁵ the Apologists grafted upon the title which St. John gives to the Saviour,⁶ associations from Philo and the Eclectics. 'Hence their view of His divinity, and of His relation to the Father, is embarrassed. His eternity and His generation are felt to be hardly compatible. His distinct Personality is maintained at the expense of His true Divinity. He is God, and not the one God. He can manifest Himself in a way the one God cannot. He is an intermediary between God and the world.'⁷ Justin was no Arian ; for though he calls the Son a 'product'⁸ of the Father, he never speaks of Him as a 'thing made',⁹ or as a 'creature'.¹⁰ Yet unconsciously, he and his fellows were led, by their philosophy, to 'sever the Son from the Father : not God,¹¹ but a subordinate divine being is revealed in Christ : the Word is no longer, as with Ignatius,¹² a true breach of the Divine Silence'.¹³

As to the remainder of the Christian tradition, the doctrine of the Reason, immanent and uttered, the Apologists have different sets of terms : thus Justin has συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος (*Apol.* II. vi, § 3), or συνῆν and προβληθεὶς (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 62) ; Athenagoras has ἰδέα καὶ ἐνεργεία, *Legatio*, § 10 (Just. *Op.* 286 ; *P. G.* vi. 908 B) ; and Theophilus has Λ. ἐνδιάθετος and Λ. προφορικός (*Ad Autol.* ii, § 22 [Just. *Op.* 365 ; *P. G.* vi. 1088 B]).

¹ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 128.

² Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 61, 62 (*Op.* 157-60 ; *P. G.* vi. 613-20), where he quotes Prov. viii. 22 Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν, a text with an after-history of importance in the Arian controversy.

³ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 128 (*Op.* 222 ; *P. G.* vi. 776 B), an important passage.

⁴ Tatian, *Adv. Graecos*, § 5 (Just. *Op.* 247 ; *P. G.* vi. 813 sqq.).

⁵ Justin, however, does not overlook the ethical and religious function of the Divine Logos, who 'is so called because he reveals the Father to men', *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 128 ; hence he is called 'angel', *ibid.*, § 56.

⁶ John i. 1-18 ; 1 John i. 1.

⁷ *Athanasius*, ed. A. Robertson, xxiii (*N. & P.-N. F.*, vol. iv).

⁸ γέννημα, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 62 (*Op.* 158 ; *P. G.* vi. 617 c).

⁹ ποίημα. ¹⁰ κτίσμα.

¹¹ 'Ο ὄντως Θεός, Justin, *Apol.* I. xiii, § 3.

¹² Ignatius, *ad Magnesios*, viii, § 2.

¹³ *Athanasius*, ed. A. Robertson, p. xxiii.

Holy Ghost is, as yet, undeveloped ; but Justin ranks Him third with the Father and the Son,¹ and ascribes to Him the function of Inspiration.² At the Incarnation, the Word, hitherto only ' holy spirit ', i.e. divine,³ became man⁴ ; of the Virgin⁵ Mary ; according to prophecy⁶ ; to be our Saviour.⁷ This He is, mainly as our Teacher⁸ ; but also as our Redeemer,⁹ and as the Head of a new race.¹⁰ Mankind was created free, and could have attained its salvation by obedience¹¹ ; but it fell and had to be restored.¹² Christians are now ' God's high-priestly race '.¹³ The world is maintained by their intercession,¹⁴ but also for their sake.¹⁵ They ' dedicate themselves to God ' ¹⁶ by forgiveness of sins and regeneration in Baptism,¹⁷ which is in water, and in the Threefold Name.¹⁸ Once baptized, their sacrifice, as priests, is the Eucharist¹⁹ ; in which is fulfilled Malachi's expectation of the ' pure offering '.²⁰ This offering, according to ' the earlier writers ', is limited to ' the Bread and Cup, considered as an offering of the fruits of the earth '.²¹ But Justin regards its ' consecrated food ' as more than ' common ' bread and wine : for ' as our Saviour Jesus Christ was made flesh by the Divine Word . . . so by the word of prayer proceeding from Him, the food is made the body and blood of the Incarnate

¹ Justin, *Apol.* I. xiii, § 3, lx, §§ 6, 7.

² Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 7.

³ Justin does not clearly distinguish between the Holy Spirit and the Logos in *Apol.* I. xxxiii, §§ 5, 6. On ' Spirit ', as ' used of our Lord's divine nature ', see J. H. Newman, *Select treatises of Athanasius* 7, ii. 305 (Longman, 1897).

⁴ σεσωματοποιῆσθαι, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 70 ; *Apol.* I. v, § 4.

⁵ Justin, *Apol.* I. xxii, § 5.

⁶ *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 66, 67. ⁷ *Apol.* I. lxi, § 3.

⁸ *Apol.* I. iv, § 7, xxiii, § 2 ; *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 18, 121.

⁹ *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §§ 30, 134 ; *Ep. ad Diogn.*, § 19.

¹⁰ *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 138.

¹¹ Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, ii, § 27 (Just. *Op.* 369 ; *P. G.* vi. 1096 A).

¹² Justin, *Apol.* I. xxiii, § 2.

¹³ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 116 (*Op.* 209 ; *P. G.* vi. 745 A).

¹⁴ *Ep. ad Diognetum*, § 6.

¹⁵ Justin, *Apol.* II. vii, § 1.

¹⁶ Justin, *Apol.* I. lxi, § 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* lxvi, § 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* lxi, § 3.

¹⁹ Justin gives an account of the Eucharist following Baptism in *Apol.* I. lxxv, and of the Sunday Eucharist in *ibid.* lxxvii. In the former he describes only what afterwards came to be called the *Missa Fidelium* ; in the latter, he begins with the *Missa Catechumenorum* : see Document No. 42.

²⁰ Malachi i. 11 : for this application, see *Didaché*, xiv, § 3 ; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 117 (*Op.* 209 sq. ; *P. G.* vi. 745 B) ; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV. xvii. 5 ; Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, iii, § 22 (ed. A. Kroymann, *C. S. E. L.* XLVII. iii. 416) ; Cyprian, *De testimoniis*, i, § 16 (ed. G. Hartel, *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 50).

²¹ H. B. Swete, ' Eucharistic belief in the second and third centuries,' ap. *J. T. S.* iii. 164 (Jan. 1902).

Christ'.¹ As to the last things, no Christian, according to Justin, imagines that 'as soon as men die, their souls are taken up into heaven'.² In that case, the servant would be greater than his lord: for the Saviour 'descended into Hades' before He 'ascended into heaven'. There is an intermediate state.³ After that, a 'second Advent'⁴; 'a resurrection of the flesh'⁵; and 'a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be rebuilt, adorned and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and others declare'.⁶ Chiliasm was thus part of the creed of Justin, as of Irenaeus and Tertullian—the theologians of whom we have next to give a brief account.

II

§ 5. Irenaeus and Tertullian are known as the anti-Gnostic or the Catholic Fathers: titles to be justified presently. But first for the works in which their theology is principally enshrined.

Irenaeus was born about 120 and died about 190, so that his life practically covers the second century. Brought up in Asia at the feet of Polycarp,⁷ he spent part of his prime in Rome,⁸ where Hippolytus, †c. 236, attended his lectures. He then became presbyter in the church of Lyons⁹; and after the persecution there, 177, he succeeded Pothinus, as bishop of Lyons,¹⁰ c. 180–†c. 190.

¹ Justin, *Apol.* i. lxvi, § 2: the words τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν are obscure. They may mean (1) 'that word of prayer which proceeds from Him' [sc. Christ], and so be referred to (a) the Lord's Prayer [J. Wordsworth, *Holy Communion*, 62], (b) the words of institution [Otto, *ad. loc.*], or 'any form of benediction of the elements, believed by the Church to be substantially what Christ used' [C. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, note 1]; or (2) taking λόγον as an objective genitive, 'prayer to [i.e. invocation of] the Word'. This is a 'possible construction' (A. W. F. Blunt, *The Apologies of Justin*, xli): he compares εὐχαὶ θεῶν [class.] and ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ in Luke vi. 12, and adds, 'in either case the phrase refers to the consecration of the elements by prayer'. The context implies that the prayer was, in form, a thanksgiving, i.e. 'Eucharistic prayer'.

² Justin, *Dial.* c. *Tryph.*, § 80 (*Op.* 178; *P. G.* vi. 665 A).

³ *Ibid.* § 5 (*Op.* 107; *P. G.* vi. 488 A).

⁴ Justin, *Apol.* i. lii, § 3.

⁵ Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, *Dial.* c. *Tryph.*, § 80 (*Op.* 178; *P. G.* vi. 668 A), as in the Old Roman Creed; and Document No. 204.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 'On the Millennium' see note in Tertullian (*L. F.* x. 120).

⁷ Letter of Irenaeus to Florinus *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xx, § 6, and Document No. 80.

⁸ Postscript to Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, *ap. Lightfoot, A. F.* 198.

⁹ *Eus. H. E.* v. iv, § 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v. v, § 8.

It was as bishop that he wrote his great work against the Gnostics, commonly called the *Adversus Haereses*,¹ but by its full title, *An Exposure and Refutation of the Knowledge falsely so called*. It was written in Greek; but, except for the first twenty-one chapters and an occasional section later on, is preserved only in a Latin translation. This translation has its merits. It is so literal as to afford a welcome clue to the original; and so nearly contemporary as to have been used, in the next generation, by Tertullian.

Book I is mainly taken up with the *Exposure* of the Gnostic heresies: primarily, of Valentinianism as represented by the school of Ptolemaeus. In cc. i–ix Irenaeus gives an account of their tenets. Then follows, in c. x, a counter-statement of the Creed of the Church throughout the world,² with which, in cc. xi–xxi, he proceeds to contrast the varying opinions to be found even within the school of Valentinus and, in cc. xxii–xxx, the different systems of Gnostic teachers³ from Simon Magus to the Ophites.

In the three books following, the author turns to the *Refutation* of these systems.

Book II is chiefly devoted to a refutation, on philosophical grounds, of the system of Valentinus, interspersed with criticism, as in cc. xx–xxiii, of the wild methods of exegesis in favour with the Gnostics.

In Book III,⁴ the writer invokes against them first, cc. i–iv, the tradition of the Church⁵: and then, cc. v–xii, the Scriptures. It is in the course of this argument that he asserts, c. xi, the canonicity and the inspiration of the four received Gospels⁶, and of these alone, to the exclusion of their Gnostic rivals. He then proceeds, cc. xii–xv, to show that St. Peter and St. Paul taught a common body of Christian truth, so far from it being the case that there is

¹ Text in *P. G.* vii. 433–1224, and edd. A. Stieren (Leipzig, 1853) or W. W. Harvey (Cambridge, 1857); tr. by J. Keble in *L. F.* xlii and, in extracts, by F. R. M. Hitchcock in 'Early Christian Classics' (S.P.C.K. 1916); analyses in H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 240–50 (Murray, 1875), and in C. T. Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity*, ii. 383–9 (Griffin, 1893): see also F. R. M. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum* (Cambridge, 1914).

² For this see Document No. 69.

³ Among them Cerinthus, the Ebionites, Cerdon, Marcion—for whom see c. viii *supra*, and Documents Nos. 72, 73.

⁴ Text, with analysis, ed. H. Deane (Clar. Press, 1880).

⁵ For the argument from tradition see *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii, and Document No. 74.

⁶ For the Four Gospels see *ibid.* xi, § 8, and Document No. 75.

an antagonism between them, whether asserted by Marcionites who accepted St. Paul alone or by Ebionites who rejected him. In cc. xvi–xviii he goes on to deal with those who separate the aeon Christ from the man Jesus ; and then, cc. xix–xxii, he asserts His pre-existence, the reality of His incarnation and passion, His very Godhead and, no less, His very manhood : born, as He was, of the Virgin¹ Mary. Then, after criticism of Tatian, c. xxiii, for denying the salvation of Adam, and, c. xxiv, some recapitulation, he concludes, c. xxv, with a reassertion, as against Marcion, of the unity and the goodness of God.

In Book IV Irenaeus has mainly in view the contention of Marcion that Christ came to reveal a new and hitherto unknown God. So he begins, cc. i–vii, with the testimony of our Lord Himself that He acknowledged but one God and Father, the same that was spoken of by Moses and the Prophets. There follows, cc. viii–xi, a vindication of the Old Testament ; and, cc. xii–xvi, an exposition of the principle that while the moral precepts of the Law are permanently binding, its ceremonial and typical observances had indeed their educative purpose, but only till Christ came. Nevertheless, their counterpart continues in, cc. xvii–xviii, the Christian sacrifice of the Eucharist.² Hence, cc. xix–xx, the unity of God as revealed in the progressive continuity of His operations, the Old Covenant, cc. xxi–xxvi, being preparatory to the New. A discussion, cc. xxvii–xxx, of some of the difficulties of the Old Testament follows ; and, in the treatment of further topics, cc. xxxi–xli, a pithy sentence sums up the issue between the traditionalist Irenaeus and his opponents—‘ The true knowledge is the teaching of the Apostles and the ancient system of the Church throughout the world.’³

In Book V, probably an appendix, Irenaeus refutes at length the Gnostic opinions concerning the resurrection of the body ; and, after an allusion to the Apocalypse as having been ‘ seen, almost in our generation, at the close of the reign of Domitian ’,⁴

¹ On the LXX version of Isa. vii. 14, see *Adv. Haer.* iii. xxi, §§ 1–4, and Document No. 76. The reference in § 1 to the version of Theodotion shows that the *Adv. Haer.* was composed after 181 ; while the mention of Eleutherus in iii. iii, § 3, as then bishop of Rome, indicates that it was written before his death, c. 189.

² On the Christian Sacrifice, see *Adv. Haer.* iv. xviii, §§ 4–6, and Document No. 77.

³ On the Church’s Gnosis, see *ibid.* iv. xxxiii, §§ 8, 9.

⁴ *Adv. Haer.* v. xxx, § 3.

concludes with an argument, cc. xxxiii–xxxvi, in favour of the reign of the Just with Christ on earth for a thousand years,¹ to be followed by the Resurrection, the Judgement, and the New Heaven and Earth.

Tertullian,² c. 155–†c. 225, is at once the contrary, and yet the continuator³ of, Irenaeus. He wrote in Latin, whereas the language of Irenaeus is Greek; and while the tone of the latter is that of a judge, comprehensive in his survey and in his sentence not without touches of humour, Tertullian writes with the vehemence of an advocate, reckless in special pleading, deadly in epigram, a master of irony,⁴ and quite devoid of a sense of proportion. Born at Carthage, c. 155, while his father was a centurion in the service of the Proconsul of Africa, he received a first-rate education, wrote in Greek⁵ as easily as in Latin, and became a barrister of high repute in Rome. About 193 he was converted to Christianity; and, according to Jerome, was ordained presbyter.⁶ With the *Apology* and other pamphlets of 197 he began a long literary career in defence of the Faith: at first, as a Catholic, till c. 202, and, afterwards, as a Montanist, till his death, c. 225.

We are now concerned with him neither in the earliest phase of his activities as apologist nor in the latest as the opponent of heretical monarchianism; but as the second of the anti-Gnostic and Catholic Fathers. This middle phase is sufficiently illustrated by the treatise in which he ‘argued on general grounds against all heresies’.⁷ It is known to us as the *De praescriptione haereticorum*,⁸ and was probably written in the year 200. The title is a legal one, borrowed, as was much in his repertory of theological terms, from the phrases familiar to him in the courts of law. A prescription,

¹ The Elders on the Millennium: *Adv. Haer.* v. xxxiii, §§ 3, 4, xxxvi, §§ 1, 2, and Document No. 20.

² See S. A. Donaldson, *The Church in North Africa*, c. iii, and the appendix on the chronology of Tertullian’s works, *ibid.* 192 sqq.; and T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions*, c. x.

³ *Tert. Adv. Val.*, c. v.

⁴ e. g. *De praescr. haer.*, c. xlv, the speech of our Lord on the Day of Judgement; where, if the heretics are right, He will have to say, ‘I did teach the Apostles about the Virgin-Birth and the Resurrection; but, afterwards, I thought better of it!’

⁵ His Greek treatises are lost, but there are references to them in *Tert. De cor mil.*, c. vi; *De baptismo*, c. xv; *De virg. vel.*, c. i.

⁶ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liii (*Op.* ii. 890 sqq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 661 sqq.).

⁷ *Tert. De praescr. haer.*, c. xlv.

⁸ Text and notes in Tertullian, *De praescr. haeret.*, ed. T. H. Bindley (Clar. Press, 1893); tr. by T. H. B. in ‘Early Christian Classics’ (S.P.C.K. 1914).

as in medicine to-day, means something written out beforehand for subsequent use. So with its technical meaning in Roman law : it ' denoted a clause prefixed to the *intentio* of a *formula* for the purpose of limiting the scope of an inquiry which the *intentio* would otherwise have left open for discussion, before the *iudex* '.¹ The use of such prescription was, in Tertullian's time, confined to the plaintiff. It did not debar him from subsequently going into points for the present left out of his suit ; but it gave him the advantage, to start with, of choosing his ground. In this treatise, then, Tertullian takes the initiative against the Gnostics. Placing the Church in the position of plaintiff, he summons them into court as defendants ; and sets out to limit the case between Catholic and heretic to a single point, viz. the legitimacy of the heretics' appeal to Scripture. There are three stages in the argument.² In Part I, which is mainly negative, cc. i-xiv, he clears the ground. Admitting, cc. i-vii, that heresy, like sickness, is a necessary evil and is largely borrowed from current philosophy,³ he meets the objection that ' men are bidden to " seek and they shall find " ' ⁴ by the reply, cc. viii-xii, that this precept is addressed to those who are not yet Christians : once we have received the faith, we are to seek no other ; men who are always seeking will never find anything to believe. Besides, cc. xiii-xiv, the Church has a Rule of Faith,⁵ to be accepted without further seeking. Not discovery, but revelation, was the category under which Tertullian, like Latin theology after him, tended almost exclusively to conceive apprehension of the Christian Faith. Preliminaries thus dismissed, the author comes in Part II to the constructive stage, cc. xv.-xxxviii, of his task, and proceeds to lay down his main proposition that, c. xv, heretics should not be permitted by Catholics to use the Scriptures in argument since the Scriptures ought only to be used by those to whom they belong. The discussion with the heretics is thus limited at the outset to the one point of their lack of any right to appeal to Scripture. Tertullian then supports his plea on such grounds as (a) that, c. xvi, St. Paul forbids disputing with heretics ; (b) that, cc. xvii-xviii,

¹ Tert. *De praescr. haer.*, ed. T. H. Bindley, p. 4.

² For this analysis see H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 251-3, and Tert. *De praescr. haer.*, ed. Bindley, p. 16.

³ Ibid. c. vii and Document No. 93.

⁴ Matt. vii. 7.

⁵ Tert. *De praescr. haer.*, c. xiii ; A. Hahn, *Symbole* ³, § 7, and Document No. 94.

such disputes are always futile ; (c) that, cc. xx-xxi, the Faith having been committed by our Lord to His Apostles and their successors, no other teachers are to be sought than those of apostolically founded churches.¹ There follows a discussion, cc. xxii-xxviii, of exceptions not unnaturally taken by the heretics to this drastic treatment of their case ; but, in Part III, as if to show that they richly deserved it, the writer returns to the main position and declares that heresies are wanting in the essentials of Christianity : in antiquity, cc. xxix-xxxi, for they are of later date than the Church ; in mission and episcopal succession, c. xxxii, for if, after all, they claim, as they do by pretending to a secret tradition, to date from apostolic times, all they have to do is, like the apostolic churches, to produce their succession from the Apostles. The true doctrine and the true Scriptures are thus, cc. xxxv-xl, with the apostolic churches only. If you would convince yourself of it, look at the heretics : at, c. xli, their want of discipline² ; at, c. xlii, the way in which, with them, schism breeds schism ; at, c. xliii, their habit of taking up with quackery of any description so long as its maxim is only ' Seek and ye shall find ' ; at, c. xlv, the account we shall all have to give in the Judgement. This, then, is our ' short way ' with heresy, c. xlv. ' We have argued on general grounds against all heresies that they ought by fixed, just, and necessary limitations to be disallowed any discussion of the Scriptures. At some future time . . . we will also furnish special replies to some particular heresies ' : a promise which Tertullian fulfilled in the anti-Gnostic treatises, *Adversus Marcionem*,³ c. 200, *Adversus Hermogenem*,⁴ c. 200-6, and *Adversus Valentinianos*,⁵ c. 209, as well as in the anti-monarchian treatise, *Adversus Praxean*,⁶ after 213.

§ 6. Irenaeus and Tertullian are rightly known as the anti-Gnostic Fathers ; and Irenaeus as the first of the Catholic Fathers.

¹ For this argument of Tertullian from tradition in cc. xvi-xxi, see Document No. 95.

² For c. xli, ' The disorderly worship of heretics ', see Document No. 96.

³ ' The five books against Marcion are the longest and most important of Tertullian's anti-Gnostic writings,' H. L. Mansel, *op. cit.* 254 : for an analysis, *ibid.* 255-9. Text in Tert. *Op.* iii. 290-650, ed. A. Kroymann (=C. S. E. L. xlvii) ; and tr. in Tertullian, *Against Marcion* (A.-N. C. L. viii).

⁴ C. S. E. L. xlvii. 126-76 ; tr. *The Writings of Tertullian*, ii. 55-118 (A.-N. C. L. xv).

⁵ C. S. E. L. xlvii. 177-226 ; A.-N. C. L. xv. 119-62.

⁶ C. S. E. L. xlvii. 227-89 ; A.-N. C. L. xv. 333-406.

Tertullian also might have made good his claim to the latter title. As an anti-monarchian he was a strenuous defender of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, and he was also a lucid exponent of the Catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ. But he lapsed into Montanism. Irenaeus, on the other hand, stood his ground, as became the successor of St. John, of Ignatius, and Polycarp: for such is his position in the development of Christian doctrine. In sharp contrast to the Apologists, who tended to regard the Word as an intermediary between God and the World, Irenaeus gives full expression to the revelation of the Father in the Son, and to the union of man with God in Him. 'Well spake he', says Irenaeus, 'who said that the immeasurable Father was measured in the Son: for the measure of the Father is the Son.'¹ And again: 'The Son of God . . . made Son of Man . . . hath bound and united man to God . . . summing up anew in Himself the old formation of man, that He might first slay sin, then abolish death, and give life to man.'² Tertullian, on the other hand, was himself one of the Apologists. Under Stoical³ rather than Platonic influences, he used language not less equivocal than theirs in regard to the Son.⁴ But he did more than any man to give precision to the terms in which the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation came to be expressed by the Church. It is these and other doctrines, as stated by Irenaeus and Tertullian, that now require brief notice in turn.

The one God, according to them, is both Creator and Redeemer—a point which they are led to emphasize in opposition to Marcion's separation of the just God of the Old Testament from the good God of the Gospel. 'There is therefore', says Irenaeus, 'one God: who by His Word and Wisdom made and arranged all things; and this is the Creator, who also assigned this world to the race of man. In respect, indeed, of His greatness, He is unknown to all them that were made by Him . . . but in respect of His love He is known always by Him through whom He created all things. And this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ; who, in the last

¹ 'Immensus Pater in Filio mensuratus: mensura enim Patris Filius,' Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iv. iv, § 2; cf. iv. vi, § 6, xx, § 7.

² 'Filius Dei . . . filius hominis factus . . . ἤνωσεν . . . τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ . . . Deus hominis antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulans, ut occideret quidem peccatum, evacuet autem mortem, et vivificaret hominem,' Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iii. xviii, §§ 6, 7.

³ Tert. *Apol.* c. xxi; and Document No. 89.

⁴ e. g. 'Fuit . . . tempus cum ei . . . filius non fuit,' Tert. *Adv. Hermogenem*, c. iii, and 'Non sermonalis a principio sed rationalis Deus etiam ante principium', Tert. *Adv. Praxeas*, c. v.

times, was made a man among men that He might join the end unto the beginning, i.e. man to God.’¹ Tertullian uses similar language in repudiation of the idea that ‘up to the fall of man, from the beginning, God was simply good: but, after that, He became a judge both severe and, as the Marcionites will have it, cruel’. He insists that ‘from the very first the Creator was both good, and also just’.² To reconcile God’s justice with His goodness, Irenaeus and Tertullian both lay stress on the conception of it as penal justice. As such, it is compatible with His love. Thus, according to Irenaeus, penalty does not consist in any positive infliction sent from God, but in ‘the separation’ of the sinner ‘from Him’: for God does not punish by express dispensation: ‘punishment’ simply ‘follows’ offence.³ Tertullian, *more suo*, considers this penal justice from the point of view of the inviolability of law: and in the course of his discussion introduces two terms—‘guilt’ and ‘penalty’, which have since had a long and stormy history in Latin theology.⁴ Distinguishing between love and good nature Tertullian shows that the love and the justice of God are inseparable. If, then, God be charged with being the author of evil, he replies that ‘we distinguish between the two meanings of the word in question: and, by separating evils of sin from penal evils, *mala culpa* from *mala poenae*, confine to each of the two classes its own author—the devil as the author of the sinful evils, and God as the creator of penal evils; so that the one class shall be accounted as morally bad, and the other be classed as the operations of justice passing penal sentences against the evils of sin. Of the latter class of evils which are compatible with justice, God is therefore avowedly the creator’.⁵ Thus His love and His holiness, so far from indicating a duality in the divine nature, are but complementary aspects of one whole: and there is one God.

This unity, however, is not numerical, for God is no unit. It is a Unity in Trinity: terms by which, not now in opposition to Gnosticism but to the Monarchianism that followed it, Tertullian was the first to describe the Godhead. It is true that he sometimes misconceives the nature of this unity: for, says he, ‘I understand the divine Monarchy to mean nothing else than a single and

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xx, § 4.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* ii, c. xii.

³ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* v. xxvii, § 2.

⁴ e. g. *Arts.* ii, xxxi.

⁵ Tert. *Adv. Marc.* ii, c. xiv.

only sovereignty'.¹ Here Tertullian borrows the term 'Monarchy' from the Greek theologians. The constructive ideas of Greek theology were metaphysical. When, therefore, the Greeks spoke of the divine Monarchy they meant that in God there is but a single source² of godhead, viz. the Father, from whom Son and Spirit, each equally God, derive their godhead. But the constructive ideas of Tertullian, as a Latin, were political and juristic: so to him, as to us, the divine Monarchy would be apt to convey the notion of the supreme Sovereignty of the Father which, so far as it was shared by the Son, was exercised by Him much as the Emperor's authority might be administered by a viceroy. Thus, by Tertullian when off his guard, the unity of God was presented as administrative³; and the Trinity as economic. But elsewhere, in the same Treatise, Tertullian recovers himself. He got within an ace of anticipating the later formula of 'One Substance in three Persons'; and he taught an essential Trinity. Praxeas, he says, is of opinion 'that one cannot believe in one only God in any other way than by saying that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the very selfsame Person. As if in this way also one were not all, in that all are of one, by unity, that is, of substance; while the mystery of the dispensation is still guarded which distributes the Unity into a Trinity, placing in their order the three [Persons]—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; three, however, not in condition but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in aspect; yet of one substance, and of one condition and of one power, inasmuch as He is one God, from whom these degrees and forms and aspects are reckoned, under the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. How they are susceptible of number without division, will be shown as our treatise proceeds.'⁴ This is to affirm no merely economic but an essential Trinity.

Man is regarded, both by Irenaeus and Tertullian, as possessed of Freedom. 'Being rational', says Irenaeus, 'and therein like unto God, created free in will and in his own power, man is a cause unto himself'.⁵ The sin of our first parents had its consequences,

¹ 'Monarchiam nihil aliud significare scio quam singulare et unicum imperium,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. iii.

² ἀρχή means (a) source, (b) rule.

³ 'Atquin nullam dico dominationem ita unius sui esse, ita singularem, ita monarchiam, ut non per alias proximas personas administretur, quas ipsa prospexerit officiales sibi,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. iii.

⁴ Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. ii.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. iv, § 3.

both to the race for 'that which we lost in Adam was our being in the image and likeness of God',¹ and 'Eve, by her disobedience brought death on herself and on the whole human race'²; and also to the individual, for 'besides the evil which supervenes on the soul from the intervention of the evil spirit, there is an antecedent and, in a certain sense, natural evil which arises from the taint we bring with us from our birth'.³ This birth-sinfulness, moreover, is universal: for 'man in the beginning was beguiled into transgressing God's command; and, on that account, was given over to death and so brought it about that the whole race, thus infected from his seed, became a sharer in and a transmitter of his condemnation'.⁴ But for all this, 'there remains a portion of good in the soul, obscured rather than extinguished'⁵ by the fall. Recovery is possible; and, meanwhile, man's moral freedom is impaired, but not destroyed.

We now pass to the Person, and the work, of Christ as portrayed in Irenaeus and Tertullian.

X Irenaeus, in his Christology, starts from the historical Christ; and develops the redemptive rather than the philosophical significance of the Incarnation. The idea of redemption is his central thought; and the doctrine of the Word forms no essential part of his system. Deprecating any attempt to explain the generation of the Son since it is a 'generation which cannot be declared',⁶ and repudiating physical metaphors such as 'production',⁷ he speaks of the pre-incarnate Son as having been always the revealer of God: for 'ever co-existing with the Father, from of old and from the beginning He ever reveals the Father, even to the Angels and Archangels and Powers and Virtues and all to whom God will reveal Him'.⁸ This revelation was consummated by the Incarnation when the Son of God became son of man; when 'very man' was 'very God' and 'God united Himself with flesh'.

¹ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* III. xviii, § 1.

² Ibid. III. xxii, § 4.

³ 'Ex originis vitio,' Tert. *De Anima*, c. xli. This phrase was a contribution of momentous importance to Latin theology; cf. 'sordes contagionis antiquae' in Cyprian, *De habitu virginum*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 204, ed. G. Hartel: *C. S. E. L.*, tom. iii), and 'peccatum originale' of Aug. *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I, § ii (*Op.* vi. 85 B; *P. L.* xl. 107).

⁴ 'Per quem [*sc.* Satanan] homo a primordio circumventus ut praeceptum Dei excederet, et propterea in mortem datus, exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum suae etiam damnationis traducem fecit,' Tert. *De test. animae*, c. iii: for *infectum*, cf. Art. ix.

⁵ Tert. *De anima*, c. xli, and Document No. 101.

⁶ 'Generatio inenarrabilis,' Iren. *Adv. Haer.* II. xxviii, § 6; Is. liii. 8.

⁷ *προβολή*, *prolatio*, *ibid.*

⁸ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* II. xxx, § 9.

Then 'all saw the Father in the Son; for that which is invisible of the Son is the Father, and that which is visible of the Father is the Son'. Thus 'the end was joined unto the beginning, i.e. man to God. And therefore the prophets, having received from the same Word the gift of prophecy, announced His coming in the flesh, whereby was wrought the commixture and communion of God and man according to the Father's good pleasure; the Word of God announcing before from the beginning that God shall be seen of men, and converse with them, and be present with that which He hath formed, saving it, and having become such as to be received by it; delivering us also from the hands of all that hate us, i.e. from the whole spirit of transgression; and causing us to serve Him in holiness and righteousness all our days; that man, having welcomed God's Spirit, may tend to the glory of the Father.'¹ 'Here', it has been said, as in similar passages² of Irenaeus, 'we have a complete and coherent view of redemptive history: which has, in fact, become part of the permanent thought of the Church. The unity of the author of creation and redemption is asserted; docetic ideas of Christ's humanity are set aside; the historic development recorded in Scripture is acknowledged; the continuity of revelation is maintained; the proof from prophecy is recognised. It would be difficult to find in any Church writer a greater comprehensiveness of thought, or a simpler grasp of the great facts of the Bible history as Christianity has interpreted it.'³

Tertullian, for his Christology, makes use of the doctrine of the *Logos*, as did other Apologists before him. He assigns to God *Logos* in the sense of Utterance [Speech or Word] as well as of Reason. The Divine Reason God possessed 'before the beginning', i.e. from all eternity, so that the *Logos* as thus belonging to the Divine Essence is 'spirit'. But the Divine *Logos* as Word or Utterance was 'not from the beginning'.⁴ 'His perfect nativity

¹ Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iv. xx, § 4.

² Ibid. iv. xx, § 7.

³ R. L. Ottley, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*², 213 (Methuen, 1902).

⁴ 'Ante omnia Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia. Solus autem quia nihil aliud extrinsecus praeter illum. Ceterum ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum quam habebat in semetipso rationem, suam scilicet. Rationalis enim Deus, et ratio in ipso prius, et ita ab ipso omnia. Quae ratio sensus ipsius est. Hanc Graeci Λόγον dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. Ideoque iam in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis sermonem dicere in primordio apud Deum fuisse, cum magis rationem competat antiquiorem haberi, quia non sermonalis a principio sed rationalis Deus ante principium, et quia ipse quoque sermo ratione consistens priorem eam ut substantiam suam ostendat,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. v.

was when He proceeds forth from God—formed¹ by Him first to devise and think out all things under the name of Wisdom . . . then afterwards begotten to carry all into effect.’² In other words, Tertullian seems to conceive the *Logos* as impersonal [Reason] before this movement with a view to creation, but personal [Word] afterwards. It is, in fact, his generation, by which He became Son of God. This ‘prolation’³ implies distinctness in manner of subsistence and subordination in position or rank.⁴ ‘The Father is the entire substance of the Godhead ; the Son is but a derivation from and a portion of the whole.’⁵ But this relation has analogies in nature, where distinctness by no means implies separation and derivation is seen to be compatible with unity of essence. ‘God sent forth the Word just as the root puts forth the tree, and the fountain the river, and the sun the ray.’⁶ The Son, then, thus begotten in eternity became incarnate in the Virgin’s womb⁷ and was born in time. Tertullian starting with the *Logos* ended by giving prominence to the Sonship, and so to personal relations within the Trinity. His tendency is to regard the essence of the Son as eternal, but His Person as having an origin with time. But in describing the Son as bound to the Father by a ‘unity of substance’⁸ and as, when incarnate, One who had so ‘clothed Himself in flesh’ as to be found ‘in twofold condition which is not confounded but conjoined in one Person, Jesus both God and Man’,⁹ Tertullian anticipates the very language into which the

¹ Prov. viii. 22.

² ‘Haec est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit ; conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiae . . . dehinc generatus ad effectum,’ Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. vii.

³ *προβολήν*, ‘id est, prolationem’, *ibid.*, c. viii.

⁴ ‘Ita et de Spiritu Spiritus et de Deo Deus modulo alternum non numero gradu non statu fecit, et a matrice non recessit sed excessit,’ Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxi, and Document No. 89. This passage of A. D. 197 contains the outline afterwards filled by the *De carne Christi*, A. D. 208–11, and the *Adv. Praxean*, A. D. 213.

⁵ ‘Non tamen diversitate alium Filium a Patre, sed distributione ; nec divisione alium, sed distinctione ; quin non sit idem Pater et Filius, vel modulo alius ab alio. Pater enim tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et portio, sicut ipse profitetur : “Quia Pater maior me est”’, Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. ix.

⁶ ‘Protulit enim Deus Sermonem . . . sicut radix fruticem et fons fluvium et sol radium . . . nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo Sermo,’ *ibid.*, c. viii.

⁷ In John i. 13 he reads ‘qui . . . natus est’ [ὅς . . . ἐγεννήθη], and thence argues for ‘ex Maria Virgine’, *De carne Christi*, cc. xix–xxi.

⁸ The Word is ‘Deum dictum ex unitate substantiae’ with God, Tert. *Apol.* xxi ; cf. ‘Qui tres unum sunt . . . ad substantiae unitatem’, *Adv. Praxean*, xxv.

⁹ ‘Videmus duplicem statum, non confusum sed coniunctum in una

final definitions¹ of St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon were cast ; and even provides an example, while insisting on this unity of Person in two Natures, of the *Communicatio idiomatum* justified by it. 'The Son of God', he is bold to say, 'was born : I am not ashamed because men must needs be ashamed of it. And the Son of God died ; it is by all means to be believed, because it is absurd.'² There is "an undertone here of indignation against the *a priori* ideas, entertained by Marcion and his school, of what was unworthy of God. Ethical considerations are to determine this point : enough that 'Christ loved the being whom He redeemed at so great a cost'. When, therefore, Tertullian's Stoicism inclines him to ascribe corporeity to God,³ and to the soul of man,⁴ he receives no shock from the connexion thus required between spirit and matter : and again, when his fervent anti-docetism led him to insist on the dignity⁵ and the sanctity⁶ of the body as also on the reality of our Lord's human soul,⁷ he does so in accordance with his fundamental convictions that God's moral glories, specially his condescensions, are the things that are most worthy of Him, and that matter has been consecrated⁸ by the Incarnation to be the vehicle of Spirit. No statement of the principle of the Incarnation and the Sacraments could be found more emphatic or lucid than Tertullian's 'defence of the flesh. . . . The flesh is the very condition on which salvation hinges. And since the soul is, in

Persona, Deum et hominem Iesum. . . . Et adeo salva est utriusque proprietatis substantiae ut et spiritus [= our Lord's Divine nature] res suas egerit in illo, id est virtutes et opera et signa, et caro passiones suas functa sit, esuriens sub diabolo, sitiens sub Samaritide, flens Lazarum, anxia usque ad mortem, denique et mortua est. . . . Quia substantiae ambae in statu suo quaeque distincte agebant, ideo illis et operae et exitus sui occurrerunt,' Tert. *Adv. Praxean*, c. xxvii.

¹ Cf. the Tome of St. Leo, *Ep.* xxviii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 812 sq.; *P. L.* liv. 763 A, B). Leo, according to later usage, uses *natura* where Tertullian uses *substantia* of the Godhead and the manhood respectively in our Lord's one Person.

² 'Natus [*v. l.* crucifixus] est Dei Filius ; non pudet, quia pudendum est. Et mortuus est Dei Filius ; prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est,' Tert. *De carne Christi*, c. v.

³ 'Quis enim negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi "Deus Spiritus est" ? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis, in sua effigie,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. vii.

⁴ Tert. *De anima*, v-ix, where note [c. ix] the revelation made to a Montanist sister in support of it ; and Document No. 101.

⁵ 'Nulla substantia digna est quam Deus induat. Quodcunque induerit, ipse dignum facit,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii, c. 10.

⁶ Tert. *De carne Christi*, cc. iv-vi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, c. x.

⁸ 'Phidiae manus Iovem Olympium ex ebore molitur. . . . Deus vivus, Deus verus quamcunque materiae vilitatem non de sua operatione purgasset et ab omni infirmitate sanasset ?' Tert. *De resurrectione carnis*, c. vi.

consequence of its salvation, chosen to the service of God, it is the flesh which actually renders it capable of such service. The flesh, indeed, is washed in order that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed [with the cross], that the soul too may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of hands, that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on [its] God.¹

The work of Christ, according to Irenaeus, is, as God incarnate, to redeem us, for 'God became man and the Lord Himself saved us'²; and, as Mediator, to reconcile God and man. 'It became the Mediator between God and man, by His connexion with either side, to gather both into friendship and concord; and, while He presented man to God, to make God known unto man.'³ But for the Word thus to become man involved a quiescence on His part: 'for as He was man that He might be tempted, so He was also the Word that He might be glorified: the Word remaining inactive in His temptation and dishonour and crucifixion and death, but going along with the Man in his victory and endurance and works of goodness and resurrection and ascension.'⁴ Further, in order that man's nature might, in its entirety, be united to God, a 'recapitulation'⁵ of it took effect in Christ as 'second Adam'; and part of this 'recapitulation' was 'to take up anew and carry to a victorious issue the conflict in which mankind had been worsted'.⁶ 'It was meet that the Person who undertook to slay sin and to redeem man, when guilty of death, should become that very thing which the other party was, i.e. Man: that, as man had been dragged into slavery, and was holden of death, so sin might be slain by man and man go out from death. . . . What He appeared, that indeed He was, God summing up anew in Himself the old formation of man that He might first slay sin, then abolish death and give life to man.'⁷ This is to anticipate the argument of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 1093-†1109, as to *Cur Deus*

¹ Tert. *De resur. carnis*, c. viii. The rites of baptism, confirmation, and first communion here mentioned are the rites of Christian initiation. Tertullian speaks of them 'as being universally received and as of long standing', L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 335 sq.

² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xxi, § 1.

³ Ibid. iii. xviii, § 7.

⁴ Ibid. iii. xix, § 3.

⁵ On the doctrine of the 'Recapitulation', see R. L. Ottley, *The Incarnation*², 219 sqq.

⁶ Ibid. 215.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xviii, § 7.

*Homo*¹; and in this connexion there first developed in Irenaeus that theory of the Atonement of which Anselm was to make an end.² The theory turned upon the conception of Satan having rights over mankind. Of these, Christ deprived him in lawful conflict; but He preferred to acquire them 'by way of persuasion',³ and the devil freely consented to accept the death of Christ as a ransom for us his prisoners. So 'while he was justly led captive who had led man captive unjustly; man, who had before been led captive, was withdrawn from his possessor's power, by the mercy of God the Father: who pitied His own handiwork, and gave it salvation, renewing it by the Word'.⁴ With Tertullian, the work of Christ centres in the passion. 'If His sufferings', says Tertullian, 'are imaginary, God's entire work is subverted and Christ's death, wherein lies the whole weight and fruit of the Christian name, is denied.'⁵ The term 'satisfaction'⁶ appears first in Tertullian, but in relation to works of repentance, and simply means 'making amends'. We shall recur to it later, in connexion with controversies arising out of the penitential discipline, in the third century.

The doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments is, in Irenaeus, closely connected with the Ascension of our Lord and the work of the Holy Spirit. Through the agency of the Spirit human nature had long been under preparation for being made spiritual. God 'provided that there should be prophets on earth, accustoming man to bear His Spirit, and to have communion with God'.⁷ This condition our humanity reached in the glorified manhood of the ascended Lord: whence the Spirit proceeds 'to make us partakers of Christ and to be the ladder whereby we ascend to God'.⁸ He is

¹ '[Satisfactio] quam nec potest facere nisi Deus, nec debet nisi homo; necesse est, ut eam faciat Deus homo,' Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, ii, § 6.

² Ibid. i, § 7. For this theory see the references given by J. H. Srawley, *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*, § 23 (Cambr. Patristic Texts), p. 89, n. 2.

³ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. i, § 1. This view was held by Origen, *Comment. in Matth.*, tom. xvi, § 8 (*Op.* iii. 725; *P. G.* xiii. 1397 A) and *Comment in Rom.*, lib. ii, § 13 (*Op.* iv. 495; *P. G.* 911 c); Ambrose, *Ep.* lxxii, § 8 (*Op.* ii. i. 1072 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 1243 c); Augustine, *De Trinitate*, xiii, § 18 (*Op.* viii. 939 sq.; *P. L.* xlii. 1028); Leo, *Sermo*, xxii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 70; *P. L.* liv. 196 B); Gregory the Great, *Magna Moralia*, xxxiii, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 1084 sq.; *P. L.* lxxvi. 680), and Gregory of Nyssa, *ut sup.* It is repudiated by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* xlv, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 862; *P. G.* xxxvi. 654), and John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, iii, §§ 1, 27 (*Op.* i. 203, 250; *P. G.* xciv. 981 sqq., 1096 c).

⁴ Ibid. v. xxi, § 3.

⁵ Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, III. viii.

⁶ Tert. *De penitentia*, c. v and note k in *L. F.* x. 369.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xiv, § 2.

⁸ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. xxiv, § 1.

‘ that purest fountain proceeding from the body of Christ ’ and the sphere of His operation is the Church. For ‘ in the Church ’, it is said, ‘ God hath set Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, and all the other working of the Spirit : whereof none are partakers who run not unto the Church. . . . For where the Church is, there also is the Spirit of God ; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace ’.¹ His instruments are Baptism—for, at the baptism of our Lord, ‘ He came down upon the Son of God, made Son of Man, using Himself to dwell with mankind and to rest among men, and to reside in the work of God’s hands, working the will of the Father in them and renewing them out of old age into the newness of Christ ’² and the Eucharist. This consists, owing to His operation, and independently of any question of reception by the communicant, of an ‘ outward ’ and an ‘ inward part ’: for ‘ the bread from the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread but Eucharist, composed of two things, both an earthly and an heavenly one ’.³ It is also a spiritual sacrifice. ‘ Giving counsel to His disciples to offer unto God the first-fruits of His creatures. . . . He took that which is part of the creation, viz. bread, and gave thanks, saying, “ This is my body ”. And the cup likewise, which is of that creation which appertains to us, He professed to be His own blood, and taught men the new oblation of the New Testament.’⁴ Here the outward elements are the immediate matter of the oblation ; but, after the invocation or consecration, they become associated with the Body and Blood : and, when Irenaeus adds, ‘ the altar is in heaven, for thither our prayers and oblations are directed ’,⁵ clearly the oblation is Christ Himself, and the table on which the bread and cup were placed are, on Irenaeus’s own showing, subordinately an altar.⁶

Tertullian, who affirms the eternal mission of ‘ the Spirit ’ when he speaks of Him as deriving ‘ from no other source than from the Father through the Son ’,⁷ speaks in no uncertain tones of His temporal mission and of His work through the Sacraments. ‘ The rule of faith is that . . . Jesus Christ . . . sent in His stead the

¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xxiv, § 1.

² Ibid. iii. xvii, § 1.

³ Ibid. iv. xviii, § 5. Justin argues from the Incarnation to the reality of the Eucharistic Gifts, *Apol.* i. lxvi, § 2. Here Irenaeus argues against the Gnostics, from the reality of the Eucharistic Gifts to the resurrection of the body : see H. B. Swete, ‘ Eucharistic Belief in the second and third centuries ’, *J. T. S.* iii. 170 sq.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xvii, § 5.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xviii, § 6 ; and Document No. 77.

⁶ Cf. W. Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, 113, n. 1.

⁷ Tertullian, *Adv. Praxeas*, c. iv.

power of the Holy Ghost to work upon believers ' ¹; and the sphere of His operation is the Church. Likening the Church to ' the ark ' ² and to a ' mother ', ³ he says that in Baptism ' waters, from the ancient privilege of their origin, obtain, after prayer to God, the sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and so sanctified, they imbibe the power of sanctifying ' ⁴. Then, after unction, which he represents not as prescribed by Apostles but as suggested by the anointings of the Old Testament, ⁵ the presence of the Holy Spirit is further ' invited ' and secured in Confirmation, as we now call it. ' Next to Baptism, the hand is laid upon us, calling and inviting the Holy Spirit, through the blessing. ' ⁶ As to Infant Baptism he disliked the practice, though that was to testify to its prevalence. He advised the postponement of Baptism, not only in the case of children but of all unmarried persons, not because it was a thing of trifling importance, but because it was all too important, conveying as it did a ' divine substance '. ' They that understand the weighty nature of Baptism will fear its attainment rather than its postponement. ' ⁷ As to the Eucharist, ' Tertullian differs from Justin and Irenaeus in two material points ' ⁸ with regard to the Presence. First, he looks not to any invocation but to the Words of Institution as making the Eucharist what it is: for ' having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body, by saying " This is my body " ' ⁹. Hence, while occasionally writing ' the eucharist ', ¹⁰ ' the sacrament of the eucharist ', ¹¹ or ' the holy thing ', ¹² he more commonly writes, with Latin downrightness, ' the body ' or ' the blood ' of the Lord: as, for instance, when, in indignation at the admission of idolaters to the sacred ministry, he asks, ' What hands ought more to be cut off than those by which offence is done to the body of the Lord ? ' ¹³; or when he

¹ ' Vicariam vim Spiritus sancti, ' Tert. *De praesc. haeret.*, c. xiii.

² Tert. *De baptismo*, c. viii.

³ Tert. *De oratione*, c. ii; whence ' Habere iam non potest Deum Patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem ', Cyprian, *De unitate ecclesiae*, § 6 (*Op. i.* 214: ed. G. Hartel, *C. S. E. L.*), and Calvin's adaptation of it in *Institutio*, iv. i, § 4.

⁴ Tert. *De baptismo*, c. iv.

⁵ Ibid., c. vii.

⁶ Ibid., c. viii: ' Hand ' in Confirmation, ' hands ' in Ordination is the distinction usually maintained in the language of the Church.

⁷ Ibid., c. xviii; and Doc. No. 98.

⁸ H. B. Swete, *ut sup.*—*J. T. S.* iii. 172.

⁹ Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. xl.

¹⁰ Tert. *De praescr. haer.*, c. xxxvi.

¹¹ Tert. *De cor. mil.*, c. iii; and Document No. 97.

¹² ' Sanctum, ' Tert. *De spectaculis*, c. xxv.

¹³ Tert. *De idololatria*, c. vii.

speaks of 'the body of the Lord as having been received, and reserved'¹ for consumption at home. Here 'it is clear that, in the judgment of Tertullian, the bread and the cup are not our Lord's body and blood only in the act of communion, or to the faith of the recipient; they are such in themselves by virtue of Christ's ordinance and promise'.² The presence, in short, depends upon consecration, not upon communion. But, secondly, if it be asked in what sense he calls the elements the Lord's body and blood, we have to note some further peculiarities of his language. Thus, to the assertion that 'He made the bread His own body, by saying "This is my body"', Tertullian adds, 'that is, the figure of my body'³: he says that Christ in the words 'Give us this day our daily bread' 'included His body under the category of bread'⁴; and that 'He makes His own body present by means of bread'.⁵ In Tertullian's judgement, then, 'the bread and cup are figures, though not bare figures, since by Christ's ordinance they are authorised and effective representations of the realities which they symbolise. Such a view well accords with the legal bent of the great African's mind. Frigid and jejune as it may seem, it does not appear to have interfered with his sense of the reality of the Gift.'⁶ 'The flesh', he says, 'feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on [its] God'⁷; and 'we feel pained if any of the wine, or even of our bread, be spilled upon the ground'.⁸ Indeed, the frigidity of some of his language would have been a charge repudiated with some warmth by Tertullian. Symbols were not, as with us, contrasted with realities in the language and the thought of the third century: 'at that time "symbol" denoted a thing which . . . really is what it signifies'⁹; and if Tertullian appears to turn 'this is my body' into 'this is a figure of my body' we must not forget that he is there 'using Eucharistic doctrine as a weapon against Marcion's doctrine',¹⁰ and

¹ Tert. *De oratione*, c. xix. ² H. B. Swete, *ut sup.*—*J. T. S.* iii. 172.

³ 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit "Hoc est corpus meum" dicendo, id est, "figura corporis mei": figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus,' Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 40.

⁴ 'Corpus eius in pane censetur,' Tert. *De oratione*, c. vi.

⁵ 'Quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat,' Tert. *Adv. Marc.* i. 14.

⁶ H. B. Swete, *ut sup.*—*J. T. S.* iii. 173 sq.

⁷ Tert. *De resurrectione carnis*, c. viii.

⁸ Tert. *De cor. mil.*, c. iii.

⁹ A Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 144, as quoted in C. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, 89 (ed. 1907). Cf. K. R. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, § 73.

¹⁰ C. H. Turner on 'Figura corporis mei in Tertullian', *J. T. S.* vii. 597.

professes to 'have proved' in that passage, 'from the sacrament of the bread and the cup, the verity of the Lord's body and blood in opposition to Marcion's phantom'.¹ It is testimony to the immense influence of Tertullian over Latin theology, Catholic and Reformed, that one and the same sentence of his should, in its first part, have given rise to the ordinary Western theory that the consecration is effected by the Words of Institution²—' "Hoc est corpus meum", dicendo', and in its second part, 'id est, figura corporis mei', have been appealed to by Oecolampadius,³ 1482–†1531, and the Reformed in support of their interpretation of the Words of Institution to mean a merely figurative presence. But with Tertullian, no interpretation of 'figura' can be admitted which does not square with his intention to use the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist as an argument fatal to Marcion's denial of a real body in the Incarnate. Tertullian, therefore, is not an exception to the type of thought prevalent in the early Church in respect of the real presence in the Eucharist. As to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, his language is unstudied but unequivocal. Justin and Irenaeus only speak of the Eucharist in sacrificial phraseology when interpreting types or prophecies of the Old Testament—Malachi's prophecy, for instance, of 'a pure offering'.⁴ But Tertullian, borrowing perhaps the terminology of the Old Latin version of the Old Testament, uses 'sacrifice',⁵ 'priest',⁶ and 'altar'⁷ in a Christian sense; employs the phrase 'to offer'⁸ absolutely, for there was no need to explain what was offered; and speaks of 'oblations on behalf of the departed',⁹ which we thus first come across in the church of North Africa. Writing as a Catholic he blames heretics because 'even on laymen they impose sacerdotal functions'¹⁰; and, even as a Montanist, he says,

¹ Tert. *Adv. Marcionem*, v. viii.

² For which see the rubric following the words of administration in the Order of Holy Communion.

³ As quoted in D. Stone, *A History of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, ii. 40, n. 2.

⁴ Malachi i. 11, and Swete in *J. T. S.* iii. 164. He refers to Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, cc. xxviii, xli, cxvi, and Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iv. xvii, §§ 5 sq.

⁵ Tert. *De oratione*, c. xix; *Ad Scapulam*, c. ii.

⁶ 'Summus sacerdos qui est episcopus,' Tert. *De baptismo*, c. xvii.

⁷ 'Nonne sollemnior erit statio tua si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore et reservato utrumque salvum est et participatio sacrificii et executio officii. . . . Statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit,' Tert. *De oratione*, c. xix.

⁸ Tert. *De monogamia*, c. x.

⁹ 'Oblationes pro defunctis,' Tert. *De cor. mil.*, c. iii, and Document No. 97.

¹⁰ Tert. *De praescr. haer.*, c. xli.

‘ We receive the sacrament of the Eucharist from the hands of no others than our presidents’,¹ i.e. the clergy. On emergency, he allows the laity ministerial rights, for, according to Montanists, ‘ where three are, there is the Church, though they be laymen’. But these rights are sacerdotal—‘ where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical order, you offer, and baptize and are a priest, alone for yourself’²—and they do not dispense with the rights of the ministry which Tertullian assumes to be of apostolic origin.³

¹ Tert. *De cor. mil.*, c. iii.

² Tert. *De exhortatione castitatis*, c. vii, on which passage see W. Bright, *Some Aspects*, &c., 66 sq.

³ Tert. *De monogamia*, c. xii, and *De Fuga*, c. xiii.

CHAPTER XIII

CHURCH AND STATE, 200-50

By the end of the second century the Church had made good her position. During the third she so strengthened it that, early in the fourth, she forced the State, at last, to grant her recognition; and, meanwhile, the development of her thought and life went on under the influence of contemporary culture. It is these two movements, the one toward reconciliation with the Empire and the other toward a fuller life of her own, that now demand attention. In this chapter, after a sketch of the political and constitutional history of the third century, we shall deal with the relations of Church and State, 200-50. They comprise a decade of persecution, *c.* 200-10, followed by a generation of peace, 210-50. Chapters xiv and xv will be devoted to the inner growth of the Church during this 'long peace'¹; chapter xvi to a second decade of persecution, *c.* 250-60, under Decius and Valerian, with its consequences; chapter xvii to a second generation of peace that followed, *c.* 260-300—a period as fertile in missionary activity as in theological discussion. Chapter xviii will record how, after a final decade of persecution inaugurated under Diocletian and brought to a close by the Edict of Milan, 313, the inner life of the Church was disturbed by the schisms of Meletianism and Donatism, but her relations with the State became friendly. Another decade, 313-23, saw Constantine sole Emperor, and with his rise to supreme power the Church in the Empire became the Church of the Empire.

§ 1. Politically, the third century witnessed the beginning of the decline of the Roman Empire.²

Upon the murder of Commodus,³ 31 December 192, 'the strong hand of the African soldier Septimius Severus', 193-†211, kept the Empire fairly intact; but on his death it fell a prey to internal disruption and barbaric invasion.

¹ 'Pax longa,' Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 5; and Document No. 132.

² For this sketch of 'The Empire in the third century, 193-284', see H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*⁴, 521 sqq.

³ *Vita Commodi*, xvii, §§ 1, 2 (*Script. Hist. August.* i. 110: Teubner, 1884), and Gibbon, c. iv (ed. Bury, i. 96).

The disruption may easily be measured by the fact that from the death of Severus to the accession of Diocletian, 211-84, 'twenty-three emperors sat in the seat of Augustus'. They are known as 'the Barrack-room Emperors'¹; they reigned, on an average, a little over three years each; and all save three—Decius, 249-†51, Valerian, 253-60, and Claudius, 268-†70—died violent deaths either at the hands of a mutinous soldiery or by the orders of a successful rival. 'Tyrants,'² as the unsuccessful pretenders . . . were called, reappear with almost unfailing regularity in each reign'; but the evil reached its height under Gallienus, 253-†68. 'He was a master', says Gibbon, 'of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, an elegant poet, an excellent cook and a most contemptible prince.'³ Under him the central authority was powerless and provincial empires were set up—that of Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus in Gaul, 259-73, and that of the Syrian Odaenathus, †267, and his widow Zenobia in the East. But Aurelian, 270-†5, by the capture of Zenobia,⁴ 272, and the surrender of Tetricus, 273, restored to the Empire its unity; and this was maintained by his three successors, Tacitus 275-†6, Probus 276-†82, and Carus 282-†3.

The barbarians took advantage of these dissensions to break in upon the Empire. Thus in 236 the Alemanni crossed the Rhine,⁵ but were eventually driven out of Gaul by Postumus, 258-†68. In 247 the Goths crossed the Danube,⁶ and inflicted a disaster upon the Roman arms by the defeat and death of Decius, †251, in the marshes of the Dobrudscha.⁷ From 253 to 268, under Valerian and Gallienus, they acquired a fleet and made raids by sea, ravaging the shores of Greece and burning the temple of Diana at Ephesus.⁸ In 269 they marched south again,

¹ T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 11. He enumerates from the death of Augustus, A. D. 14, (1) the Julian and Claudian Emperors, 4, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, 14-68; (2) the Flavian Emperors, 3, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, 69-96; (3) the Adoptive Emperors, 6, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus, Commodus, 96-192; (4) the Barrack Emperors, 24, Severus to Numerian, 193-283; (5) the Partnership Emperors 8, Diocletian to Licinius, 284-323; (6) the Theologian Emperors, 3, Constantine, Constantius, and Julian, 323-363; (7) the Sovereigns of the Sinking Empire, 6, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, Valentinian II, 364-95—a convenient classification, though not a complete list.

² For the 'Thirty Tyrants', see Pollio, *Tyranni triginta* (*Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. 99-132) and Gibbon, ed. Bury, vol. i, app. 18.

³ Gibbon, c. x (i. 273 sq.).

⁴ Gibbon, c. xi (i. 308).

⁵ Gibbon, c. x (i. 258).

⁶ Gibbon, c. x (i. 245).

⁷ Ibid. (i. 249).

⁸ Ibid. (i. 265-7).

till they were defeated by Claudius at Naïssus,¹ now Nish, in Serbia. Peace, at last, was restored on the Danube by Aurelian, 270-†5, who, however, finally abandoned Dacia²; and on the Rhine by Probus³ in 276. Third and last of the invaders came the Persians, who crossed the Euphrates in 250. Hitherto, the eastern frontier had separated the Empire from 'the formidable power of the Parthians, which spread from India to the frontiers of Syria'.⁴ But the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidae was in 226 'subdued by Ardashîr or Artaxerxes, 226-†41, the founder of a new dynasty which, under the name of Sassanides, governed Persia till the invasion of the Arabs'.⁵ The Sassanidae were a new and vigorous house, Persian both in blood and religion; and under Sapor I, 241-†72, the Persians defeated and took Valerian prisoner near Edessa, 260, and captured Antioch. But they received a check, being driven out of Syria by Odaenathus,⁶ 263; and out of Armenia and Mesopotamia, of which they had gained possession on the fall of Zenobia, by the Emperor Carus,⁷ in 282.

Thus the frontiers, as well as the unity, of the Empire were once more restored as under Severus, before the epoch of 'the Partnership Emperors', Diocletian to Licinius, 284-323, began.

But anarchy is the only word to describe the period that intervened. The *Pax Romana* became a by-word, and the fortification of Rome by Aurelian—'a great but a melancholy labour'⁸—tells its own tale. 'War, plague, and famine had thinned the population and crippled the resources of the provinces. . . . Land was running waste, cities and towns were decaying, and commerce was paralysed. Only with the greatest difficulty were sufficient funds squeezed from the exhausted taxpayers to meet the increasing cost of the defence of the frontiers. The old-established culture and civilization of the Mediterranean world rapidly declined, and the mixture of barbaric rudeness with Oriental pomp and luxury which marked the court even of the better emperors, such as Aurelian, was typical of the general deterioration'.⁹

The Empire was 'rescued from tyrants and barbarians . . . by a succession of Illyrian peasants',¹⁰ beginning with Diocletian.

¹ Gibbon, c. xi (i. 289).

² Ibid. (i. 294).

³ Ibid. (i. 329).

⁴ Gibbon, c. viii (i. 196).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gibbon, c. x (i. 269 sqq.).

⁷ Ibid., c. xii (i. 339 sq.).

⁸ Ibid., c. xi (i. 299).

⁹ Pelham, *Outlines*⁴, 526.

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 376).

He became Emperor 17 September 284¹; celebrated his *Vicennalia*² 20 November 303; abdicated³ 1 May 305, in loyalty to the constitution which he had set up; and died at Salona, 313.⁴ With the object of putting an end to the evils of disruption and invasion which had been all but fatal to the Empire during the third century, Diocletian introduced a new system of government which entitles him to rank as its second founder. His measures had three main effects.

First, the new constitution⁵ gave 'increased stability to the imperial authority' by providing automatically for the succession, and by satisfying the jealous rivalry of the armies of the Rhine, the Danube, and of Syria with an *Imperator* each of its own. Thus from 286 there were two Augusti⁶: Diocletian, who ruled over Thrace, Asia, Syria, and Egypt from Nicomedia—'a city placed on the verge of Europe and Asia, almost at an equal distance between the Danube and the Euphrates',⁷ so that he could watch two frontiers from it; and Maximian, 286-†310, who ruled over Italy, Africa, and Spain from Milan. Here he, too, could keep an eye on two frontiers, the Rhine and the Danube; and Milan was 'far more convenient than Rome for the important purpose of watching the motions of the barbarians of Germany'.⁸ Closely bound to the two Augusti were the two Caesars: for on 1 March 293 they were taken into association with their chiefs by a title that meant succession,⁹ and each was given the daughter of his master to wife. Thus Galerius,¹⁰ 305-†11, also an Illyrian peasant by origin, married Valeria the daughter of Diocletian, and ruled from Sirmium, now Mitrowitz on the Save, over the Illyrian provinces and the line of the Danube; while Constantius,¹¹ 305-†6, of noble birth in Moesia, married Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximian, and ruled from Trêves over Gaul and Britain and the line of the Rhine. The Caesars 'had no legislative

¹ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 350).

² Ibid. (i. 376).

³ Ibid. (i. 385).

⁴ So G. Goyau, *Chronologie*, 388; others say 316, *ibid.*, n. 7.

⁵ Pelham, *Outlines*⁴, 527 sqq.; Gibbon, c. xvii (i. 158 sqq., and appendices 10-13; *ibid.* 547 sqq.); T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 200 sqq., and *The Dynasty of Theodosius*, 33 sqq. (Clar. Press, 1889).

⁶ Diocletian adopted Maximian as Caesar 1 April 285, and as Augustus 1 April 286, W. Liebenam, *Fasti consulares imperii Romani*, 118 (H. Lietzmann, *Kleine Texte*, 41/43): Bonn, 1910.

⁷ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 378).

⁸ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 378).

⁹ Pelham, *Outlines*⁴, 528, n. 1. The monarchy was, in practice, *elective*; Diocletian made it *adoptive*; Constantine, *dynastic*.

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 353 sq.).

¹¹ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 354).

power, no control over the Imperial revenue, no *consistorium*. Nor had they the right of appointing the officials in their dominions. Their military powers were dependent on the Augusti, to whom all their victories were ascribed. They wore the purple but not the diadem'.¹ As adopted sons of the Augusti their office was to provide for a peaceable succession, when their fathers should resign, as was pre-arranged, in their favour. Meanwhile, the Augusti retained the pre-eminence over their Caesars; and the tetrarchy was also kept in equilibrium by the pre-eminence which Diocletian in his turn retained over his co-Augustus. As if to designate and admit the supremacy of mind over matter, 'the two emperors assumed the titles, the one of Jovius, the other of Herculus'.² As 'colleagues' they were formally equal, but Diocletian held a certain primacy³; and thus he divided the burdens, without sacrificing the unity, of the Empire.

Secondly, the new constitution rendered the Imperial authority absolute. 'Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire'⁴; and 'it is usual to express this fact by saying that the Principate founded by Augustus was transformed by Diocletian into an absolute Monarchy'.⁵ This was done of set purpose, in order to recover prestige: for if it was 'the aim of' Augustus 'to disguise, it was the object of' Diocletian 'to display the unbounded power which the emperors possessed over the Roman world'.⁶ Chrysostom has an eloquent and awe-inspiring description of the Imperial autocracy⁷; but long before his day subjects had been made familiar with it by the pomp assumed at the Imperial court. There were new titles: *Dominus*, so often rejected in favour of *Princeps*, or First Citizen,⁸ by earlier emperors because it suggested that their subjects stood to them as slaves to a lord and master,⁹ became, from Constantine onwards, the ordinary official designation of the Sovereign, meaning 'His Majesty'.¹⁰ Diocletian and Maximian accepted *Deus* as

¹ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 354) n. 16. ² Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 353). ³ Ibid., n. 10.

⁴ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 351). ⁵ Ibid., n. 4. ⁶ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 383).

⁷ Chrysostom describes Theodosius as 'a man who has no equal on earth, but is absolute lord of all things, with power to kill and to destroy', *Hom. xxi in pop. Ant.*, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 220; *P. G.* xlix. 217; cf. *Hom. ii ad pop. Ant.*, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 23; *P. G.* xlix. 36).

⁸ Pelham, *Outlines*⁴, 370, n. 5.

⁹ Speaking of Trajan, Pliny says 'regnum . . . summovet sedemque obtinet principis, ne sit locus domino', Pliny, *Panegyricus*, lv, § 7 (Teubner, 1908), p. 367.

¹⁰ Gibbon, ed. Bury, ii. 548.

well; and, though this, of course, was at first impossible to Christian Emperors,¹ they freely spoke in their laws² of their *Numen* or their 'Sacred Majesty', while their proclamations were 'divine Oracles', their letters 'heavenly and adorable',³ and everything belonging to them 'Sacred'. Again, there were new ornaments: the diadem, 'a broad white fillet set with pearls'⁴ which Aurelian had perhaps been the first to wear⁵; the *nimbus* or aureole, a gold band round the head, which Constantine assumed⁶; the robes of silk, embroidered in gold and studded with gems,⁷ introduced by Aurelian,⁸ or the military purple first adopted in Rome by Septimius Severus.⁹ Finally, there was the new ceremonial. Two *vela* or curtains shrouded the Imperial presence; before them stood the *Silentiarii* on guard, their function being to defend the silence of the Augustus from intrusion,¹⁰ till, at an audience, the subject bent the knee and drew the Imperial mantle to his lips. It was a ceremony connected in origin with the title *Deus*, technically known as 'adoration', and accompanied with prostration.¹¹ Due to the Emperor in person, it was naturally accorded to his Images; and thence to the Images of the Saints who as creatures were assigned 'salutation and reverential adoration', whereas worship proper was reserved only to God.¹² We have here, as in other incidents of the new ceremonial and ornaments, an indication of the influence exerted by the Byzantine Court on the worship and the theology of the Christian Church.¹³

Finally, the new constitution placed the Emperor, as autocrat, at the head of an administrative hierarchy through which he ruled the world at his will. This, as it came to be by the end

¹ An instance to the contrary is quoted in Hodgkin, *Dynasty*, 36 sq.

² Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 381), n. 105.

³ e. g. 'Scripta caelestia Maiestatis vestrae accepta atque adorata,' writes Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, to Constantine *ap. Augustine, Ep. lxxxviii*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 213 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 302).

⁴ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 382).

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 107; ii. 547.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 547.

⁷ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 382); *Eus. V. C.* iii, § 10.

⁸ Gibbon (*ed. Bury*), ii. 547.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ T. Hodgkin, *Dynasty, &c.*, 33 sqq.

¹¹ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 382) and ii. 547.

¹² Cf. the decree of the seventh session of the seventh oecumenical Council at Nicaea, 787, which assigns ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν to Images, but reserves τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν to the Godhead alone, Mansi, *Concilia*, xiii. 377 D, E; C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, v. 375.

¹³ For which see J. Wickham Legg, *Church ornaments and their civil antecedents* (Cambridge, 1917), and F. E. Brightman on 'Byzantine Imperial Coronations' in *J. T. S.* ii. 359-92 (April 1901).

of the fourth century, is described in the *Notitia Dignitatum*,¹ and consisted of four classes. There was, first, the civil administration of the provinces. Diocletian had separated this from the military commands.² Of these civil governors the most important were the great Viceroys or Governors-General, as we might call them. They were the four *Praefecti Praetorio*,³ distinguished as *Illustres*, who ruled over the four Prefectures of *Oriens*, *Illyricum*, *Italia*, and *Galliae*, and with them came to rank two more—the *Praefectus Urbis* of Rome and of Constantinople. The Prefectures were divided into Dioceses,⁴ thirteen in all, by the end of the fourth century, and governed by *Vicarii*, or, as we might call them, Governors. They had the title of *Spectabiles*. Under these came the rulers of the hundred and sixteen provinces.⁵ They were known by varying designations: seventy-one as *Praesides*, five as *Correctores*, thirty-seven as *Consulares*, three as *Proconsules*; but all enjoyed the rank and title of *Clarissimi*. Such were the great officers of State, in the provincial administration. Side by side with them was to be found, secondly, the military leaders⁶: *Magistri militum* in command of troops in attendance on the Emperor, whether *palatini* or *comitatenses*; *Duces* in command of *limitanei* or troops stationed on the frontiers. Beside the provincial and the military hierarchy, there stood also the household or ‘palatial’.⁷ These were the seven ‘Illustrious’ ministers of the Court: the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi* who ‘ruled over an army of pages, scullions, keepers of the wardrobe, grooms of the bedchamber, and the like’, and from whom ‘the thirty gleaming *Silentiarii* who watched outside the purple veil took their orders’⁸; the *Magister Officiorum* who presided over arsenals, posts, Imperial correspondence and petitions, and directed the *Agentes in Rebus*, technically King’s Messengers but in practice, also, ‘official spies’⁹; the *Quaestor*, who prepared the Emperor’s Edicts and shared with the Master of the Offices

¹ Ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1876), and tr. in *Translations and Reprints from the original sources of European history*, vol. vi, No. 4 (P. S. King & Son, 1900). The *Notitia* ‘belongs to the first years of the fifth century’, Gibbon, ii. 549.

² Gibbon (ed. Bury), ii. 547.

³ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 166).

⁴ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 169 sq.), and app. xi (ii. 548).

⁵ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 170 sq.), and app. xi (ii. 548).

⁶ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 174 sqq.), and app. xii (ii. 556 sq.).

⁷ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 182 sqq.); Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., i. 221 sqq.

⁸ Hodgkin, *Dynasty*, 41 sq.

⁹ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 188); *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 36.

the duty of replying to the humble petitions of his subjects ; the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* and the *Comes Largitionum Privatarum*, who were the two great financial ministers of State ; and the two *Comites Domesticorum*, in command of the Imperial Body-guard. Some of these seven ' Illustrious ' personages claimed, by their titles, as will have been noted, the honour of attendance upon something ' sacred '—' the bed-chamber ' or ' the treasury ' of the Emperor. This was a consequence, taken in all seriousness, of the deification of the Sovereign. Last, and next to the palatial hierarchy and in equally close attendance upon the Emperor, there was his *Consistorium*¹ or Privy Council. It consisted of all the highest officials of the State. From it ' went forth all laws, addressed in the Emperor's name, to some great functionary charged to see to their execution. Here, too, were announced the names of those persons whom the Emperor nominated to the highest places in the civil and [the] military service '.² We may note, in passing, the influence of these reforms on the administrative system of the Church : how the territorial episcopate is accounted for, in the main, by the civil divisions into Dioceses, Provinces, and smaller districts³ ; how the torches and the book of instructions set up on a table in the court of a Praetorian Prefect were reproduced in the Christian altar and its furniture⁴ ; how terms like ' the Sacred Palace ' and ' the Consistory ' have come down, through their adoption by the Papacy, from Imperial to modern times. This, however, and much of the details of the new monarchy as here described, have been introduced at this point for convenience only, and by anticipation. We return to the third century, whose anarchy found its remedy, for the time being, in such of the above measures as Diocletian devised. They prolonged the life, but increased the burdens, of the Empire. They immediately arrested, but ultimately aided, its decline.

§ 2. The relations of Church and State for the first decade of the third century were disturbed by persecution under Septimius Severus, 193-†211, and his son Caracalla, 211-†17.⁵

Our principal authorities for the persecution are three pamphlets

¹ Gibbon, ii. 548.

² Hodgkin, *Dynasty*, 37.

³ J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, bk. ix ; W. Bright, *Notes on the Canons*, on Nic. vi, CP. ii, Chalc. xvii ; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, c. i.

⁴ See the photograph in J. W. Legg, *Church Ornaments*, 13, of the ensigns of a Pretorian Prefect from the Bodleian MS. of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

⁵ P. Allard, *Histoire des persécutions*, ii, cc. 1-4 (Lecoffre : Paris, 1886) ; P. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'empire romain* (Lecoffre : Paris, 1897).

of Tertullian—*De corona militis*, *Ad Scapulam*, and *De fuga*—all written c. 211-13, and of his Montanistic epoch; together with the first few chapters of the sixth book of Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, which deal with the youth of Origen.

The persecution was probably due to the increasing prominence of Christians in numbers, ubiquity, and zeal.

As to numbers, the statements of Tertullian are emphatic; and, though they can rarely be taken at their face value, yet they are worth something. 'Day by day', he writes in the *Ad nationes*, 197, 'you groan over the increasing numbers of the Christians. Your constant cry is that the State is beset [by us]; that Christians are in your fields, in your camps, in your islands. You grieve over it as a calamity that each sex, every age—in short, every rank—is passing over from you to us.'¹ In the *Apology*, written shortly afterwards, there is a more famous passage: 'We are men of yesterday: yet we have filled all your places of resort—cities, lodging-houses, villages, towns, markets, even the camp, tribes, town-councils, palace, senate, forum: we have left you nothing but your temples.'² Governors stood in awe of Christian opinion: for, as Tertullian tells Scapula, pro-consul of Africa, when Byzantium, which had sided with the 'tyrant' Pescennius Niger, 193-4, fell to Septimius Severus after a three years' siege, its governor, Caecilius Capella, declared that the victory of Septimius was a triumph for the Christians.³ Severus himself also took their side and 'was mindful of the Christians. For he sought out Proculus a Christian, who was surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Euodia, who had once cured him by means of oil, and kept him in his own palace even to his death: whom also Antoninus [Caracalla] very well knew, nursed as he was upon Christian milk. But, moreover, Severus, knowing that certain most illustrious women and most illustrious men were of this sect, not only did not harm them, but even honoured them by his own testimony, and openly withstood the people when they were mad against us.'⁴

The ubiquity of Christians gave the impression of numbers greater than they actually possessed; and such ubiquity seemed to follow from the easy and frequent intercourse between the dif-

¹ Tert. *Ad nationes*, i. i.

² Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxvii, and Document No. 91.

³ 'Caecilius Capella in illo exitu Byzantino "Christiani, gaudete!" exclamavit,' Tert. *Ad Scapulam*, c. iii.

⁴ Ibid., c. iv.

ferent local churches of Christendom. Thus Hegesippus travelled, c. 160, from Jerusalem to Corinth and Rome.¹ Abercius Marcellus, bishop of Hieropolis, made the journey, c. 170, eastward from his episcopal city to Nisibis, and westward to Rome.² About the same time, the letters of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth,³ were carried to and fro over a wide district: from Rome to Crete, and from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. Christian travellers passed to and from Rome 'out of every quarter' in such numbers as to make the Roman church a mirror of the Christian world: and on this fact Irenaeus could base his argument from tradition, c. 185-90, as best preserved in Rome.⁴ Bishops also and their emissaries came to visit the Roman bishop: Polycarp to see Anicetus,⁵ c. 155, and the bearers of the letter of Polycrates,⁶ bishop of Ephesus, to see Victor, c. 190-200, in the matter of the Paschal question: while, in regard to it, synods were held as far afield as Gaul, Rome, Pontus, Palestine, and even distant Osrhoene.⁷ Thus it was not only individual Christians who passed from place to place, as did Clement of Alexandria in search of teachers,⁸ but the representatives of organized churches. A network of Christian organization was coming into view. In extent and in unity, though not, of course, in the numbers of its adherents, it might seem to rival the organization of the Empire itself.

To numbers and ubiquity Christians added zeal. The Christian propaganda was actively at work. It took effect through the official equipment of the Church, whether the Scriptures, as in the conversion of Tatian⁹ and Theophilus of Antioch,¹⁰ or personal agents. Such agents were 'Evangelists', like Pantaenus—a class which had disappeared, to the grief of Eusebius, by his day,¹¹ and Catechists, such as Origen.¹² But there were unofficial agents also: the old man who diverted Justin from philosophers to the Prophets¹³; philosophers who set up and taught in Christian

¹ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxii, §§ 2, 3, and Document No. 63.

² J. B. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. i. 496, and Document No. 64.

³ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii; and Document No. 54.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. iii, and Document No. 74.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xiv, § 1, v. xxiv, § 10.

⁶ Ibid. v. xxiv, §§ 2-7, and Document No. 82.

⁷ Ibid. v. xxiii, §§ 2, 3.

⁸ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. i. (*Op.* i. 118; *P. G.* viii. 697 sqq.); *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xi, §§ 3-5, and Document No. 107.

⁹ Tatian, *Adv. Graecos*, § 29, and Document No. 50.

¹⁰ Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, ii, § 14, and Document No. 65.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. x, §§ 2, 3.

¹² Eus. *H. E.* vi. iii, §§ 1-3.

¹³ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 7, and Document No. 45.

schools, like Justin himself¹; but, above all, Christians of the artisan and servant class, of whose proselytizing zeal Celsus makes ridicule,² and is genuinely afraid. Thus most Christians were converts: for 'Christians become such and are not born such'.³ It is one of Tertullian's pardonable exaggerations to say so: for there must, by this time, have been children born of Christian parents, and we know from Tertullian, who objected to the practice, that they were baptized in infancy.⁴ But, on the whole, the members of the Church were people who had been heathen; and it may have looked as if individual conversions might, at any moment, lead to desertions from paganism, *en masse*.

The result of such propaganda was alarm. Not that, with all their activity, Christians were other—even by the middle of the century—than, as Origen then counts them, 'very few'⁵: they probably did not amount to five per cent. of the population.⁶ But as early as the reign of Septimius Severus they were already in sufficient force to be visibly drawing off adherents from the official religion of the Empire. The government took alarm.

To check this propaganda the Emperor, in 202, put out an edict in which 'under heavy penalties he forbade people to become Christians'.⁷ The characteristics of the persecution under Severus are thus apparent. First, it was the first official persecution by edict: a foretaste of those that were to follow under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian. Secondly, the edict aimed exclusively at converts; and only in their case reversed the regulation of Trajan that Christians 'are not to be sought out'.⁸ The magistrates often refused the task⁹; but the edict took effect of itself: so, at least, we may best account for the sudden dispersal of the Catechetical School of Alexandria.¹⁰

¹ *Acta Iustini*, c. iii, and Document No. 85.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 55 (*Op.* i. 484; *P. G.* xi. 993 A, B), and Document No. 61.

³ 'De vestris sumus. Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani,' Tert. *Apol.*, c. xviii.

⁴ Tert. *De baptismo*, c. xviii, and Document No. 98.

⁵ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 69 (*Op.* i. 794; *P. G.* xi. 1621 A).

⁶ Gibbon, c. xv. (ii. 65, and app. 5), and, on the comparative progress of ancient and modern missions, see the essay in J. B. Lightfoot, *Historical Essays*, 90 sqq.

⁷ 'Iudaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit,' Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, xvii, § 1 (*Scr. Hist. Aug.* i. 148: Teubner, 1884).

⁸ Pliny, *Epp.* x. xcvi, § 2, and Document No. 14.

⁹ Tert. *Ad Scap.*, c. iv.

¹⁰ Eus. *H. E.* vi. iii, § 1.

A consequence of the order that the police were to take note of conversions, raised an interesting question—hitherto dormant: ‘Is flight legitimate?’ And a discussion ensued which is among the earliest contributions to Christian casuistry. Like other Montanists, Tertullian answered, No. ‘Persecution’, he argues, in the *De fuga*, 213, ‘is (§ 1) the judgment of God: it makes the servants of God better. If, then (§ 4), we are agreed from whom persecution proceeds, clearly we ought not to take flight in time of persecution.’ It is an argument that might be applied, with equal force, to sickness. It would forbid a Christian, when he is ill, to send for the doctor. But teachers of the Church took a saner line, and answered, Yes. Thus Clement of Alexandria, who, like Polycarp,¹ took to flight and so settled the question by example, settled it also in his *Miscellanies*, c. 200-3, by argument. Discussing the precept ‘When they persecute you in this city, flee into the next’,² he observes that our Lord ‘would have us be neither cause, nor joint-cause, of evil to any: neither to ourselves, nor to him who would persecute us or put us to death’³: and, in later days, both Athanasius, in his *Apologia de fuga sua*⁴ of 357-8, and Augustine in his letter⁵ of c. 428-9 to Honoratus, bishop of Thiava, in view of the invasion of Africa by the Vandals, added the weight of their authority to the conclusion that it is justifiable even for bishops and clergy, under certain circumstances, to flee from persecution.

As to the range of the persecution it was sharpest in Egypt and ‘Africa’, and the victims were mainly neophytes. In Alexandria, where Leonides, the father of Origen, was beheaded,⁶ several of Origen’s pupils perished,⁷ including Plutarch, a recent convert,⁸ Serenus, who ‘gave through fire a proof of the faith which he had received’,⁹ Heraclides, ‘as yet a catechumen’, Hero, ‘just baptized’, another Serenus; and ‘of women, Herais, who died while yet a catechumen, receiving baptism by fire’.¹⁰ In Carthage, on 7 March 203, St. Perpetua and her companions were

¹ *Mart. Pol.* v. § 1 *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, § 9, and Document No. 36.

² *Matt.* x. 23.

³ Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv, § 10 (*Op.* i. 216; *P. G.* viii. 1285 B).

⁴ Ath. *Op.* i. 253-66 (*P. G.* xxv. 643-80).

⁵ Aug. *Ep.* cccxxviii, §§ 2, 5, 6 (*Op.* ii. 831 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1014 sqq.); and see J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, c. xii, where he summarizes the arguments of Athanasius, Tertullian, and Augustine on ‘flight’.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. i.

⁷ *Ibid.* vi. iii, § 13.

⁸ *Ibid.* vi. iv, § 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 3.

martyred ; and their *Passion* records how that, with Perpetua, ' were seized certain young persons who were catechumens, Revocatus and his fellow-slave Felicitas, Saturninus, and Secundulus '.¹

It should be added that the persecution did not affect the property of the Church : though it is just about this time that we have the first mention of it as being held corporately, under cover of the local church obtaining registration as a burial club.² The *Coemeterium Callisti* still exists on the Appian Way, and is so called because Pope Zephyrinus, 202-†18, appointed his future successor, Callistus, to be its curator.³

With the accession of Caracalla, 211-†17, the persecution began to die down. In ' Africa ', indeed, it continued for a while under the proconsul Scapula. ' We are being burnt alive ', writes Tertullian after, February 212, the murder of Geta, ' for [the name of] the living God : a thing which they do neither to . . . public enemies nor to traitors '.⁴ We notice here that persecution was still, as before, for the mere profession of Christianity, and not for any crimes. But few magistrates were so ' cruel ' as Scapula ; and Caracalla was much too busy in murdering his brother Geta, in massacring the Alexandrians, and in making himself ' the common enemy of mankind ' ⁵ to trouble the Christians any further.

§ 3. ' The Long Peace ' ⁶ that ensued may be reckoned roughly from the death of Severus to the days of Decius ; and so lasted, with a brief interval, for a generation, c. 210-50. It must be put down to the temper of the age, to the sympathies of the Court, and to the troubles of the Empire following the disappearance of the House of Severus.

The tendencies of the age were religious. On the break-up of the old national religions, ' the ancient mythology had perished with the Republic ' ; and the first century was an age of indifference to religion. But the second century, for paganism, was ' an age of revival '. There is evidence of a widespread desire for monotheistic worship. It was directed to a supreme deity,

¹ *Passio St. Perpetuae*, § 2, ap. *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 2, p. 62.

² For a church under this guise, see *Tert. Apol.*, c. xxxix, and Document No. 92. It is both a comparison and a contrast.

³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12 (p. 456, l. 66 ; edd. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin). On the Cemetery of Callistus, see ' Calliste (Cimetière de)' in F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, ii. 1664-1754.

⁴ *Tert. Ad Scap.*, c. iv.

⁵ Gibbon, c. vi (i. 135).

⁶ Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 240) ; and Document No. 132.

the Sun-God who, whether worshipped as Osiris, Mithra, or Elagabalus of Emesa, represented 'the fatherly, fostering masculine side of the Divine': while his counterpart was found in Isis, or the Great Mother, or the Syrian Goddess, each and all representing 'Universal Nature, the maternal, feminine aspect of God'.¹ On the one hand, Henotheism transmuted all the local deities into some aspect of the supreme object of worship, and so satisfied the growing demand for unity. On the other hand, such of its representatives as were chthonian deities had their Mysteries²; and these, whether anticipating or caricaturing,³ or, at any rate, parallel to the Christian Mysteries, offered like satisfaction to the religious instinct. The temper of the third century, reared under influences of this sort, proved 'more ready to compete with the Church than to oppress it'.⁴

The Court, reflecting the religious syncretism of the age, inclined towards Christianity, as one among other types of moral or monotheistic worship. Julia Domna,⁵ for instance, the wife of Septimius Severus, was well acquainted with Christianity through Christians in the imperial household, and was well disposed towards them. With a view to revivifying paganism into friendly rivalry with it, she caused the sophist Philostratus to write the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*,⁶ a sage or charlatan of the first century. 'It is the story of the Gospel corrected and improved'; and of importance as illustrating 'the terms' which 'the new Imperial religion' was prepared to offer to the Church.⁷ Elagabalus, 218-†22, her great-nephew, brought the Sun-God of Emesa—whose name he had adopted—to Rome,⁸ and attempted to unite him in marriage to the Palladium.⁹ He then aimed at establishing a worship which should include all forms of religion, the Christian among them.¹⁰ He was succeeded by his cousin, Alexander Severus, 222-†35. Good where his cousin was bad,

¹ C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*,² 282 (Clar. Press, 1913).

² *Supra*, c. xii.

³ So Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 70; *Apol.* i. lxvi, § 4; Tert. *De praescr.*, c. xl; *De bapt.*, c. v, as *supra*, c. xii.

⁴ H. N. Bate, *History of the Church to A. D. 325*, p. 109.

⁵ Gibbon, c. vi (i. 126 sq.).

⁶ Text and tr. in Philostratus, *The life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. F. C. Conybeare (Loeb Library, 2 vols., 1912).

⁷ C. Bigg, *The Chr. Platonists*,² 293.

⁸ Lampridius, *Vita Heliogabali*, iii, § 4 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 222: ed. Teubner).

⁹ Gibbon, c. vi (i. 145).

¹⁰ Lampridius, *Vita Heliogabali*, iii, § 5 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 222: ed. Teubner).

Alexander was as characteristically un-Roman as Elagabalus. On that ground alone neither would have been likely to persecute the Church. But Alexander would also be tolerant, as a typical eclectic. He set up the statue of our Lord in his private chapel, side by side with figures of Apollonius, Abraham, and Orpheus.¹ He was ruled by Julia Mamaea,² his mother, the niece of Julia Domna and the patroness of Origen.³ He adjudged a piece of disputed land across the Tiber to the Christians rather than to a guild of cooks: for 'it were better', he said, 'that in some fashion or other God should be worshipped there than that it should be given over to cooks'.⁴ And 'he suffered the Christians to exist'.⁵

The peace was broken for a brief interval by the edict of Maximin the Thracian, 235-†8. His order was prompted by hatred not of Christians as such, but of his predecessor and so of any whom Alexander had favoured. It was directed primarily against bishops⁶; and so falls in with what is characteristic of the persecutions of the third century by contrast with those of the second. The earlier persecutions were directed against individuals who were Christians, the later—those that proceeded under edict—were aimed uniformly at the Church. Thus Hippolytus, a bishop in Rome, and Pontianus, bishop of Rome 230-†5, were exiled to Sardinia⁷; and both Pontianus and his successor, Anteros, †236, were martyred.⁸ But the edict endangered others beside bishops, for Ambrose, the literary patron of Origen and Protoctetus, a presbyter of Caesarea in Palestine, suffered in the persecution⁹; and it gave the rein once more to popular uprisings against the Christians. Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 232-†72, tells us how there had been earthquakes in Cappadocia and Pontus at the time, and how popular animosity took advan-

¹ Lampridius, *Vita Severi*, xxix, § 2 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 268 sq.).

² Gibbon, c. vi (i. 149).

³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxi, §§ 3, 4.

⁴ 'Rescripsit melius esse ut quemadmodum cunque illic deus colatur quam popinariis dedatur,' Lampridius, *Vita Al. Severi*, xlix, § 6 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 285).

⁵ 'Christianos esse passus est,' *ibid.* xxii, § 4 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* i. 263).

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxviii.

⁷ 'Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbiter exoles sunt deportati in Sardinia, in insula nociva, Severo et Quintiano Cons.' So the 'Philocalian Catalogue' of A. D. 354, reproducing the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus: see J. B. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* i. ii. 328; and cf. L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 145; on 'presbyter', see *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 435 sq.

⁸ *Lib. Pont.* i. 145, 147.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxviii.

tage of the edict to visit them on the Christians when Serenianus, 'a bitter and cruel persecutor', was legate.¹

But the opportunity thus afforded to a magistrate with the old Roman sense of duty or to an excited populace was short-lived. Maximin was succeeded by Gordian III, 238-44, whose legislation was devoted to the welfare of the weak, of women, and of slaves, and who was personally humane.² Gordian found himself confronted by a fresh outbreak of war with Persia; for, on the death of Ardashir, the first king of the dynasty of the Sassanidae, Sapor I, 241-†72, made a bid for the hegemony of the East. He invaded Mesopotamia, and threatened Antioch.³ It fell to Philip, 244-†9, as successor of Gordian, to take up the challenge. Eusebius⁴ and Jerome⁵ affirm that he was a Christian; and the story goes that, for the murder of his predecessor, he was made to do penance by St. Babylas, bishop of Antioch,⁶ just as Theodosius was afterwards put to penance by St. Ambrose.⁷ Be this so or not, Philip showed favour to the Christians: both he and his Empress, Otacilia Severa, corresponded with Origen.⁸ But the Persian Wars did as much as the Imperial sympathies to restore peace to the Church.

¹ His letter ranks as Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv: see § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 816), and Document No. 155.

² P. Allard, *Hist. des persécutions*, ii. 211.

³ Capitolinus, *Vita Gordiani*, cc. xxvi, xxvii (*Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. 49 sq.).

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. xxxiv.

⁵ Jerome, *Chronicon* ad ann. 247 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 645-6).

⁶ Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla*, § 6 (*Op.* iii. 545; *P. G.* i. 541).

⁷ Theodoret, *H. E.* v. xvii, § 19.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxvi, § 3.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH, 200-50

(i) THE CHURCH IN ROME

THE first two of the persecutions by edict, those of Septimius Severus and Maximin the Thracian, interfered little with the inner life of the Church. In the Roman Church, from c. 200-50, there was abundant vitality.

§ 1. Victor was bishop of Rome, c. 189-†98; and, doctrine apart—to which we shall recur presently, two matters of interest mark his pontificate.

(1) He was the first Latin pope. Of his twelve predecessors, some bear Latin names—Clement, Sixtus I, and Pius I. But Clement wrote to the Corinthians in Greek, and Pius was the brother of Hermas whose *Shepherd* is in Greek also. Under Commodus, 180-†92, however, Christians in Rome who spoke and wrote Latin begin to appear: Minucius Felix, the author of the *Octavius* (if this be really its date); the senator Apollonius, who made his defence¹ of Christianity before his peers; and Victor. This pope was an African by birth²; and thus Latin was the tongue in which he wrote those ‘books of minor importance’ on religion which were still ‘extant’³ in Jerome’s day.

The Roman church, as we have seen, was originally Greek.⁴ Of the inscriptions in the catacombs between 180 and 210 half are in Greek.⁵ The old Roman creed first occurs in Greek.⁶ There is ‘evidence of liturgical Greek at Rome as late as the end of the third century’⁷; though we must not adduce, in favour of a rite in Rome originally Greek, certain Greek elements that now appear in the Roman rite. These are the *Trisagion* on Good

¹ See it in *Monuments of Early Christianity*², 35-48, ed. F. C. Conybeare (Sonnenschein, 1896), and Document No. 81.

² *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 137, ed. L. Duchesne.

³ Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 194 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 633-4); and *De viris illustribus*, § 34 (*Op.* ii. 873; *P. L.* xxiii. 649 A).

⁴ W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *Romans*, lii sqq.

⁵ *Ibid.* liii.

⁶ i. e. the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra *ap.* Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 835; *P. G.* xlii, 385 D); A. Hahn, *Symbole*³, § 17; and Document No. 204.

⁷ A. Fortescue, *The Mass*², 126, n. 7.

Friday,¹ and the *Kyrie eleison*² in the Ordinary of the Mass. They are of later introduction. 'Latin, as the liturgical language of the Roman church may have been introduced as early as the second half of the third century,' or 'not until the end of the fourth'. Opinions differ: probably 'the process of transition was a gradual one', and the two languages continued for some time side by side as vehicles of worship. But during the third century Latin became 'the usual, and then the only, language spoken by Christians in Rome'.³ Gaius⁴ and Hippolytus, the two writers of the Roman church prominent c. 200-250 wrote in Greek; but from that date onwards its writers wrote in Latin: Novatian,⁵ the anti-pope 251, in good Latin,⁶ and others of the Roman clergy who corresponded with Cyprian in bad.⁷ The Latinizing of the Roman church, thus begun, received a further impetus when, 330, Constantinople became the seat of Empire.⁸ The current which hitherto had set Romeward and brought Greeks to Court and Society thither, now set eastward and carried the same elements to Constantinople. That city became the capital of the Empire: Rome remained the capital of the West. Latinization of the Roman church was thus a lengthy process. Indeed, it was not complete till, with the visit of Theodosius I to Rome, 389, six hundred of its patrician families, with whom Latin, like paganism, was a class tradition, came over to the Church⁹ and would inevitably require the Mass in Latin. But it began with Victor, the first Latin pope.

(2) Victor's pontificate has, for its second point of interest, the Paschal controversy; and if, in his conduct of it, we discern something of the later papal spirit, we may note its appearance side by side with incipient Latinization.

¹ It appears as *Agios o Theos, Agios ischyros, Agios athanatos, eleison imas*. It is a Gallican, and ultimately a Byzantine, importation, and the most ancient testimony for its existence is in the cries of the bishops, 8 October, 451, at the end of the first session of the Council of Chalcedon, Mansi, *Concilia*, vi. 936 c; cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 192, 249.

² An importation, of the sixth century, from the East, Fortescue, *The Mass*², 231.

³ Fortescue, *The Mass*², 126.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* II. xxv, §§ 6-8, VI. xx, § 3; M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, II. 123-34, and Document No. 53. Lightfoot identifies Gaius and Hippolytus, *Ap. F.*² I. II. 318.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* VI. xliii; Novatian, *De Trinitate*, ed. W. Y. Fausset in 'Cambridge Patristic Texts', 1909, and his two letters to Cyprian = Cyprian, *Epp.* xxx and xxxvi (*C. S. E. L.* III. II. 549-56, 572-5).

⁶ Cyprian admits it, *Ep.* IV, § 24 (*C. S. E. L.* III. II. 642).

⁷ So Cyprian thought it, *Ep.* IX, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. II. 489).

⁸ Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 157).

⁹ Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 194), and n. 23.

The first stage of the Paschal controversy was already past. Anicetus and Polycarp differed as to whether the day of the month only (14th Nisan) or the day of the week (Sunday) as well, should be taken into account for the Paschal celebration. When Polycarp came to visit the pope, c. 155, in support of the observance of the fourteenth of Nisan according to the custom of 'Asia', 'neither convinced the other but they parted good friends'.¹

The second stage of the controversy is that in which Victor was concerned, and it was complicated by fresh points of difference. Blastus² was an Asiatic who had settled in Rome. Eusebius connects him with Florinus. Both of them were addressed by Irenaeus in letters directed against their several errors³; and as the remonstrances of Irenaeus with his old friend Florinus can be shown to be of the time of Victor, it is probable that Blastus also had come to Rome by Victor's day. He was not only, like Polycarp, a Quartodeciman, but a Montanist⁴ and also a Judaizer: for he held 'that the Passover ought to be observed, according to the Law of Moses, on the fourteenth day'.⁵ And he tried to persuade Christians in Rome to adopt this observance. Victor, therefore, may be excused for his suspicions of Quartodecimans in general and for asserting himself vigorously against them. Here was an intruder into his jurisdiction, preaching not Quartodecimanism merely, but the Ebionite or Judaizing variety of it which was just a local custom, e.g. at Laodicea in Phrygia⁶; and, further, trying to detach members of the Roman church from keeping Easter along with their bishop, in order that they might keep it apart on what Blastus would call the proper day. 'Churches distant from each other might celebrate Easter on different days without serious inconvenience; but it would evidently be intolerable⁷ if some members of a church made it a matter of conscience to refuse to conform to the prescribed rule of that church, and insisted on holding their feast while their brethren around were

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* II. i. 434; Irenaeus *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv, §§ 16, 17.

² *Eus. H. E.* v. xv, and xx, § 1.

³ *Ibid.* xx, § 1, and, for the date, Dr. McGiffert's note 3, *ad loc.* (*N. and P.-N. F.*, vol. i, p. 238).

⁴ Pacian, bishop of Barcelona, c. 360-†90, *Ep.* i, § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 1053 B); *tr. L. F.* xvii. 320.

⁵ *Ps.-Tert. Adv. omn. haer.*, c. viii, and C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, i. 312.

⁶ *Eus. H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 3.

⁷ Irenaeus, however, reminds Victor that his predecessors allowed strangers in Rome, who came from Asia to observe Easter in their own fashion, *Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv, § 14.

still keeping the preliminary fast.’¹ So Victor summoned his synod²; and, in the name of the Roman church, ‘requests’ were addressed for synods elsewhere.³ They were held—and were, save in Gaul, what, afterwards, would have been called provincial⁴ synods—in Gaul, Asia, Pontus, Palestine and Os-rhoene.⁵ Victor, in communicating the decision of his own synod to Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, appears to have used threats to the effect that if the churches of Asia persisted in their peculiar customs, they would be cut off from the communion of the Roman church. Probably Polycrates was not aware of the Judaizing character of the Quartodecimanism that alarmed Victor, nor of the attempt of Blastus to set up rival observances in Victor’s own church. But he was nettled at the interference with the traditional, yet otherwise innocent, peculiarities of Paschal observance in Asia. He stood his ground; and, in a synodical letter,⁶ sent a spirited reply to Victor. ‘We observe the exact day. . . . In Asia also great lights have fallen asleep [i.e. as well as in Rome where Victor, probably, had claimed that the Roman customs went back to Peter and Paul] . . . Philip . . . John . . . Polycarp. . . . All these observed the fourteenth day. . . . I am not affrighted by terrifying words’⁷—an allusion to the pope’s recent threats. Victor took two steps⁸ in reply. He ‘withdrew the communion of his own church from the Quartodecimans of Asia Minor—an act within his competency, the consent of his clergy and people being supposed. He also “attempted” to induce other churches to act in the same manner, and so to effect a general exclusion of the Quartodecimans from the fellowship of the Church. In this he failed, and drew forth some “rather sharp rebukes”’⁹ from St. Irenaeus and other bishops.’¹⁰ Things were a long way then from later papalism. Victor did not command synods to be held. He did not cut off the Asiatics from the communion of the whole Church. Polycrates stood up to him, without a thought that to resist was sin. And other bishops,

¹ G. Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*², 283. The continuance of the fast was as important a part of the question as the day, Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 1.

² Ibid., § 2.

³ Polycrates *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, § 8.

⁴ F. W. Puller, *The primitive saints and the See of Rome*³, 16, n. 3.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii, §§ 2, 3.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, § 8.

⁷ *Ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, §§ 2-7, and Document No. 82.

⁸ Ibid., § 9.

⁹ Ibid., § 10.

¹⁰ Ibid., §§ 10, 11, and W. Bright, *The Roman See in the early Church*, 28.

Irenaeus among them, did not hesitate to let the pope know, in plain language, that they considered him in the wrong.

§ 2. The more important of Victor's immediate successors were Zephyrinus 198–†217, Callistus 217–†22, Urbanus 222–†30, and Pontianus 230–5. In their days two sets of questions arose, in each case grave. There was a doctrinal question—Monarchianism. There were two disciplinary questions—Rigorism, and the third stage of the Paschal controversy. These all centre round the name of Hippolytus,¹ c. 155–†236. He was a bishop²: of what see³ neither Eusebius⁴ nor Jerome⁵ knew: some say, bishop of Portus; others, a bishop placed in charge, probably by Pope Victor, of a mixed flock of sailors and foreigners in the port of Rome; others, bishop of Rome itself, and so the first anti-pope. But he is better known as a pupil of Irenaeus,⁶ and as one of the long line of scholar-bishops. Not long after his death there was erected to his memory a statue of him seated in a chair. It was unearthed in 1551 on the Tiburtine Way⁷; and on the chair are inscribed a list of his works, and his Paschal Tables.⁸ These include—to mention only such as are extant—works which Dr. Lightfoot arranges in four classes⁹: (a) Biblical and exegetical—the *Muratorian Canon*¹⁰ and a *Commentary on Daniel*¹¹; (b) Theological and apologetic—*On Christ and Anti-christ*¹² and *On the Holy Theophany*,¹³ 'a treatise on the Baptism of our Lord'¹⁴; (c) Historical and chronological—the *Chronica* to A.D. 234, 'not in any strict sense a chronicle' but intended 'to show the superior antiquity of the Jews to the Classical nations of antiquity',¹⁵ and the *Paschal Tables*, 'inscribed in full on the

¹ On whom, see Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 317–477.

² The Liberian Catalogue of 255 calls him 'the presbyter'; but this, in his case, was a title of honour, not of office. The 'Venerable' Bede was not an archdeacon, *ibid.* 435–6.

³ *Ibid.* 427–34.

⁴ He says he was 'a bishop of some see or other', Eus. *H. E.* vi. xx, § 2.

⁵ 'Hippolytus, cuiusdam ecclesiae episcopus,' Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, § 61 (*Op.* ii. 900; *P. L.* xxiii. 671 A).

⁶ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. cxxi (*Op.* iii. 94 A; *P. G.* ciii. 401–4).

⁷ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 440–2.

⁸ *Ibid.* 324–6.

⁹ *Ibid.* 388–403.

¹⁰ The reasons for assigning it to Hippolytus are given in *ibid.* 405–13.

¹¹ Text in Hippolytus, *Werke*, i. i. 1–340, edd. G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. i: Leipzig, 1897).

¹² Text in *Werke*, i. ii. 1–47; tr. in Hippolytus, *Writings*, ii. 1–40 (=A.-N. C. L., vol. ix).

¹³ Text in *Werke*, i. ii. 255–63; *Writings*, ii. 80–7 (=A.-N. C. L., vol. ix).

¹⁴ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 399.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: the original Greek is lost, but it is extant in two Latin translations, one of which, incorporated in the collection of the chronographer of

sides of the Chair', being 'a calculation of the times of Easter, according to a cycle' of sixteen years, from A.D. 222-233 and 'issued A.D. 224'¹; (d) Heresiological—the *Syntagma*² or *Compendium against all the heresies*, an early work, founded on the lectures of Irenaeus, and now lost indeed, but recoverable from three extant works of the Pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Philaster all based upon it³; the *Contra Noetum*,⁴ which is 'only the peroration of the previous treatise',⁵ and the *Refutation of all heresies*,⁶ 'his final work, probably left incomplete at his death.' To these must now be added, under the separate heading of (e) Church Orders—*The so-called Egyptian Church Order*.⁷ It 'is not merely the earliest of a family of Church Orders in which the eighth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*⁸ and the *Canons of Hippolytus*⁹ are the most conspicuous members, but is in reality the work of Hippolytus, and dates accordingly from the early decades of the third century'.¹⁰ The '*Egyptian Church Order*, in the fulness and precision of its information as to the worship and regulated working of a Christian Church is unique in the first three centuries; it supplements in this respect the *Didascalia*,¹¹ unique on its side as a presentment of the religious life and ideas of an early Christian Community'.¹² Thus the *anaphora* which it contains has an invocation of the Holy Ghost¹³:

354, is found in *Chronica minora*, i. 78-138, ed. T. Mommsen, Berolini, 1891 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* ix).

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 399.

² So it is called by Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* cxxi (*Op.* iii. 94 A; *P. G.* ciii. 404 A).

³ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 413-18.

⁴ Text in M. J. Routh, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum opuscula*, i. 43-80; tr. in *Writings*, ii. 51-70 (=A.-N. C. L. ix).

⁵ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² i. ii. 400.

⁶ Text, edd. L. Duncker and T. G. Schneidewin (Gottingae, 1859), and tr. in *Writings*, i. 1-403 (=A.-N. C. L., vol. vi).

⁷ Or *The Apostolic Tradition*, ed. R. H. Connolly, *Texts and Studies*, vol. viii, No. 4 (Cambridge, 1916). The text is given in App. B, pp. 175-94.

⁸ Text in F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderbornae, 1905); tr. in A.-N. C. L. xvii. ii. 1-269.

⁹ Text in H. Achelis, *Canones Hippolyti* (Leipzig, 1891).

¹⁰ Connolly, vii, viii.

¹¹ q. v. in F. X. Funk, *op. cit.* and *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English*, tr. from the Syriac by M. D. Gibson (*Horae Semiticae*, No. II: Cambr. Press, 1905), and cf. A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, 30 (Cambr. Press, 1910).

¹² Ibid. 149.

¹³ Connolly, 176. Text (English) in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. 190, and (Latin) in E. Hauler, *Canonum Reliquiae*, f. xx. in *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina* (Lipsiae, 1900), i. 107, ll. 27-36, and Document No. 121; cf. J. H. Srawley, *The early history of the Liturgy*, 57 sq. (Cambridge, 1913).

so that this form of invocation—no doubt, among others—is as old as, let us say, 225. Hippolytus was exiled to Sardinia and died there *c.* 236.¹ We pass now to the controversies, doctrinal and disciplinary, which find a unity in their connexion with one who ‘was by far the most learned man and the most prolific writer which the Roman church produced before Jerome’.²

§ 3. Monarchianism is the name given to a theological tendency which manifested itself in Rome, *c.* 180–250; and for some little while later, in the East. Monarchy with Latins had political associations as with us, and meant a single rule³; but, as the primary meaning of the word ἀρχή is ‘beginning’ or ‘origin’, Monarchy, with the Greek theologians, had a philosophical connotation and meant a single source of being.⁴ Monarchianism then asserts that there is but one first principle.

Negatively, and in origin, it was a reaction against Gnosticism. Some Gnostics, in their doctrine of emanations, had given to Christianity the colour of a practical polytheism. Others, in the opposition they set up between ‘Spirit’ and ‘matter’, inculcated a frank dualism. Thus one school spoke of a plurality of first principles,⁵ while another ‘held to two first principles, as did the mariner Marcion’.⁶ They taught a polyarchy or dyarchy, instead of the divine Monarchy.

Accordingly, in its positive aspect, Monarchianism was the reassertion of Monotheism. But there is this difference between them that, whereas Monotheism simply affirms the *fact* that there is but one God and one only, Monarchianism supplies the *explanation* of the fact⁷, based on the consideration that, not only in the universe⁸ but in the Godhead, there is and can be only one first

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. 436–40.

² Ibid. 427.

³ ‘Monarchiam nihil aliud significare scio quam singulare et solum imperium,’ Tert. *Adv. Praxean*, c. iii.

⁴ Justin’s *Περὶ Μοναρχίας* was apparently directed against Greek polytheism, cf. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xviii, § 4, and cf. *Δίδαγμα* [ἐστίν] εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τῆς μοναρχίας τομὴ καὶ διαίρεσις, Dionysius Romanus, *Ep.* i, § 2 (*P. L.* v. 112 A), with note, *ad loc.*, for further examples, or J. C. Suicer, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, ii. 373 sq. (Amstelaedami, 1582).

⁵ Ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις was a phrase of the Eclectics: see J. H. Newman, *Arians*⁵, 112, n. 6.

⁶ Δύο ἀρχάς, Eus. *H. E.* v. xiii, § 3.

⁷ The *ὅτι* and the *διότι*, in Aristotelian phrase. Cf. the relation between the *fact* of the Real Presence and the *theory* of Transubstantiation in explanation of it.

⁸ The treatise of Irenaeus, addressed to the Gnostic Florinus, *Περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν* (Eus. *H. E.* v. xx, § 1), had reference to this point.

principle.¹ To the plain man the distinction between Monotheism and Monarchianism meant probably little: enough that his teachers, under the influence of Monarchianism, should make a stand for that belief in one God which was traditional with Christians and the first article, as of the Jewish,² so of the Christian, creed. To the ordinary Christian who had always worshipped Jesus and yet maintained 'I believe in one God', it may have been an occasional difficulty how to answer a heathen who twitted him with worshipping more than one God after all. But the teaching of the Gnostics, which varied between a veiled polytheism and a frank dualism, forced Christians at last to make up their mind as to whether they did really believe in the Unity of God. And hence the theological problem, raised by Monarchianism, was inevitable.

The form, however, which its discussion took, was determined by the stage reached in the progress of Christian theology at the time. Monarchianism was Catholic in principle. It set out to recover the Unity of God. And it could only do so in the end by affirming that there is but one fount of Godhead, the Father, from whom the Son and the Spirit are both derived, each by his own mode of derivation—the Son by being 'begotten' and the Spirit by 'proceeding'. These ideas, however, of the *Principatus Patris* and its counterpart, the Subordination³ of the Son and the Spirit, were still awaiting formulation; and the Monarchianism of c. 200-50, even where in intention and principle orthodox, had not got nearly so far in exposition of the Christian doctrine of God. All that it could do was to combine stress on there being but one God with such an appeal to the ordinary Christian against the 'gods many and lords many'⁴ of surrounding heathenism as would enlist his sympathies. He had always worshipped Jesus along with the one God; but he did not see what this involved and so was 'naïvely Monarchian'. 'The simple who always constitute the majority of believers', says Tertullian, 'are startled

¹ 'By the Monarchy is meant the doctrine that the Second and Third Persons in the Ever-blessed Trinity are ever to be referred in our thoughts to the First, as the Fountain of Godhead,' J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*⁷, ii. 111.

² 'Hear, O Israel,' &c. (Deut. vi. 4) = the original *Shema* or Jewish Creed.

³ By the *Principatus Patris* is meant 'that the Father is, as such, *principium Filii*'. On these terms see J. H. Newman, *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*, 174 (Longman, 1899), and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 212 sq.

⁴ 1 Cor. viii. 5.

at the dispensation [of the Three in One]: "we hold fast", say they, "to the Monarchy"'.¹ Not so ready to give up the problem were their teachers; and they addressed themselves to it with courage but with a one-sidedness that led them to explanations which turned out to be heretical.

The problem was how to preserve side by side three things. There was, first, the Unity of God, which all Christians held. There was, secondly, the Personality of the Son of God: for all Christians believed that Jesus was a real person. There was, thirdly, the Divinity of the Son of God: for all Christians agreed in worshipping Him. As things then stood, two solutions seemed open, but only two. Some set more store by the Personality of the Son of God and, in order to retain it alongside of the Unity of God, sacrificed His Divinity. They looked upon Jesus as a man and upon His godhead as a divine power (*δύναμις*) which came down upon Him, so that He was ultimately adopted into the Godhead. These are termed by modern scholars the Dynamic or Adoptianist Monarchians; and they were, in Rome, Theodotus the tanner, Theodotus the banker, and Artemon, together with Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch. Others attached more value to the Divinity of the Son of God and, in order to retain it side by side with the Divine Unity, sacrificed His Personality. They sublimated the Person of Jesus into a mode of the Father's existence, and are therefore known, to modern scholars, as Modalist Monarchians. Their chief representatives were Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius.

This classification includes all the theologians of *c.* 200–250 save Tertullian and Hippolytus. It covers an important stage in the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. And its two Schools correspond to two types of mind, the rationalizing and the religious, each with its characteristic view of Jesus Christ. For, after all, there are but two ways of thinking of Him: either as a man who became God, or as God who became Man. The first conception is that of the Adoptianist Monarchians. Their theory turned out a heresy, fundamentally incompatible with the faith and the worship of the Church. The second is that of the Church and of the Modalist Monarchians. The Modalists were at one with Catholics in holding fast to the Divinity of our Lord. Theirs was a heresy, but a religious heresy. They failed (as some

¹ Tert. *Adv. Praxean*, § 3.

of the Roman bishops at first seemed to fail) to adjust to this belief the full facts of His Humanity.

§ 4. The relation of the bishops of Rome—Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus—to the Monarchians demands our attention next.

Under Pope Victor, *c.* 189-†98, there came to Rome the Adoptianist Theodotus and his rival Praxeas the Modalist.

Theodotus the elder was a tanner, of Byzantium, well off and well educated. The story goes that he had denied the Faith in a persecution, and came to Rome to hide his shame. But he was found out; and, when taxed with the fault, defended himself by saying, 'I did not deny God, but only a man'.¹ Asked to explain further, he set out his tenets at length and defended them by proof-texts which Epiphanius, the author of the story, states and criticizes in turn.² He maintained, according to Hippolytus, 'that Jesus was a [mere] man, born of a virgin according to the counsel of the Father, and that after he had lived the common life of all men and had become pre-eminently religious, he subsequently, at his baptism in Jordan, received the Christ, who came from above and descended upon him in the form of a dove. And this was the reason [according to Theodotus] why [miraculous] powers did not operate within him prior to the manifestation in him of that Spirit which descended and [which] proclaims him to be the Christ. But [among the followers of Theodotus] some are disposed [to think] that never was this man made God [even] at the descent of the Spirit; whereas others [maintain that he was made God] after the resurrection from the dead'.³ Here we have Ebionism transferred to the West; and a foreshadowing of that 'humanitarian' conception of the Person of our Lord which is so common to-day. 'Humanitarian', however, is a 'question-begging' epithet⁴: for Catholics believe that Jesus is 'very Man'; and it is more accurate to follow Gaius, the Roman presbyter, in describing the doctrine of Theodotus as 'psilanthropist', and its author as 'the first to declare that the Christ was a mere man'.⁵ Theodotus and his friends alleged that

¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* liv, § 1 (*Op.* i. 463; *P. G.* xli. 961, 964).

² *Ibid.*, §§ 2-6 (*Op.* i. 463-8; *P. G.* xli. 963-72).

³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, vii, § 35; cf. x, § 23; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* vi. 304, 385 sq., and Document No. 118.

⁴ For 'question-begging appellatives' cf. J. Bentham, *The Book of Fallacies*, pt. iv, c. 1 (*Works*, ii. 436: Edinburgh, 1843), and the use made of 'Conservative', 'Liberal', 'Unitarian', 'Catholic', &c.

⁵ Gaius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxviii, § 6 for the fragments of Gaius; text,

their doctrine of the Person of Christ represented original Christianity; and that it had lasted on, as the official teaching of the Roman church, till the time of Pope Victor; but 'from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth had been corrupted'¹ in favour of the Catholic conception of the Person of our Lord. Victor cut short these allegations by excommunicating Theodotus.² He thus repudiated his doctrine of a man who became God by such a progress in holiness as was unique. The texts by which Theodotus supported his tenets were, naturally, those which draw attention to the manhood of our Lord—'A man that hath told you the truth':³ 'The blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven,' but 'whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him':⁴ 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me':⁵ 'Wherefore also that which is to be born of thee shall be called holy, the Son of God':⁶ 'Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God':⁷ 'One mediator between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus'.⁸ But Gaius pointed out that there were 'Divine Scriptures' of a different complexion; and that the language both of the writers and of the worship of the Church habitually speaks of Jesus as divine.⁹ In spite of his excommunication, Theodotus succeeded in holding his ground; and, under Zephyrinus, the Theodotians organized themselves into a sect, with a bishop of their own, Natalius, whom they retained at a stipend of some £5 a month.¹⁰ Stipends, as distinct from oblations, were considered, at that date, an offence: only Montanists, so far, had descended to the level of a paid clergy.¹¹

Praxeas, the Modalist, had a considerable share in rousing Pope Victor to repudiate Adoptianism. The heresy of Theodotus was Christological: unlike his, that of Praxeas was strictly theo-

Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 125-34; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* ix. 153-62. For the psilanthropism of Theodotus, cf. *Ps.-Tert. Adv. Omn. Haer.*, c. viii, and, on psilanthropism, see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*,² 150 sqq.

¹ Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxviii, § 3.

² *Ibid.*, § 6.

³ John viii. 40; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 1 (*Op. i.* 463; *P. G.* xli. 964 B).

⁴ Matt. xii. 31; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 2 (*Op. i.* 464; *P. G.* xli. 964 c).

⁵ Deut. xviii. 15; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 3 (*Op. i.* 464; *P. G.* xli. 965 A).

⁶ Luke i. 35; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 3 (*Op. i.* 465; *P. G.* xli. 965 c).

⁷ Acts ii. 22; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 5 (*Op. i.* 467; *P. G.* xli. 969 B).

⁸ 1 Tim. ii. 5; *Epiph. Haer.* liv, § 6 (*Op. i.* 467; *P. G.* xli. 969 c).

⁹ Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxviii, §§ 4, 5.

¹⁰ Gaius *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xxviii, § 10; J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, v. iv, § 3.

¹¹ Apollonius *ap. Eus. H. E.* v. xviii, § 2; and Document No. 84.

logical. And unlike the renegade Theodotus, Praxeas, according to Tertullian, who is our main authority for him, had been a confessor in Asia, perhaps in the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius. He came to Rome; detached Pope Victor from sympathy with Montanism, and won his support for Modalism. Then, making probably but a short stay in Rome, which would account for the silence of Victor's protégé, Hippolytus, about him, he went to Carthage, where he was silenced by Tertullian while still a Catholic, and made to sign a recantation, at that time still preserved in his own handwriting among the Catholics, 'in whose society the transaction then took place'.¹ Praxeas disappeared; but his heresy remained, and Tertullian, now a Montanist, directed the *Adversus Praxean*,² after 213, against it, using his name as a label for the heresy of Modalism, so prevalent in Rome. The tenet of Praxeas was simply that the Son is a mode or aspect of the Father³; and it was attractive first, because of its zeal for the divine Unity⁴ and, next, because of its devotion to the cardinal truth of the Gospel that God died for us upon the Cross. According to the Adoptianists it was a mere man, but according to Praxeas it was God—nay, the Father himself, in some sense—who suffered.⁵ But Praxeanism, though it thus made its appeal to all who felt the infinite value of the Cross, did so at a price. In identifying the Son with the Father and so attributing suffering to the Father without qualification, Praxeanism imperilled the first principles not merely of Christianity but of theism. Tertullian branded it by the nickname of Patripassianism.⁶ Praxeas, he declared, in detaching the Pope from Montanism and winning him for Modalism, 'did two bits of business for the devil in Rome: he banished the Paraclete and crucified

¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean*, § 1, and Document No. 102.

² Critical text in Tert. *Op.* iii. 227-89 (*C. S. E. L.* xlvii); tr. in *Writings of Tert.* ii. 333-406 (*A.-N. C. L.* xv), and by A. Souter (*S.P.C.K.*)

³ 'Duos unum volunt esse ut idem Pater et Filius habeatur,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. v.

⁴ Note its proof-texts, Isa. xlv. 5; John x. 30, xiv. 8-10, discussed in Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, cc. xxi-xxiv.

⁵ 'Sed post hos omnes [*sc.* the Theodoti] etiam Praxeas quidam haeresim introduxit quam Victorinus [probably Zephyrinus] corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Iesum Christum esse dicit; hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum,' Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. viii; and '[Pater] ipse se sibi Filium fecit,' *Adv. Prax.*, c. x.

⁶ 'Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. i; 'Itaque post tempus Pater natus, et Pater passus,' *ibid.*, c. ii.

the Father'.¹ Patripassians thus became the name by which Modalists in general were known in the West²; though the East came to class them all as Sabellians. To keep Patripassianism at arm's length the Creed of Aquileia, as quoted by Rufinus,³ 345-†410, and the Creed of Cappadocia, as reproduced by Auxentius,⁴ bishop of Milan 355-†74, added to 'I believe in God the Father, almighty' the words 'invisible and impassible'. Patripassianism also denied the eternal Sonship, and deprived the mediation of all reality; but such truth as it contained received better expression from Noetus.

Under Pope Zephyrinus, c. 198-†217, there came to Rome, Theodotus the younger and Noetus.

Theodotus the banker is mentioned along with Asclepiodotus as a disciple of Theodotus the tanner.⁵ Critical in their attitude to the text of Holy Scripture and literalist in their interpretation of it, they seemed to Gaius, our informant about them, men of an irreligious mind. We do not hear, however, that they carried psilanthropism further. Indeed, they could not; but they enforced it with methods of argument borrowed from the heathen schools, and laid such emphasis on the relativity of the Law and the Prophets as, in pious eyes, to have rejected them and so 'sunk to the lowest depths of perdition'.⁶ Artemas, or Artemon, continued their tradition⁷ in Rome, c. 235; and, though we know little about him, he may be regarded as the link between the Adoptianism of the Theodotians and of Paul of Samosata. Paul was the last and ablest exponent of that form of Monarchianism; and when the Council of Antioch, 268, deposed him from his see, it sarcastically advised him to write letters of communion to Artemas,⁸ who thus was still alive at that date.

¹ 'Duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit: prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit: Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit,' *ibid.*, c. i.

² e. g. Augustine, *Sermo*, lii, § 6 (*Op.* v. 304 c; *P. L.* xxxviii. 357), and *De Haeresibus*, § 41 (*Op.* viii. 12 c; *P. L.* xlii. 32).

³ Rufinus, *Comment. in Symb. Apost.*, § 5 (*Op.* 61; *P. L.* xxi. 344 A, B); A. Hahn, *Symbole*³, § 36; and H. Lietzmann, *Symbols* 9.

⁴ *Ap.* Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Auxentium*, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 601; *P. L.* x. 617 c), and Hahn, § 134.

⁵ Gaius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxviii, § 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 13-19.

⁷ Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus 423-†58, after mentioning Artemon and Theodotus, says that the work from which Eusebius quotes in *H. E.* v. xxviii was called the *Little Labyrinth*, and was directed against both of them: *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, ii, § 5 (*Op.* iv. 331; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 391 A).

⁸ See their Synodical Letter in Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 17, and for letters of communion—'epistolae communicatorias quae formatas dicimus'—cf.

Noetus,¹ who took up the mantle of Praxeas in Rome, was a native of Smyrna. He first broached his doctrine at home : if we may rely on Hippolytus who is our authority for Noetus as is Tertullian for Praxeas. Like the latter ' he alleged that Christ was the Father himself, and that the Father himself was born, suffered, and died '.² Perhaps this is an over-statement of his actual words, and a description, rather, of his doctrine as it would sound to an opponent. But it means that Noetus too had as firm a grip as Praxeas upon what is essential to the truth of the Gospel that the sufferings which won our salvation did so because they were the sufferings of God Himself. But his language, no doubt, was daring. Taxed by the presbyters³ at Smyrna with dangerous doctrine, Noetus at first denied it ; but he continued to teach it, and gathered round him some ten⁴ disciples of like mind. Challenged a second time, he avowed it. Whereupon the presbyters excommunicated him ; and he avenged himself by ' setting up a school ' to propagate his opinions.⁵ It is of interest to note the defence he set up. According to Epiphanius : ' What harm have I done ? ' said he, ' I am glorifying one God '.⁶ And according to Hippolytus : ' What harm am I doing in glorifying Christ. ' ⁷ We have here the two aims of Noetus and his school set out : both alike the aims of a religious heresy. As Monarchians, they desired to preserve the unity of God : as Modalists, to secure the divinity of Christ.

When Noetus got to Rome he appears to have found a modified Praxeanism in possession : for Tertullian and Hippolytus, with an eye to the sentiments of the shifty Callistus, whom they both dislike, and to his patron ' the ignorant and unlettered ' Zephyrinus,⁸ affirm that the doctrine current in Rome was to the effect Aug. *Ep.* xlv, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 102 B ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 175), and J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, II. iv, § 5.

¹ The authorities are : Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, ap. M. J. Routh, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum opuscula*, i. 43-80, tr. *Writings of Hippolytus*, ii. 51-70 (*A.-N. C. L.* ix) ; *Refutatio*, ix, §§ 6-12, x, § 27, tr. *Writings*, &c. i. 328-45, 387 sq. (*A.-N. C. L.* vi) ; Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvii (*Op.* i. 479-89 ; *P. G.* xli. 993-1010) ; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Compendium*, iii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 342 ; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 404 B).

² Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, § 1.

³ ' Presbyterorum nomine interdum appellatos fuisse episcopos ab auctoribus . . . qui tamen ipsi inter episcopos ac presbyteros alibi aperte distinguere solent,' Routh, *Scr. eccl. opusc.* i. 83, *ad loc.*

⁴ So Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 480 ; *P. G.* xli. 996 B).

⁵ Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, § 1.

⁶ Epiph. *Haer.* lvii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 480 ; *P. G.* xli. 996 B).

⁷ Hipp. *Contra Noetum*, § 1.

⁸ Hipp. *Ref.* ix, § 11.

that 'the Father suffered with', though not as, 'the Son'.¹ Zephyrinus, whether actually confused or designedly obscure, would say, in one sort of company, 'I acknowledge one God, Jesus Christ, and no other save him as liable to birth or suffering': to another audience he would say, 'It was not the Father who died, but the Son'.² But the fashion was to fall back upon the formula which taught that the Father, though as Spirit He could not suffer, participated somehow in the sufferings of the Son. Noetus arrived in time to save the positive part of this doctrine in such a way as to preserve the passibility of God and yet relieve it of the charge of Patripassianism. Distinguishing between God as He is in essence and as He may will to be, he taught that 'the eternal God put Himself by His will into the condition of passibility and visibility'³; and thus appeared in Jesus Christ. He supported his teaching, after the manner of Praxeas, by picking out such texts in proof as suited him, and leaving the rest: 'I am the God of thy father: thou shalt have none other gods beside me': 'I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God': 'This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel that is beloved of him. Afterward did he appear upon earth, and was conversant with men': and, to crown all, 'Christ who is God over all, blessed for ever'.⁴ Noetus selected in short such texts only as emphasize the divine Unity. But his special contribution to Modalism was to have rendered it less offensive by getting rid of the unfortunate, but justifiable, inference from the language of Praxeas that the Father suffered. His work was carried on, at first, by his pupil Epigonus, and later by Cleomenes⁵ and Sabellius as heads of the party in Rome.

It was under Callistus, 217-†22, that Sabellius,⁶ the last and ablest exponent of Modalism, came to, or taught in, the capital.

¹ Τὸν πατέρα συμπεπονθέναι τῷ Υἱῷ, *ibid.*, § 12; 'Filius quidem patitur, Pater vero compatitur,' Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, c. xxix.

² Hipp. *Ref.* ix, § 11.

³ So J. A. Dorner, *The Person of Christ*, i. ii. 27, relying on Hipp. *Ref.* ix, § 10, p. 450 (edd. Duncker and Schneidewin) and Theodore, *Haer. Fab. Compendium*, iii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 342; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 404 c).

⁴ Exod. iii. 6 and xx. 3; Isa. xlv. 6; Baruch iii. 35-8; Rom. ix. 5 *ap.* Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, § 2.

⁵ Hipp. *Ref.* ix, § 7.

⁶ For Sabellianism see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 154 sq.; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 379 sq.

Of the life of Sabellius we know little. Hippolytus does not mention his birthplace. Basil, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 370-†9, is the first to allude to it, for he refers to him as 'the Libyan'¹; and his opinions had a great vogue in the Libyan Pentapolis² while Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria, 247-†65. Nor did Sabellius leave much in writing. Phrases of his may be extant in the *Refutatio* of Hippolytus; and some are embedded in the writings of Athanasius, as in the *Expositio Fidei*,³ 328; the *De decretis*,⁴ 351-5; the *De synodis*,⁵ 359-61; and, specially, the first three *Orationes contra Arianos*,⁶ 356-60. The fourth Oration is directed not against the Arians but against Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra 314-36, who was taxed with Sabellianism. Here, then, there are allusions to Sabellius⁷; but before we can decide what emanates from him in the fourth Oration we have first 'to eliminate what belongs to Marcellus'⁸ and his school. Some letters of Basil,⁹ directed against a revival of Sabellianism at Neocaesarea, c. 375, are valuable both for information about the system and for Basil's criticism of it. There is also an allusion in Hilary of Poitiers,¹⁰ and, of course, the account of Epiphanius.¹¹

The great service which Sabellius rendered to Modalism was to put it into better form. He found a place for the Holy Spirit in his system of doctrine. He also taught one substance but three activities¹² in God, each, moreover, equal to other. So the Sabellian approximated to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. But, nevertheless, Sabellius remained a Modalist: for he held that God is a Monad or Unit, who manifested himself under three successive aspects—as Father, in creation and the giving of the Law; as Son, in Redemption; as Holy Spirit, in the life of

¹ Basil, *Ep.* ccvii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 310; *P. G.* xxxii. 760 c).

² Dionysius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. vi, and Ath. *De sententia Dionysii*, §§ 5, 9.

³ Ὑποτάτωρ, Ath. *Exp. Fidei*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 80; *P. G.* xxv. 204 A).

⁴ Ath. *Op.* i. 164-87 (*P. G.* xxv. 415-76).

⁵ Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A).

⁶ Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 36 (*Op.* ii. 464 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 400 sq.).

⁷ Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iv, §§ 2, 3, 9, 13, 15, 17 (*Op.* ii. 490 sqq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 469 sqq.).

⁸ Athanasius, ed. A. Robertson, Excursus C, p. 432 (*N. and P.-N. F.* iv).

⁹ Basil, *Epp.* ccvii, ccx, ccxiv, § 3, cccxxvi, § 6 (*Op.* iii. 309 sqq., 313 sqq., 322, 364; *P. G.* xxxii. 759 sqq., 767 sqq., 788, 884); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.*, vol. viii; and see J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, c. vii.

¹⁰ Hilary, *De Trinitate*, iv, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 80; *P. L.* x. 105 A); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* ix. 74.

¹¹ Epiph. *Haer.* lxii (*Op.* i. 513-20; *P. G.* xli. 1051-62), and Document No. 203.

¹² Μία ὑπόστασις, τρεῖς ἐνέργειαι.

Grace. Thus the Father did not suffer : for, before the suffering, God had ceased to be Father and become simply Son. This process, from Monad to Triad, Sabellius designated as one of 'expansion'¹ or 'extension'²; and the three successive phases of the divine Life he called *πρόσωπα*, i.e. by the word in use for the part played by an actor and then laid aside, before it was tried and found wanting for 'person'.³

The strength of Sabellianism, as of all forms of Modalism, lay in its zeal for the divine Unity ; and its favourite texts were such as affirmed it : 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord' ; 'Thou shalt have none other gods besides me' ; 'There shall no strange god be in thee' ; 'I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God' ; 'The Father is in me and I in the Father' ; 'I and the Father are one'.⁴ Sabellius also knew how to follow up this 'simple Bible teaching' with simple argument. 'Whenever they came across any of the uneducated, they would just put this question to them : "Now then, my good sir ! What shall we say ? Have we one God or three ?"'⁵ At the same time Sabellius recognized a plurality of activities in the life of God. But he failed to perceive that the relation of these three *πρόσωπα* is an eternally personal relation within the Godhead. He even coined a word 'Son-Father',⁶ to exclude the thought of a distinction between Father and Son. And he compared Father, Son, and Spirit—three names for one substance—to body, soul, and spirit in one man, or to the sun with its single substance but threefold operation—light, heat, and orb.⁷ Thus Sabellius professed a Trinity ; but it was not an 'essential', only an 'economic', Trinity, i.e. for the purposes of creation, redemption, and restoration, in succession. As Basil puts it : 'Sabellianism is Judaism imported into the preaching of the Gospel'⁸ and teaches 'the same God metamorphosed as

¹ *πλατύνεται*, Ath. Orat. c. Ar. iv, § 25 (Op. ii. 504 ; P. G. xxvi. 505 c).

² *ἐκτείνεσθαι*, Ath. Orat. c. Ar. iv, § 13 (Op. ii. 496 ; P. G. xxvi. 484 c).

³ On the history of *πρόσωπον* see J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Early History of Christian Doctrine*, 105, 234.

⁴ Deut. vi. 4 ; Exod. xx. 3 ; Ps. lxxxi. 9 ; Isa. xlv. 6 ; John x. 38 ; John x. 30.

⁵ Epiph. *Haer.* lxii, § 2 (Op. i. 513 sq. ; P. G. xli. 1052 sq.) ; and Document No. 203.

⁶ Ath. *Exp. Fidei*, § 2 ; *De Synodis*, § 16 : see J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Ath.*⁷ ii. 475 sq., and cf. Tertullian's scoff at Praxeas for teaching a 'Deum versipellem', *Adv. Prax.*, c. xxiii.

⁷ Epiph. *Haer.* lxii, § 1 (Op. i. 513 ; P. G. xli. 1052 A, B).

⁸ Basil, *Ep.* ccx, § 3 (Op. iv. 315 ; P. G. xxxii. 772 B).

the need of the moment required'.¹ Its Incarnation, like a ray from the sun, was only a manifestation²; its Christ a divine, but a transitory, being; its doctrine of God pantheistic. For, at the Incarnation, when the Father became Son and entered human life, God passed over entire into the universe; and, in becoming immanent, ceased to be transcendent. It was thus an offence to theistic, no less than to Christian, truth.

Callistus, at first, was favourable to Modalism: 'You are ditheists,' he would say to Catholics.³ Accordingly, he was bitterly assailed by Tertullian and Hippolytus. Both were tainted with an unbalanced Subordinationism⁴; both considered him lax in the administration of the penitential discipline; and both were thus likely to put the worst construction on his doctrinal sympathies. But it is probable, that like his predecessors, Callistus was a man of affairs rather than a theologian, and wished to secure as much toleration as he could command, in order to protect his church from 'the rage of theologians'.⁵ He excommunicated Sabellius, under pressure from Hippolytus⁶; and then, perhaps, was not sorry when Hippolytus withdrew—though not permanently—from communion with the Roman church.⁷ Meanwhile, Modalism had established strong influence in Rome.⁸ For in 231 Pope Pontianus condemned Origen,⁹ the ally of Hippolytus,¹⁰ in the direction of an excessive Subordinationism. About 260 Pope Dionysius intervened against similar tendencies in the language of Dionysius of Alexandria.¹¹ In 341 Pope Julius received Marcellus of Ancyra¹²; while throughout the Arian controversy, Rome stood firm by Athanasius and the *Homoousion* so long opposed as

¹ Πρὸς τὰς ἐκαστὴν παραπιπτοῦσας χρείας, *ibid.*, § 5 (*Op.* iii. 317 A; *P. G.* xxxiii. 776 c); so *Ath. c. Ar.* iv, § 25 *ut sup.*

² *Epiph. Haer.* lxii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 513; *P. G.* xli. 1052 B).

³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12.

⁴ For the subordinationism of Tertullian, cf. 'Pater tota substantia est: Filius vero derivatio totius et portio', *Adv. Prax.*, c. ix, and his idea of the Son as the vicegerent of the divine Monarchy, *ibid.*, c. iii; and for that of Hippolytus, his notion that the Logos first became Son when He became Man, *Contra Noetum*, c. xv, and J. F. Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.* 108 sq.

⁵ So A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*³, iii. 59, n. 1—a phrase recalling the death of Melanchthon.

⁷ Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* i. ii. 437.

⁶ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12.

⁸ B.-Baker, *op. cit.* 106 sq.

⁹ Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 154; *P. L.* xxii. 447); *D. C. B.* iv. 438.

¹⁰ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, § 61 (*Op.* ii. 901-3; *P. L.* xxiii. 671-3).

¹¹ C. L. Feltoe, *The letters of Dio. Al.* 165 sqq.; and Document No. 168.

¹² See the letter of Julius in *Ath. Apol. c. Arianos*, § 32 (*Op.* i. 118 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 301 A-C).

Sabellian. Sabellianism, indeed, wanted but one step of Nicene orthodoxy, viz. the recognition of the eternally personal character of the distinctions which Sabellius allowed within the Godhead. Thus Modalism 'prepared the way for the Nicene theology', and provided it, when driven from the East before the Arian storm, with a haven of refuge in Rome.

§ 5. The champions of orthodoxy were also the champions of rigorism.

To do them justice, as well as to understand the Penitential Discipline which they sought to maintain intact, 'we must make an effort to realize the enormous wickedness which infested non-Christian society, the slough of sin from which many converts to Christianity had emerged, the ghastly shamelessness of heathen vice, the terrible hard-heartedness with its disregard for human life, the indissoluble alliance between idolatry and sensuality. Such words as "hating even the garment spotted by the flesh"¹ had a significance then for Christians which, owing to Christian influence, is hardly intelligible now.'²

The Penitential Discipline,³ provided for by the commission given to the Apostles to retain as well as to remit sins,⁴ was slow to consolidate.

During the second century it varied in strictness even in the same region. Some of the confessors at Lyons and Vienne gave way, but were not abandoned by their fellows, and so were restored to communion before their martyrdom.⁵ In the same region of the Rhone, women who had been betrayed into unchastity by the Marcosians either spent all their lives under penance, or left the Church in despair, or else remained in doubt what to do.⁶ It looks here as if penance for a breach of the seventh commandment were so strict as to be all but insupportable.

By the third century the Discipline had become more or less systematized, and, for gross sins after baptism, remedy was provided, as a rule, by 'Open penance',⁷ and, in exceptional

¹ Jude 23.

² W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 46 sq., and see J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew*, ii. 217-90 (Longman, 1862).

³ Cf. 'Penitential Discipline in the first three centuries', by H. B. Swete, in *J. T. S.* iv. 321-47 (April 1903); J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 336-54; J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, xviii. iii; and O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance* (1920). ⁴ John xx. 23. ⁵ Eus. *H. E.* v. i, §§ 45-9, ii, §§ 6, 7.

⁶ Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xiii, §§ 5, 7.

⁷ So called in the opening address of the Communion Service.

circumstances, by private confession.¹ Recourse was had to private confession either in serious illness,² as a substitute for public penance, or, by way of preliminary, for advice as to whether public penance were needful.³ Such public Discipline or *Exomologesis* is described by Tertullian in the *De penitentia*, which he wrote, c. 200-6, while still a Catholic. He distinguishes two kinds of penance. The first, cc. i-vi, is for the heathen, and precedes baptism as part of conversion. Properly, it should be followed by none other: for the Christian, once converted and baptized, should not relapse into sin.⁴ But such relapses do occur; and so, for the Christian, there is 'a second plank after shipwreck'⁵ in the Penitential Discipline. This 'second and only remaining penance'⁶ or *Exomologesis* is a course of public self-humiliation in three stages.⁷ The first is confession, made apparently to the bishop, with a view to the satisfaction⁸ which he has to assess; and, as seems to be repeatedly implied, in the hearing of the congregation, though this has been doubted.⁹ At any rate, the satisfaction, being a disciplinary measure in which the community, injured by the offender's sin, is concerned, was made in public. The second stage is this satisfaction, or the act of penance. The penitent, with fastings and prayers and entreaties, such as those attributed to Natalius,¹⁰ the schismatic bishop of the Theodotians, for the intercession of the clergy and faithful,¹¹ is temporarily excluded, as was said to have been the case with the Emperor Philip,¹² from the fellowship of the faithful. During exclusion, which often lasted for a considerable time,¹³

¹ See note m in Tertullian, *L. F.* x. 379.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* xviii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 524).

³ Origen, *Hom.* 2 in *Ps.* xxxvii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 688; *P. G.* xii. 1586).

⁴ 'Piget secundae, immo iam ultimae spei subtexere mentionem; ne, retractantes de residuo auxilio, spatium adhuc delinquendi demonstrare videamur,' Tert. *De penitentia*, c. vii.

⁵ 'Secunda post naufragium tabula,' is a later phrase of Jerome, *Ep.* cxxx, § 9 (*Op.* i. 986; *P. L.* xxii. 1115); but it is based on the figure of shipwreck in Tert. *De pen.*, c. vii: see note in Tert. (*L. F.* x. 354, note o).

⁶ 'Penitentiae secundae et unius,' Tert. *De pen.*, c. ix, *ad init.*

⁷ Tert. *De pen.*, c. ix, and Document No. 99; and *L. F.* x. 376-9, note L).

⁸ 'Delictum Domino nostrum confitemur . . . quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur,' *ibid.* On 'satisfactio', see *L. F.* x. 369-76, note K.

⁹ Doubted by P. Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive* ³ (first series, 1904), 199; but see *J. T. S.* iv. 336.

¹⁰ Gaius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xxviii, § 12.

¹¹ Tert. *De pen.*, c. ix; *De pudicitia*, c. xiii, which latter, however, is a caricature, rather than a description, of the reconciliation of a Penitent as conducted by Callistus.

¹² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxiv.

¹³ 'Diu,' Cyprian, *Ep.* lv, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 627).

offenders would have been subjected to spiritual penalties graduated according to their sin; and there was a corresponding classification—less complete in the West than in the East—of persons undergoing the process of discipline.¹ But it is difficult to be sure how much and how far such regulations go back into the third century. The term of exclusion over, there came the third and last stage of ‘Open Penance’, when the bishop bestowed forgiveness.² The penitent enters the church again, and resumes the birthright of a Christian, baptized and confirmed, of Communion at the Liturgy.

Exomologesis thus was a serious ordeal.³ It involved, according to Cyprian, a careful scrutiny of the conduct of the professing penitent; and only if bishop and presbyters were satisfied of the genuineness of his amendment was the penitent restored to communion by the laying on of hands.⁴ Further, in Rome, since the days of Hermas,⁵ in Carthage,⁶ and at Alexandria, according to Clement,⁷ the *locus penitentiae* could be had but once. We are not surprised to find that converts put off baptism rather than face the standard which it thus entailed; and that, as early as c. 250, ‘clinics’, as those were called who let themselves be baptized only on what they thought was their deathbed, were debarred from Ordination,⁸ as were all who had been submitted

¹ In the fourth century the four stages were: (1) Mourners, (2) Hearers, (3) Kneelers, (4) Co-standers: see *Conc. Nic.*, Canon 11, with notes of W. Bright, *Canons, &c.*, *ad loc.*, and J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, xviii. i, § 1. The same system appears in Gregory Thaumaturgus [bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, c. 240–†70], *Epistola canonica*, c. xi (*P. G.* x. 1048). It is said, however, that these stages of penance were never in use in the West, nor even universal in the East, L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 436, n. 1.

² Whence ‘Similiter episcopus [? episcopi est] dimittere in remissione. . . . Per te Salvator dicit his qui peccaverunt, “Remittuntur tibi peccata tua”’, E. Hauler, *Didascalie Fragmenta*, ff. xviii, xix (pp. 27 sq.), and the Prayer at the consecration of a bishop in *Canonum Reliquiae*, fol. lxix: ‘Da . . . solvere etiam omnem colligationem secundum potestatem quam dedisti Apostolis,’ Hauler, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 105, and R. H. Connolly, *The so-called Egyptian Church Order*, 175.

³ ‘Miserum est sic ad Exomologesin pervenire!’ Tert. *De pen.*, c. x.

⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.* xvii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 522); cf. *Epp.* xv, § 1, xvi, § 2. In case of necessity, by a presbyter or a deacon, *Ep.* xviii, § 1, and Bingham, *Antiquities*, xix. iii, §§ 1–3.

⁵ Mand. IV, iii, §§ 5, 6.

⁶ Tert. *De pen.*, c. ix, *ad init.*

⁷ Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. xiii, § 56 (*Op.* i. 166; *P. G.* viii. 993, 996). He explains that this rule is based on Heb. x. 26, 27.

⁸ By Co. of Neocaesarea, c. xii; Mansi, *Concilia*, ii. 542 D; Hefele, *Councils*, i. 228 sq. It is, in substance, older than c. 250; so W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 39. For ‘Clinics’, see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, iv. iii, § 11.

to penance.¹ For penance was now no mere temporary concession, as it was with Hermas. It was a permanent institution ; representing, indeed, a relaxation of the former discipline of the Church, but still formidable enough.

For, in the case of some sins, absolution, which was the last step in penance, was not to be had. And at this point came in the rival policies denoted as those of ' rigor ' or ' laxity ' : of Tertullian and Hippolytus, or of Pope Callistus. In Rome and Africa² the three sins of idolatry, murder, and unchastity,³ though confession and satisfaction had to be made for them, could not obtain absolution⁴ : they were visited with perpetual exclusion. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, however, writing, c. 170, to a church in Pontus and probably to deprecate the austerity of Marcionite⁵ discipline in that neighbourhood,⁶ urges restoration after any fall,⁷ So too in Rome, perhaps owing to the repudiation of Montanism to which Praxeas had persuaded Pope Victor, there took place under Pope Callistus such a relaxation of the former rigour as roused the wrath of Tertullian, now a Montanist, in the *De pudicitia*, 217-22, and inflamed the rigorist Hippolytus against him. There were three sins then accounted ' sins unto death ',⁸ and beyond hope of reconciliation even *in extremis*. These were idolatry, murder, and sensuality.⁹ Callistus first modified the rule of exclusion in regard to sins against chastity : ' I remit ', he announced, ' to such as have done penance, the sins of both adultery and fornication ' ¹⁰ : and hence the wrath of Tertullian. He looks back to the *Shepherd* of Hermas as having taken the first step towards this breakdown of discipline—' Scripture, if you like, but the only Scripture to favour adulterers and happily now with no place in the Canon ! ' ¹¹ He denounces this ' Sovereign Pontiff ',

¹ Whence the ceremonies of Ash Wednesday (twelfth century), by which clergy, as well as laity, put themselves into the position of penitents, would have been impossible under the Penitential Discipline of ancient times : see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* ⁵, 438, n. 2.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* lv, § 21 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 638).

³ The three ' necessary things ' of Acts xv. 28, 29, according to D.

⁴ ' De venia Deo reservamus,' Tert. *De pud.*, c. xix.

⁵ Marcion himself had been excommunicated by his father, the bishop of Sinope in Pontus, for a moral offence, and sought in vain for admission to the communion of the Roman church, Epiph. *Haer.* xlii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 302 ; *P. G.* xli. 696 c, D), probably from the lost *Compendium* of Hippolytus.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 6.

⁸ 1 John v. 16 ; Tert. *De pud.*, c. ii, and cf. Acts xv. 29 and M. Jones, *N. T. in Twentieth Century*, pp. 243 sqq.

⁹ Tert. *De pud.*, c. v.

¹⁰ Tert. *De pud.*, c. i, and Document No. 104.

¹¹ Tert. *De pud.*, c. x.

this 'bishop of bishops' and his 'edict' as 'peremptory'¹ as that of any praetor. And not content with questioning the wisdom of the remission granted by Callistus, he questions his power to grant it. No doubt, Callistus, like any other bishop, may remit 'the lighter sins'; but he cannot remit these 'sins unto death'.² The words spoken to Peter were for him alone, and have nothing to do with his successors.³ God alone can remit sins⁴; and though He has delegated this authority to His Church, He has done so with the limitation that she was not to use it for 'sins unto death'. Moreover, if the Church were to exercise her authority in such a case, she would exercise it not through the Episcopate but by means of some Montanist prophet.⁵ Tertullian, it would seem, had lost his head. Callistus then took a second step. To clear his church from the charge of inconsistency, he proceeded to grant absolution also for idolatry and murder, the remaining two 'sins unto death'. This we gather from the first of the four charges which Hippolytus directs against him. He relaxed the terms of readmission to the Church, accounting no sin so deadly as to be incapable of it and not exacting penance first. And Hippolytus goes on to make three other accusations. Callistus relaxed the terms of admission to Holy Orders, ordaining those who had been twice⁶ or even thrice married and permitting ordained men to marry. He relaxed the marriage-laws of the Church, so as to bring them, at points, into conflict with those of the State. He, finally, allowed 'second baptism': a charge, however, that Hippolytus does not explain.⁷

It is probable that the measures taken by Callistus were dictated by that practical wisdom which has generally distinguished the Roman church. The 'ancient severity'⁸ to which, according

¹ Tert. *De pud.*, c. i.

² 'Penitentia . . . quae aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit, aut maioribus et irremissibilibus a Deo solo,' *ibid.*, c. xviii, *ad fin.* The distinction between 'maiora' and 'leviora delicta', like that in 1 John v. 17, is not the same as the present distinction between 'mortal' and 'venial sin', St. Thos. Aq. *Summa*, Ia IIae Q. lxxii, art. 5, or F. L. Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca*, s.v. 'Peccatum', § 13 (vi. 109: Hagae-Comitum, 1783); and K. E. Kirk, *Some principles of Moral Theology*, 245-7, 252 n. 2.

³ Tert. *De pud.*, c. xxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ 'Et ideo ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia Spiritus per Spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum,' *ibid.*, *ad fin.*

⁶ On digamists see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, iv. v, §§ 1-4.

⁷ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12, and Document No. 120. For the summary of it, *D. C. B.* i. 392 sq.

⁸ Cyprian, *Ep.* xxx, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 550).

to Cyprian, bishops in Africa¹ clung as did Rome before the days of Hermas, was not apostolic.² It may well, for a time, have been considered necessary in the conflict with pagan vice. But experience by c. 200-50 may have shown that it was becoming a source of weakness to the Church. It reduced the numbers of Christians, and took the heart out of many in whom 'the spirit was willing though the flesh was weak'.

§ 6. Third and last of the controversies, doctrinal and disciplinary, connected with the name of Hippolytus is the Paschal question. It conduces to clearness to call it the Paschal rather than the Easter question. For Easter, to us, means Easter Day; whereas by the Pasch was meant the commemoration of our 'Redemption as effected by the Passion and Resurrection'.³ And what was in question was on what day, first, this commemoration as a whole⁴ should be celebrated and, second, the preceding fast, by consequence, should end.

In the first stage of the Paschal controversy nothing further was at stake. The question between Polycarp and Anicetus, 155, was quite simple: 'to keep' the⁵ fourteenth Nisan as the day of the Paschal commemoration, or 'not to keep' it but to keep instead the Lord's Day following, which was thus dependent upon, but distinct from, it. The preliminary fast varied in length in different places. It might be 'of one day or two or more, or of forty hours day and night'⁶; but it was cut short at the fourteenth Nisan, or continued till the Lord's Day following, accordingly.

In its second stage, as discussed between Polycrates and Victor, c. 190-200, the same simple difference remained. But it was complicated by Victor's suspicions, which were not without some justification from the doings of Blastus at Rome, that all Quarto-decimans were Judaizers. Thus, c. 200, the answer to the question whether the fast should terminate and the Paschal feast be observed on the fourteenth Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might fall, or be deferred till the Lord's Day following, had given rise

¹ *Ep.* lv, § 21 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 638).

² 2 Cor. ii. 5-7; Rev. ii. 20, 21.

³ W. Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*³, 86, and n. 4.

⁴ It is because the commemoration is reckoned as one whole and the Eucharist not celebrated till its climax, that there can be no consecration on Easter Even any more than on Good Friday. The present Mass said in Roman churches on Easter Even is simply the first Mass of Easter anticipated.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* v. xxiv, § 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 12. For the development of the fast before Easter from forty hours of continuous fasting to forty days, or a Lent, of interrupted fasting, see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 241 sqq.

to three parties, two orthodox and one heretical. First, there was the orthodox majority of the West and of most of Christendom except 'Asia': they did not ignore the fourteenth Nisan but kept the Pasch on the Lord's Day following; and, as to the preceding fast, they viewed what we call Good Friday, like Westerns, from the historical standpoint as a day of mourning, and kept up the fast till the morning of the Resurrection,¹ and then celebrated the Eucharist. Second, there was the equally orthodox minority of 'Asia'. They were Quartodecimans, for they kept the Pasch on fourteenth Nisan: while, as to the preceding fast, they viewed Good Friday, like Orientals, from the doctrinal standpoint and as the day of Redemption, they fasted till 3 p.m., when our Lord died upon the Cross,² and then celebrated the Eucharist. To the Quartodecimans it was mainly the memorial of His death; to Christendom, as a whole, the memorial also of His Resurrection. Third, there was an heretical handful of Ebionite Quartodecimans: as Judaizers they held that the Law was not abrogated, so they kept not only the fourteenth Nisan but the Jewish passover on it as well.³ But they were represented only at Laodicea⁴ in Phrygia and by Blastus⁵ at Rome.

In the third century there appeared for the first time the astronomical difficulty.⁶ With both majority and minority the Paschal commemoration was determined by fourteenth Nisan, i.e. by the Full Moon of the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, each month of which began with the New Moon. The question now arose, On what precise day of the solar year does fourteenth Nisan fall? Or, in other words, How is this lunar date to be reconciled with the solar year?

Hitherto this had been done by following the Jewish computation. The Jews made up the difference between the lunar and the solar year by intercalating a month so as to bring the offering of the sheaf of the firstfruits to fit in with the ripening of the barley; and the full moon, or fourteenth, of Nisan, to coincide with the full moon next after the vernal equinox. But after the final overthrow of Jerusalem and the general disintegration of the religious life of the nation that ensued, the Jews began the defective practice of observing the fourteenth Nisan regardless of the equinox—sometimes after, but sometimes before, it.⁷

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 1.

³ C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, i. 312.

⁵ Ps.-Tert. *Adv. omn. haer.*, c. viii.

⁷ Hence, says Constantine, in his letter to the churches respecting the

² Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 1.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 3.

⁶ Hefele, i. 316 sqq.

Hence Christians had now to determine the incidence of Easter for themselves. They resorted, for its calculation, to the device, already known to astronomers, of 'canons' or 'cycles'. These were tables exhibiting the periods within which the present relation between the lunar and the solar year would repeat itself, and their relations in the meantime. Three such 'cycles' were adopted or devised by Christian scholars during the third century, all more or less inaccurate, but each sufficient to provide a working basis for the fixing of Easter in practice. Had the Church ever known the actual date of our Lord's Death and Resurrection, she could never have gone to all this trouble to fix a day for its commemoration. First of the three was the cycle of sixteen years¹ devised by Hippolytus, 224. It is engraved on the chair of the statue² voted to him for being the first to deliver Western Christendom from depending for the reckoning of Easter on Jewish computations,³ and discovered in Rome, 1551. Here Hippolytus lays it down⁴ that the fast is not to cease till the Lord's Day; that thus it is the Sunday which gives the rule, viz. that the Eucharist be celebrated on the Sunday and the day of our Lord's death on the Friday; that the equinox is March 18; and that if fourteenth Nisan fell on a Friday, that would be Good Friday and the sixteenth Easter; if on a Saturday, Easter would be put off for a week (we do not do this); if on a Sunday, not that day but the Sunday following would be Easter Day. A second cycle, of eight years, was devised, c. 260, by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.⁵ A third, of nineteen years, c. 269, by another Alexandrian, Anatolius,⁶ bishop of Laodicea in Syria, was adopted, c. 277, as the Alexandrian use, with its equinox, however, transferred from March 19 to March 21 (our present reckoning).

Thus by the end of the third century, while some still disregarded the equinox, Christians, whether Quartodecimans or not, were, in the main, equinoctialists. Rome used the Hippolytean cycle and observed March 18 as the equinox. Alexandria used the Anatolian cycle, with March 21 as the equinox. And this was the state of things that the Council of Nicaea had to settle.

Council of Nicaea, the Jews 'sometimes celebrate the Passover twice in the same year', *Eus. V. C. iii, § 18*; *Socr. H. E. i. ix, § 37*, and *Documents*, vol. ii, No. 10.

¹ *Eus. H. E. vi. xxii, § 1.*

³ *D. C. B. i. 508.*

⁵ *Eus. H. E. vii. xx.*

² Lightfoot, *A. F.*² i. ii. 325 sq.

⁴ Cf. summary in Hefele, i. 319.

⁶ *Ibid. xxxii, §§ 14-19.*

CHAPTER XV

THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH, 200-50

(ii) THE CHURCH IN ALEXANDRIA

THE Church of Alexandria, c. 200-50, had features of its own : perhaps, § 1, some unusual powers entrusted to presbyters in the appointment of its bishop ; § 2, intimate relations with the better elements in contemporary culture ; § 3, flourishing Schools, and teachers of great distinction ; § 4, Clement ; and, § 5, Origen, whose, § 6, influence was widespread and lasting.

§ 1. Epiphanius, writing in 374-6 of Alexandria at the opening of the fourth century, tells us that there were several churches there under the archbishop but that each had its own presbyter ; Arius, for example, having charge of the church of the district called Baucalis.¹ These presbyters formed a college. How far back into the third century these arrangements go, we cannot tell ; but Jerome, †420, in a well-known letter, states that ' at Alexandria, from the time of Mark the Evangelist to the episcopates of Heraclas [233-†48] and Dionysius [248-†65], the presbyters used always to appoint as bishop one chosen out of their number, and placed on the higher grade, as if an army should make a commander, or as if deacons should choose one of themselves whom they should know to be diligent, and call him arch-deacon. For, with the exception of ordaining, what does a bishop do which a presbyter does not ? ' ²

It is probable that there was once something unusual in the mode of appointment to the see of Alexandria.

¹ Epiph. *Haer.* lxxviii, § 4, lxxix, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 719, 727 ; *P. G.* xlii. 189 B, C, 201 D). He mentions ten such parish churches by name, and says there were others, *ibid.*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 728 ; *P. L.* xlii. 204 sq.).

² Jerome, *Ep.* cxlvi, § 1 (*Op.* i. 1082 ; *P. L.* xxii. 1194). This, and the other extracts bearing upon the question are collected, with translation, in D. Stone, *Episcopacy and valid Orders*, 43-7, and discussed in *ibid.* 47-9 ; W. Bright, *D. C. B.* i. 81, and *Age of the Fathers*, i. 118 ; and W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, 359, n. 1. These attach little importance to Jerome's statement, as also C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry* (ed. 1919), 117-30, and note B, 315-20, and *J. T. S.* iii. 278-82. Others see ' something in it ', as C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*², 66 sq., and *The Origins of Christianity*, 65 sq. ; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 135 sq. ; L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 69 sqq. ; F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, i. 1204-10, and Document No. 211.

Not that its incumbent was consecrated by a merely presbyteral ordination. Jerome's illustrations do not exclude confirmation of the appointment by some higher authority. They suggest it: as in the case, if not of the confirmation of an Emperor's appointment by the Senate, certainly of an archdeacon's by the bishop. And Jerome's language is explicit on the point that the one thing a presbyter could not do was to ordain. Moreover, apart from the mass of evidence as to the general mode of episcopal consecration elsewhere, there is proof enough that Egypt had bishops, in the ordinary sense, in early times. *The Apostolic Church Order*,¹ a document of Egyptian origin, in a section² assigned to c. 200-30, provides for the election of a bishop even in communities where there are not twelve voters.³ Origen, who was deposed and expelled from Alexandria in 231 by his bishop Demetrius, 189-†232, and was the contemporary of Heraclas, his successor, under whom the ecclesiastical revolution now before us is alleged to have taken place, does not call in question the episcopal authority of Demetrius as if it were a novel assumption; but, in several passages⁴ written after the breach between them, 'assumes for the episcopate a completely stable and traditional position clearly distinct from the presbyterate'.⁵ And Pamphilus, †309, the author of an *Apology for Origen*,⁶ makes no suggestion that the synod of bishops which, at the instance of Demetrius, deposed Origen from the presbyterate, whereas a mixed synod of bishops and presbyters had only sentenced him to banishment from the church of Alexandria, was in any sense a new thing. Episcopacy and not presbyterianism had all along been in possession at Alexandria.

Nevertheless, the statement of Jerome receives some measure of support from three other sources.

Thus, in a letter written 518-38, Severus, monophysite patriarch of Antioch, in support of his contention that obsolete customs have no weight against the settled practice of the Church, asserts that 'the bishop of . . . the city of the Alexandrians used, in former days, to be appointed by the presbyters: but, in later

¹ Described in A. J. Maclean, *The ancient Church Orders*, 26 sq.

² §§ 16-21. 'Keinesfalls später zu setzen als auf das erste Drittel des 3. Jahrhunderts,' Harnack, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, II. ii. 212.

³ Gore, *Ch. and Min.* 321 sq.

⁴ q.v. in *ibid.* 127, n. 2.

⁵ Gore, in *J. T. S.* iii. 281.

⁶ As quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. cxviii (*Op.* iii. 92 B; *P. L.* ciii. 397 B, c.).

times, in accordance with the canon which has prevailed everywhere, the solemn institution of their bishop has come to be performed by the hand of bishops'.¹ Severus, who belongs to the East, may never have seen the statement of Jerome, which would circulate mainly in the West. In that case his evidence is independent; and it is of value also because he wrote in Egypt and is probably recording local tradition.

Next, one of the *Apophthegms of the Fathers* which are assigned, in part, to c. 350–400, runs to the effect that 'certain heretics once came to [the hermit] Poemen and began to abuse the archbishop [Athanasius] of Alexandria as having received his ordination from presbyters'.² This also has the character of local tradition; but it brings the former state of things down to the year of the consecration of Athanasius, 328.

Finally, there is a long statement in the *Annals* of Eutychius, who was Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century. It is explicit in favour of 'the custom of the presbyters of Alexandria creating the patriarch' out of their own number, till it was 'forbidden' by Alexander, †328, the predecessor of Athanasius.³

In all three instances we have a local tradition which lends colour to the statement of Jerome; but, whereas Jerome places the change c. 250, the *Apophthegm* of Poemen and the *Annals* of Eutychius assign it to the interval between the death of Alexander and the accession of Athanasius. It looks as if Jerome's story were simply a version of some Arian slander against Athanasius, with 'the date thrown back' to an earlier epoch.

There is, however, 'no smoke without fire': and presumably the Alexandrine presbyterate, in the generations immediately preceding the Council of Nicaea, must have possessed some unusual powers in the appointment of their '⁴ bishop. What were they? No fact is better established than the turbulence of the mob of Alexandria. There is evidence for it from Juvenal⁵ and from the letter of Hadrian to Servianus.⁶ George the Cappa-

¹ Stone, *Episcopacy*, &c., 45 sq.; from the Syriac, text and tr., in *J. T. S.* ii. 612; and Document No. 222.

² Stone, *Episcopacy*, &c., 46; from *Apophthegmata Patrum*, § 78 (*P. G.* lxxv. 341); and Document No. 221.

³ Stone, *Episcopacy*, &c., 46 sq.; from *Annals*, 329–31 (*P. G.* cxi. 982 B, C); and Document No. 225.

⁴ C. H. Turner, 'The organisation of the Church', in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, i. 161.

⁵ *Sat.* xv. 78–81.

⁶ Vopiscus, *Vita Firmi*, &c., viii, § 5 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. 225: ed. Teubner).

docian intruder,¹ 361, and Hypatia,² 415, were both done to death by it. Now election by a presbyteral College would have the advantage, for the avoidance of tumult, over election by the people. And 'it seems as likely' that 'the unusual powers' reserved to the presbyterate in Alexandria 'were the powers which elsewhere belonged to the people as that they were the powers which elsewhere belonged to the bishops'.³ It is only Eutychius who says that the other presbyters '*laid their hands on the head*' of their colleague 'and consecrated him and made him patriarch'. But even if they did so, they were a College of presbyters '*ex hypothesi* ordained for the purpose of setting up one of their number as bishop when a vacancy arose. The power was understood to be inherent in their commission.'⁴ They were persons competent to ordain, only the ordination would have been ministered under the institution of collegiate episcopacy rather than of monepiscopacy. In any case, to argue from the validity of an ordination bestowed by a college of presbyter-bishops⁵ to the conclusion that 'all presbyters have inherent power of ordination in the present day'⁶ is inadmissible. Melancthon was the first thus to adduce⁷ Jerome's letter in favour of the claim of John Bugenhagen, himself only in priest's orders, to have 'consecrated', on 2 September 1537, new 'bishops' for Denmark⁸; and thenceforward it became a *locus classicus*, of far greater authority than its intrinsic worth, for all who had rejected, or lost, the ancient hierarchy, as it still remains for all who wish to break down the 'exclusive' claim of episcopacy.

§ 2. 'The atmosphere' of Alexandria 'was essentially intellectual'.⁹ As 'a cosmopolitan city' where 'thought was absolutely free', it was the natural place for the upgrowth of a 'liberal Catholic theology'.¹⁰ This atmosphere was Neo-Platonist. 'To-

¹ Socrates, *H. E.* III. ii, § 10.

² Ibid. VII. xiv, § 5.

³ Turner, in *C. M. H.* i. 161.

⁴ John Wordsworth, *The Murtle Lecture at Aberdeen*, 23 February 1902, p. 15.

⁵ 'Jerome's evidence shows that up to the middle of the third century the Bishop of Alexandria was more closely bound to the college of his City-presbyters than anywhere else except at Rome; and that, in both cases the Presbyterate had something of the character of an episcopal College,' J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 137. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ In his *Tractatus de potestate episcoporum*, §§ 66-9; q.v. in B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No. 128.

⁸ Ibid., p. 323, and Nos. 131-132 A.

⁹ C. T. Cruttwell, *A literary history of early Christianity*, ii. 430.

¹⁰ Cruttwell, ii. 430.

wards the end of the second century thoughtful men throughout the world were deeply affected by a sense of the predominance of evil ' in life ; and, as Plato, alone among Greek thinkers, had brought into relief ' the inherent imperfection of the visible world ', especially in the *Timaeus*, the Neo-Platonists fastened upon this—the ' un-Greek and Oriental ' side of his philosophy—and set up their system under the shadow of his name. Neo-Platonism aimed at an explanation of evil ' by a theory of creation through intermediate agencies inferior to the Supreme God ' ¹ ; and ' owed its popularity to the fact that, while retaining for the simple-minded all the gods of all the creeds as legitimate objects of worship, supporting their service and defending them against attack, it allowed more cultured minds to transcend them and soar, unfettered by literalism, into an ecstatic communion with the divine beyond all gods ' .² The Alexandrian Fathers, except Origen, lived before the development of this eclectic syncretism into the Neo-Platonic school ³ properly so-called. Its founder was Ammonius Saccas,⁴ c. 160–†242, who taught in the time of the Severi. Its greatest thinker, Plotinus,⁵ c. 205–70. The sombre and fanatical Porphyry,⁶ 232–†304, made it anti-Christian ; and Iamblichus,⁷ †339, resolved it into magic. But Neo-Platonism, whether as a tendency or a school, was from the first a serious rival to Christianity ; for the Church, in expelling the Gnostics and decrying philosophy, had seemed to repudiate the intellectual life. Her rival was not only deeply religious but aimed as well at offering complete satisfaction to all the higher cravings of man. The theologians of Alexandria set themselves to offer a philosophy Christian in its turn. Conservative of Christian tradition, Origen, the greatest of them, was daring in speculation beyond its limits. He insisted on freely discussing, like the Neo-Platonists, the problems of the day : the origin of evil, the relation of the incommunicable Deity to creation, the source and final destiny of all spiritual beings, the ultimate absorption of all things into God. He thus made enthusiastic disciples in his own age, and raised up bitter foes to Origenism in the generations that came after.

¹ Cruttwell, ii. 435.

² T. R. Glover, *Life and letters in the fourth century*, 12 sq.

³ C. Bigg, *Neo-Platonism* (S.P.C.K., 1895).

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, § 7.

⁵ Bigg, *Neo-Platonism*, cc. xi–xxi.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, §§ 2–9 ; Bigg, *Neo-Platonism*, c. xxii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, c. xxiii.

§ 3. The Catechetical School was the means of reciprocal influence between contemporary culture and Christianity.

Ordinarily, such instruction¹ as was necessary in preparation for baptism would be given under the direction of the bishop, nor would there be need for more than the local clergy could give. Thus, in the time of Cyprian, the *doctor audientium*² at Carthage was a Reader; in the time of Augustine, the deacon Deogratias, c. 400; and in Jerusalem, 348, St. Cyril, then a presbyter. The course of instruction, too, was simple. In the *Didaché*, which is probably the earliest known example of a manual of catechetical instruction, it consists of two parts: instruction first in the elements of morals,³ and, next, in the practices of Christian devotion.⁴ The same division is retained in the *Catechetical Lectures*⁵ of St. Cyril: where the Procatechesis and Lectures i-xviii are given in Lent to candidates for baptism, and deal with repentance, faith, and the Creed; while the Five 'Mystagogic' Lectures xix-xxiii, are given in Easter week, after Baptism, Confirmation, and First Communion, and explain these 'mysteries' just received. In the *De catechizandis rudibus*,⁶ c. 400, addressed to Deogratias, Augustine draws a clear distinction between such instruction as he would advise for the unlettered, and such additional subjects as should be offered to a man of education. In the one case, it will suffice to go through the main facts of Scripture history,⁷ taking care to show how all leads up to Christ and how His love to us demands the return of our love to Him⁸: in the other, the convert may be led on to its allegorical meaning.⁹ In the same way, Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, 371-†94, had to come to the assistance of catechists, or rather apologists, in Asia Minor. He wrote his *Oratio Catechetica* to show them in detail how best to seize the point of view of an educated man and to proceed from his own admissions.¹⁰

¹ *Supra*, cap. V., and Dr. Gifford's Introduction, c. ii, to *The Catechetical lectures of St. Cyril*, pp. xi sqq. (*N. & P.-N. F.* vii).

² Cyprian, *Ep.* xxix (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 548).

³ cc. i-vi.

⁴ cc. vii-xvii.

⁵ Text in Cyril, *Opera*, i. 1-332 (*P. G.* xxxiii. 331-1128); tr. in *N. & P.-N. F.*, vol. vii.

⁶ Text in Augustine, *Op.* vi. 263-96 (*P. L.* xl. 309-48).

⁷ Aug. *De cat. rud.*, § 5 (*Op.* vi. 265 sq.; *P. L.* xl. 313).

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 8 (*Op.* vi. 267 sq.; *P. L.* xl. 315).

⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 12, 13 (*Op.* vi. 270 sqq.; *P. L.* xl. 318 sqq.).

¹⁰ Greg. Nyss. *Oratio catechetica*, Prologus (*Op.* ii.; *P. G.* xlv. 12 A), or ed. J. H. Srawley, p. 4, and tr., *ibid.*, p. 24 ('Early Chr. Classics,' S.P.C.K. 1917).

Such was *catechesis* in ordinary churches. But wherever the Church came into contact with learning, Catechetical Schools sprang into being. They were found at Antioch, Athens, Edessa, Nisibis.¹ But first to appear, and second to none in distinction, was the Catechetical School of Alexandria.² We know nothing definite of its foundation; but probably it grew out of circumstances. 'The Church in Alexandria was a large and rich community, existing in the bosom of a great University town.' It could not keep apart from 'the paramount interests of the place'. Its young men 'attended the lectures of the heathen professors'.³ Some relapsed into paganism, as did Ammonius Saccas.⁴ Some turned Gnostics, as, for instance, Ambrose,⁵ till he became a Catholic and the patron of Origen.⁶ Some stood the test: for example, Heraclas, his pupil,⁷ colleague,⁸ and successor.⁹ It was imperative therefore to recognize the connexion between the Church and the lecture-room; and hence the Catechetical School, which, in Alexandria, served a double purpose. It gave the elementary instruction¹⁰ to converts which elsewhere would have been given by the local clergy. But it did more, and endeavoured to meet the needs of the inquirer as well. This was done quite informally. The teaching was given in the teacher's house. It concerned itself in the main with the exposition of Scripture. It had no official recognition, and therefore considerable independence, until Demetrius took the school under episcopal control by his appointment of Origen¹¹ to succeed Clement. Thus it was 'partly a propaganda', and partly 'a denominational college' in 'a secular University'.¹² And it received and instructed *gratis* students of both sexes, and of different ages. It soon acquired a great reputation: for Eusebius speaks of it as 'a school of sacred learning which continues to our day and was established' at Alexandria 'of old time'.¹³ Its succession of teachers began with Pantaenus. He was, by birth a Sicilian,¹⁴ brought up as

¹ For the schools of Edessa and Nisibis see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse* (cc. vi, x).

² C. Bigg, *Christian Platonists*², 69 sqq.; R. B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria*, i. 45 sqq.

³ Bigg, *Christian Platonists*², 68 sq.

⁴ Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, § 7; and Document No. 171.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xviii, § 1.

⁶ Ibid. and xxiii, §§ 1, 2.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* vi. iii, § 1.

⁸ Ibid. vi. xv.

⁹ Ibid. vi. xxvi.

¹⁰ Heraclas gave it, as Origen's assistant, Eus. *H. E.* vi. xv.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. iii, § 8.

¹² Bigg, *Christian Platonists*², 69.

¹³ Eus. *H. E.* v. x, § 1.

¹⁴ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. i, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 9: ed. O. Stählin); Eus. *H. E.* v. xi, §§ 2-5; and Document No. 107.

a Stoic ; left, for a while, to become ‘ an evangelist of the Word in “ India ” ’ ; and, afterwards, returned to his professorial chair.¹ After him, the chair was occupied in turn by Clement,² c. 190-202 ; Origen,³ 202-31 ; Heraclas,⁴ 231-2 ; Dionysius,⁵ 232-48 ; Theognostus, 248-82 ; Pierius, 282-? ; Serapion ; Peter, ?-300⁶ ; and the blind scholar Didymus, who was born c. 310, numbered Rufinus and, 386, Jerome among his pupils, and was still living in 392, when Jerome commemorated him in the *De viris illustribus*.⁷ The course of instruction, for those who lacked time or capacity for anything further, consisted of the contents of the Creed, with such explanation as seemed desirable. But we may apply⁸ to Alexandria the description of Origen’s teaching at Caesarea as given, 238, in a panegyric⁹ of his master, by Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus, 245-†65. The course of instruction led through dialectics,¹⁰ physics,¹¹ philosophy, and ethics¹² to the crown of all in theology¹³ and, especially, the Scriptures.¹⁴ It reminds us of a tradition still surviving in the Oxford course of Classics, *Literae Humaniores* and Theology as the ideal preparation for Holy Orders ; and it may be doubted whether any nobler scheme of Christian education has ever been projected than this which we find in actual working at Alexandria at the end of the second century.¹⁵ At any rate, it disposes of ‘ the charges of ignorance and credulity so often levelled against the early Christians ’ from the days of Minucius Felix and Celsus to those of Gibbon.¹⁶ Charges like those of the *Octavius*¹⁷ and *The True Account*¹⁸ are of interest. They betray the contempt with which pagan society would regard Christianity. It continued to be so in the fourth century, when ‘ society avowedly had no interest at all in Christian affairs ’¹⁹ ; and it became so again in Gibbon’s day.²⁰

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v. x.

² Ibid. vi. vi.

³ Ibid. iii, §§ 3, 8.

⁴ Ibid. xxvi.

⁵ Ibid. xxix, § 5.

⁶ Cf. L. B. Radford, *Theognostus, Pierius and Peter* (Cambridge, 1908).

⁷ Jerome, *De viris ill.*, c. cix (*Op.* ii. 939 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 705 A).

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xviii, §§ 3, 4.

⁹ Ibid., c. lxxv (*Op.* ii. 905 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 675 B). Text in *P. G.* x. 1049-1104, and tr. W. Metcalfe, *Origen the Teacher* (‘ Early Christian Classics ’, S.P.C.K. 1907).

¹⁰ Ibid., c. vii.

¹¹ Ibid., c. viii.

¹² cc. ix-xii.

¹³ cc. xiii, xiv.

¹⁴ cc. xv sqq.

¹⁵ Bigg, *Christian Platonists*², &c., 71.

¹⁶ Gibbon, c. xv (ii. 65 sqq.).

¹⁷ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. viii, §§ 3-5.

¹⁸ Origen, c. *Celsus*, iii, § 49 (*Op.* i. 479 ; *P. G.* xi. 984 sq.); and Document No. 128.

¹⁹ T. R. Glover, *Life and letters*, 42.

²⁰ Cf. Butler, *Analogy*, ‘ The advertisement ’ [1736] ; R. Southey, *Life of Wesley*, c. ix [1820].

§ 4. Clement¹ was the second of the Alexandrine teachers; but the first of whose life we have any details and the first to leave anything in writing.

He was born *c.* 150, probably at Athens,² and of heathen parents.³ From the familiarity which he shows with the Mysteries,⁴ he may have been initiated. Then he became a convert to Christianity, and wandered far and wide in search of truth. He mentions six teachers, all Christians, from whom he heard it: the first an Ionian, who might have told him the story of St. John and the robber,⁵ and have brought him into connexion with 'the tradition . . . derived . . . from the holy apostle . . . John', and the last Pantaenus, 'first in power, . . . but hidden away', in modest obscurity, at Alexandria. 'With him he 'found rest'⁶; and, after ordination to the presbyterate,⁷ succeeded him as Head of the Catechetical School,⁸ *c.* 190. Clement held this office till *c.* 202; and then, on the outbreak of the persecution under Septimius Severus, he withdrew from Alexandria.⁹ Perhaps he took refuge with his former pupil, Alexander, at that time bishop in Cappadocia¹⁰; then co-adjutor to the aged Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem,¹¹ and finally bishop of Jerusalem, 212–†50, himself. Alexander is thus of interest as the first example of translation afterwards forbidden, as if it necessarily implied worldly motives, by the Council of Nicaea,¹² and as a predecessor of Augustine¹³ in the office of co-adjutor bishop. This also was an arrangement viewed at first with some suspicion; for it was held to be inconsistent with the maxim, affirmed as early as 250, that there can only be 'one bishop in a Catholic church'.¹⁴ But perhaps it was Alexander's chief

¹ Cf. Bigg, *Christian Platonists*², Lect. iii; J. Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria* (Blackwood, 1914); R. B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria* (Williams & Norgate, 1914); and B. F. Westcott in *D. C. B.* i. 559–67.

² Epiph. *Haer.* xxxii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 213; *P. G.* xli. 552 B).

³ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ii. ii, § 64 (*Op.* iii. 60; *P. G.* xxi. 120 A).

⁴ Clem. Al. *Protrepticus*, ii, §§ 12 sqq., and xii, §§ 119 sqq. (*Op.* i. 11 sqq., 84 sqq.; ed. O. Stählin); and Document No. 105.

⁵ Clem. Al. *Quis dives salvetur*, c. xlii (*Op.* iii. 187 sqq.), and Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxiii, §§ 6–19; and Document No. 115.

⁶ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. i, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 8); Eus. *H. E.* v. xi, §§ 2–5, and Document, No. 107.

⁷ Clem. Al. *Paed.* i. vi, § 37 (*Op.* ii. 112).

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vi. vi. ⁹ Ibid. vi. iii, § 1. ¹⁰ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xi, § 2.

¹¹ Ibid., §§ 3, 4. ¹² Canon xv: see W. Bright, *Canons*,² &c., *ad loc.*

¹³ Aug. *Ep.* ccxiii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 790 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 967).

¹⁴ Cf. Cornelius, bishop of Rome to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, 251, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 11 (Document No. 145), and to Cyprian=Cyprian, *Ep.* xlix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 611), and Cyprian to Cornelius, lix, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 671 sq.).

distinction and joy to have been host and friend to Clement. Clement was still alive in 211 : for in that year, on the death of Serapion, bishop of Antioch 199-†211, he carried to the Antiochenes a letter from Alexander congratulating them on the appointment of Asclepiades to be their new bishop.¹ But within four years he died : for in another letter of c. 215 to Origen, Alexander refers to ' his master and benefactor ' as ' one of those blessed fathers '—the other was Pantaenus—' with whom we soon shall be '.²

Of the writings of Clement,³ enumerated by Eusebius⁴ and Jerôme, only a portion are extant.

The three most important exist nearly entire, and form a trilogy. They are related very much as apologetics, ethics, and dogmatics. They correspond with the stages of the Neo-Platonist course : purification, initiation, vision. And, perhaps, they reflect also the stages of instruction in the Catechetical School.

First of these is *The Hortatory Address to the Greeks*,⁵ written c. 190, to prove the superiority of Christianity to the religions of heathenism because they are sensual and to its philosophies because they are vague. Clement opens with an invitation, c. i, to listen no more to the songs of pagan myth but to the New Song of the Word of God. He then proceeds to contrast, cc. ii-iv, the purity and spirituality of the Gospel with the impiety of the Mysteries, the cruelty of the sacrifices, and the sensuality of idolatry ; and next, cc. v-viii, the clearness and certainty of the Scriptures with the guesses of philosophers and poets. In such a case, c. ix, a deaf ear is unpardonable, and, c. x, custom cannot be pleaded against the duty of conversion : so, cc. x-xii, we must make our choice. The *Address*, which should take rank with the Apologies of the second century, is sympathetic as well as incisive. It is based upon the idea that, what the Law was for the Jews, philosophy was for the Greeks, a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.⁶ What was well said in the one was as truly ' revealed ' as the other.⁷ Nay, Plato even borrowed from Moses.⁸

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xi, §§ 5, 6.

² Ibid. vi. xiv, § 9.

³ Text in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ed. O. Stählin (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*), 3 vols., Leipzig, 1905 ; tr. A.-N. C. L., vols. iv and xii, and excellent analyses of the argument in Patrick, *Clement*, App. A-C.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xiii ; Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, c. xxxviii (*Op.* ii. 878 sq. ; *P. L.* xxiii. 653).

⁵ The *Protrepticus* is in *Op.* i. 1-34 (*P. G.* viii. 49-246) and Stählin, i. 1-86.

⁶ Cf. *Strom.* i. v, § 28 (St. ii. 18) ; and Document No. 108.

⁷ Cf. the praise of Plato in *Protrept.*, c. vi, § 68 (Stählin, i. 51 sq.).

⁸ *Protrept.* vi, § 70 (St. i. 53).

The second book of the trilogy is the *Tutor*,¹ written c. 190–5. But here Christ is the Tutor²; not the Law, as in the phrase of St. Paul.³ He is the moral educator of mankind. Book I gives, cc. i–iii, a description of the Word as the Tutor; of, cc. iv–vi, Christians as His ‘children’; of, cc. vii–xii, discipline and love as His methods. Books II and III are concerned with special precepts for actual needs. Thus Book II deals with, cc. i–ii, eating and drinking; c. iii, furniture; cc. iv–viii, entertaining⁴; c. ix, sleep; c. x, sex; cc. xi–xiii, clothes and jewellery. Book III begins with, c. i, a discussion of the nature of true beauty, and goes on naturally to deprecate, cc. ii, iii, extravagance in dress, cc. iv, v, luxurious houses, c. vi, the misuse of wealth; to commend, cc. vii–x, frugality and exercise; and to suggest the sort of, cc. xi, xii, dress and behaviour proper to a Christian. The *Tutor* thus presents us with a vivid picture of contemporary Christian life, the more arresting as seen against its dark heathen background. It should also be thought of, along with Tertullian’s *De fuga in persecutione*, as one of the earliest essays in Christian casuistry.

The last and longest member of the trilogy is the *Miscellanies*,⁵ otherwise ‘the patch-work’, probably written c. 200–2. The title suggests that it was ‘designedly unmethodical’⁶; though the author remarks that it was his intention to give in this work ‘a compendious account of the Christian religion’.⁷ He does not do so; but sets himself, instead, to claim for the Gospel the power of making ‘the true Gnostic’ or ‘perfect Christian philosopher’. Book I deals chiefly with the office of Greek philosophy. It was part of the preparation for the Gospel; of less importance, indeed, than the Law and the Prophets but yet really from God.⁸ So anxious is Clement to vindicate this thesis that, not content with showing that the Jewish Scriptures are older than the

¹ The *Paedagogus* is in *Op.* i. 35–115 (*P. G.* viii. 247–684), and Stählin, i. 87–292.

² The title is derived from Hos. v. 2 (LXX), quoted in *Paed.* i. vii. 53, § 3 (St. i. 122).

³ Gal. iii. 24.

⁴ For c. v, on laughter, see Document No. 106.

⁵ For the *Stromata* see *Op.* i. 116–334 (*P. G.* viii. 685–ix. 602), and Stählin, ii. iii. There is an edition of bk. vii (intr., text, tr., and notes) by F. J. A. Hort and J. B. Mayor (Macmillan, 1902).

⁶ *Str.* iv. ii, § 4, vi. i, § 2 (St. ii. 249, 422 sq.).

⁷ *Str.* vi. i, § 1 (St. ii. 422).

⁸ Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. i–xiii [§§ 1–58], xix–xx [§§ 91–100] (St. ii. 1–37, 58–64), and Document No. 108.

writings of the philosophers,¹ he goes on to prove that the wisdom of the Greeks was borrowed from Israel²—a commonplace of the Apologists that Clement, in turn, may have borrowed from Justin.³ In Book II he sets himself to expound in detail the priority and superiority of the moral teaching of Revelation to that which the philosophers in part derived from it.⁴ Books III and IV are, in the main, concerned with two criteria that differentiate Catholic, from heretical, Gnosis. They are the striving after holiness evinced in chastity, whether of the virginal, or the married, estate; and the love of God displayed in martyrdom. He defends Christian continence, on the one hand, against those who give themselves over to licence, as do the followers of Carpocrates,⁵ on the plea that bodily actions are indifferent⁶; and, on the other, against such as the Marcionites who abstain from marriage out of hostility to the Creator.⁷ Martyrdom is but the supreme exhibition of that spirit of self-sacrifice⁸ which characterizes the true Gnostic and is within the reach of men and women of every condition in life⁹; but it is quite a different thing from foolhardiness or fanaticism.¹⁰ In Book V Clement treats of the symbolic presentation of religious truth¹¹; it is as common with secular, as with Sacred, writers: one more instance of 'the plagiarism of the Greeks from the barbarian (i.e. Jewish) philosophy'¹² which he proceeds to illustrate in detail. Books VI and VII are devoted to the portrayal of the true Gnostic or Christian philosopher.¹³ He is the one true worshipper of God.¹⁴ His aim is to attain to the likeness of the Son of God,¹⁵ whereas the Greeks made their Gods in their own likeness.¹⁶ The soul is his temple. Prayers and thanksgivings are his

¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. xiv [§§ 59-65], xxi-xxiv [§§ 101-64], xxix [§§ 180-2] (St. ii. 37-41, 64-103, 110-12).

² Ibid. I. xv-xviii [§§ 66-90], xxv [§§ 165-6] (St. ii. 41-58, 103-4).

³ Justin, *Apol.* I. xliiv, §§ 8-10.

⁴ Clem. Al. *Strom.* II. ii [§ 1], v [§§ 20-4], xviii [§§ 78-96].

⁵ Ibid. III. ii [§§ 1-11] (St. ii. 197-200).

⁶ Ibid. III. v [§§ 40-4] (St. ii. 214-16).

⁷ Ibid. III. iii [§§ 12-24], vi [§§ 45-56] (St. ii. 200-7, 216-22).

⁸ Ibid. IV. iii-vii [§§ 8-55] (St. ii. 251-74).

⁹ Ibid. IV. viii [§§ 56-69] (St. ii. 274-9).

¹⁰ Ibid. IV. x [§§ 76-7] (St. ii. 282), and Document No. 109.

¹¹ Ibid. V. iv [§§ 19-26] (St. ii. 338-42).

¹² Ibid. V. xiv [§ 89] (St. ii. 384).

¹³ Ibid. VI. i [§ 1], xiii [§ 105] (St. ii. 422, 484 sq.), and Document No. 110.

¹⁴ Ibid. VII. i [§§ 1-4] (St. iii. 3-5).

¹⁵ Ibid. VII. ii, iii [§§ 5-21] (St. iii. 5-16).

¹⁶ Ibid. VII. iv [§§ 22-7] (St. iii. 16-20).

sacrifices, and truth is the law of his life.¹ But, it will be objected, such claims on behalf of the Church are invalidated by the variety of sects and heresies amongst Christians.² To this objection Clement makes some interesting, because characteristic, replies. The first is an *argumentum ad hominem*: the same, he says, is true of Jews and philosophers. Second, such divisions were foretold by our Lord, and are in accordance with the law that the beautiful is always shadowed by its caricature.³ Third, there are different schools of medicine; but that does not prevent us from calling in a doctor when we are sick.⁴ Fourth, heresy is due to impatience; and, in order to deal with it, what is wanted is not authority—not less study, but more.⁵ Finally, he gives two tests by which heresy may always be detected: its inconsistency with Holy Scripture,⁶ and its recent origin.⁷ ‘The teaching of our Lord at his advent . . . was completed in the times of Tiberius: that of the Apostles . . . ends with Nero. It was later, in the times of the Emperor Hadrian, that those who invented the heresies arose.’ Book VIII is but a fragment, part, in fact, of a treatise on logic; and by some it is thought that the *Excerpta Theodoti*⁸—a ready referred to as an authority for some phases of Gnosticism—and the *Ex Scripturis propheticiis Eclogae*⁹ may have been connected with it, whether as selections from it, or as sketches for it, in the rough.

The *Hypotyposes*¹⁰ or *Outlines* is extant only in fragments; but probably contained notes on the Old Testament and St. Paul’s and the Catholic Epistles, and included, according to some, the *Excerpta Theodoti*.

Finally, the *Quis dives salvetur*¹¹ is a homily on the rich young ruler,¹² written shortly after the *Miscellanies*.¹³ It urges detachment from worldly goods,¹⁴ and, in order to a right use of them,

¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. v–ix [§§ 28–54] (St. iii. 20–40).

² Ibid. vii. xv [§ 89] (St. iii. 63).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. vii. xv [§ 90] (St. iii. 64).

⁵ Ibid. vii. xv [§ 91] (St. iii. 64), and Document No. 112.

⁶ Ibid. vii. xvi [§§ 93–105] (St. iii. 66–74), and Document No. 113.

⁷ Ibid. vii. xvii [§§ 106–8] (St. iii. 74–6).

⁸ Clem. Al. *Op.* ii. 348–59 (*P. G.* ix. 651–98); St. iii. 103–33.

⁹ Clem. Al. *Op.* ii. 360–7 (*P. G.* ix. 697–728); St. iii. 135–55.

¹⁰ Clem. Al. *Op.* ii. 348–59 (*P. G.* ix. 651–98); St. iii. 195–215.

¹¹ Clem. Al. *Op.* ii. 335–47 (*P. G.* ix. 603–51); St. iii. 157–91. Tr. P. M. Barnard (‘Early Christian Classics’, S.P.C.K. 1901), and analysis in Patrick, *op. cit.* 177–82.

¹² Mark x. 17–31.

¹³ Cf. *Quis dives*, xxvi, § 8, with *Strom.* iv. i, § 2.

¹⁴ *Quis dives*, xi, § 2, xii, § 1 (St. iii. 166 sq.).

the doctrine that we are not owners of them but stewards¹; and it illustrates what stewardship means by the story of St. John and the robber.² We naturally compare the *Quis dives* with the homily known as the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* and assigned to the elder Clement.

Clement, for all his philosophy, bases his doctrine³ on the tradition of the Church. 'He ceases', says he, 'to be a man of God and faithful to the Lord who discards with contempt the ecclesiastical tradition and yields to the opinion of human heresies.'⁴ Starting from the One God in Trinity,⁵ he lays stress on the activity of the Word in creation⁶ and as Incarnate.⁷ He asserts in Jesus Christ a real human nature⁸; but he thinks that the soul of the Word was passionless,⁹ equally untouched by joy and by sadness,¹⁰ and that His body was free from the ordinary necessities of eating and drinking. He ate and drank only to forestall Docetism¹¹; where Clement, like Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, 350-†68, who followed him in this notion,¹² is semi-Docetic himself. As to his view of the work of Christ, it is conditioned by his estimate of human sin. This he regards as due to ignorance¹³: for Clement shares that defective sense of sin which passed over from Hellenism into Greek theology. Accordingly, he looks upon the work of the Saviour as, in the main, illuminative and disciplinary. The hymn at the end of the *Tutor*, for instance, addresses Him as 'Bridle of colts untamed'.¹⁴ He does not, however, ignore its redemptive purpose: for he says that Jesus Christ gave his life for each of us¹⁵; that He is our ransom¹⁶; a propitiation for our sins¹⁷; a victim¹⁸ whose blood redeemed us and reconciled us to God.¹⁹ But, like his followers of our day, who have had difficulties about the reconciliation of

¹ *Quis dives*, xxxi, § 6 (St. iii. 180).

² *Ibid.*, c. xlii (St. iii. 187-91).

³ J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 243-56; Bigg, *Chr. Platonists*², Lect. iii; A. V. G. Allen, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, 38-68.

⁴ *Strom.* vii. xvi, § 95 (St. iii. 67).

⁵ *Ibid.* v. xiv, § 103 (St. ii. 395), where he finds the Trinity even in Plato.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. iii, § 16 (St. ii. 336).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. xvii, § 102 (St. ii. 243).

⁹ *Paed.* i. ii, § 4 (St. ii. 91).

¹⁰ *Strom.* vi. ix, § 71 (St. ii. 467).

¹¹ *Ibid.* and Bigg, *Chr. Platonists*², 102, n. 2.

¹² Hilary, *De Trinitate*, x, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 339; *P. L.* x. 364 B).

¹³ Bigg², 104, n. 1.

¹⁴ *Paed.* iii. xii, § 101 (St. i. 291-2).

¹⁵ *Quis dives*, xxxvii, § 4 (St. iii. 184), and Document No. 114.

¹⁶ *Paed.* iii. xii, § 85 (St. i. 283), quoting 1 Pet. i. 19.

¹⁷ *Paed.* iii. xii, § 98 (St. i. 289), quoting 1 John ii. 2-6.

¹⁸ *Strom.* v. xi, § 70 (St. ii. 373).

¹⁹ *Protrep.* i. vi, § 1 (St. i. 6).

God to man,¹ he minimized the 'reconciliation through His death',² conceiving of 'the barrier' not as 'God's wrath' against sin but as 'man's impurity'; and, though admitting the forgiveness bestowed in baptism, he held that 'the Christian should be taught to look not upon the Crucified but upon the Risen Lord', and to think 'of Him as the fountain not of pardon but of life'.³ Clement thus emphasizes one aspect of our Lord's work at the expense of another equally necessary to salvation.

Less vital, though quite of a piece with this imperfect estimate of sin and so of Christ's work, is his subordination of Faith to Knowledge. He divided Christians into two classes: those who content themselves with the common Faith,⁴ and those who rise to *Gnosis*; though he regards Faith and Knowledge as connected, the one being the foundation and the other the superstructure.⁵ The perfect Christian is the true Gnostic. He has two virtues: the Stoic virtue of 'apathy'⁶ and the Christian grace of love. Clement does not shrink from finding the supreme test of love in the self-sacrifice, and the endurance, of martyrdom.⁷ But it remains true that, on the whole, his conception of Christianity was Hellenist and humanist; and, while he has the defects of his qualities, he is also a striking witness to their charm. 'No later writer has so serene and hopeful a view of human nature'⁸; and his view of the Christian religion is of the same sort. While pleasure is the characteristic of the heathen and contentiousness of the heretic, he makes joy the mark of the Church and gladness of the perfect Christian.⁹

It is for such reasons that, in reaction from the Calvinism of the early nineteenth century, there came about, in its second half, a revival of Alexandrianism, not unneeded. Clement became a favourite. In quarters where 'dislike for the sacramental and ecclesiastical ideas to which Augustine gave a specially definite expression'¹⁰ prevailed, he became a hero. He stood for 'views of Christianity which would make it fluid rather than solid'¹¹;

¹ On the difficulty of this phrase of *Art. II*, see St. Thos. Aq. *Summa* III, Q. xlix, art. 4, ad 1; J. Pearson, *On the Creed*⁶, 644 (ed. Oxford, 1877), and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, 172 sq. The objection to it is common with Socinians: Pearson, *loc. cit.*, n. 20.

² Rom. v. 10.

³ Bigg, *op. cit.*² 104 and n. 2.

⁴ *Paed.* I. vi, § 30 (St. i. 108).

⁵ *Strom.* VII. x, § 57 (St. iii. 42), and Document No. 111.

⁶ *Strom.* VI. ix, § 72 (St. ii. 468).

⁷ *Strom.* IV. iii-vii, §§ 8-55 *ut sup.*

⁸ Bigg, *op. cit.*² 103.

⁹ *Strom.* VII. xvi, § 101 (St. iii. 71).

¹⁰ W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c. 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 112.

and for a conception of human nature which minimized its sinfulness and its need of redemption. The reaction has now, to some extent, spent itself; and stress is no longer laid on the Incarnation apart from the Atonement.¹ Nevertheless, there remains a place for Alexandrianism: we can still rejoice in the free spirit of its 'wider theology'.² With Kingsley, we can see in its first representative 'Clement of Alexandria, a great Father of the Church, as wise as he was good'³; and, with Maurice, 'that one of the old Fathers whom we should all have revered most as a teacher and loved most as a friend'.⁴

§ 5. Origen⁵ is known to us from his own writings, but also from Eusebius. The latter not only devoted the sixth book of his *Ecclesiastical History* to Origen, but knew contemporaries of his⁶; had collected about a hundred of his letters⁷; and had collaborated with his own friend and Origen's pupil, Pamphilus, †309, in an *Apology for Origen*⁸ based on original documents.⁹ We will take in turn the life, the writings, the theology, and the influence of Origen.

Origen's life, 185-†254, falls into four periods, terminated respectively by the persecution under Septimius Severus¹⁰; the Fury of Caracalla; his ordination to the priesthood; and his death.

His boyhood, 185-202, may be reckoned to the death of his father in the persecution. Born at Alexandria 185, of Christian parents, Origen was brought up by his father, Leonides, in the Scriptures and the Classics,¹¹ and became a pupil of Clement¹² in the Catechetical School. Leonides perished¹³ in the persecution, 202, and so did several of Origen's pupils,¹⁴ for it was

¹ Cf. J. K. Mozley, *The doctrine of the Atonement*, 173 sq.; and on the question whether the Incarnation was independent of the Fall, see B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*², 286 sqq., for an affirmative answer, and for the negative, W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*,² 217 sq.

² Eugene de Faye, as quoted in Hort and Mayor, *op. cit.* lxiii; and for a plea for Alexandrianism versus Augustinianism, see Westcott, *Essays*, 246-52.

³ C. Kingsley, *Heroes*, xiii (ed. 1901).

⁴ F. D. Maurice, *Lectures on Eccl. History*, 239 (Macmillan, 1854).

⁵ B. F. Westcott in *D.C.B.* iv. 96-142, and *Religious Thought in the West*, 194-252; C. T. Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist.* ii. 462-512; C. Bigg, *Chr. Platonists*², Lect. v, vi.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. ii, § 1, xxxiii, § 4.

⁷ Ibid. xxxvi, § 3.

⁸ Only the first of its six books has been preserved, in a transl. by Rufinus, q.v., in *P. G.* xvii. 521-616.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxiii, § 4, xxxiii, § 4.

¹⁰ Ibid. ii, § 2.

¹¹ Ibid. ii, §§ 7, 8.

¹² Eus. *H. E.* vi. vi, § 1.

¹³ Ibid. i, § 1, ii §§ 12, 14.

¹⁴ Ibid. iii, § 2, iv, v.

directed against converts, and they were either catechumens or just baptized. Origen himself, though he was no convert but a Christian from childhood, might have shared their fate. He was zealous for martyrdom; but his mother hid his clothes and so forced him to remain at home.¹ His early years, therefore, were not lacking in incident; but they are memorable as affording the first instance on record of a Christian home and boyhood.

His youth, 202–15, fell between the persecution under Severus and the Fury of Caracalla. Leonides left a widow and seven sons, of whom Origen, barely seventeen at his father's death, was the oldest. They were in want, for the property of Leonides had been confiscated. But Origen, partly by the help of a wealthy lady, with whose Gnostic chaplain, however, he could not get on, and partly by teaching, managed to support himself,² and probably to assist his mother and younger brothers also. He was still not quite eighteen when he was recognized, at first informally, by the mere fact that students came to him, and then officially, by appointment from Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, 189–†232, as Head of the Catechetical School,³ 203. Devoting himself ardently to the duties of his Chair, he sold his books of secular learning for a small annuity, so as to be able to teach without fee⁴; and, in view of having women as well as men among his hearers, he not only lived a life of more than ordinary self-restraint,⁵ but acted literally upon the precept to become an eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake.⁶ Besides teaching, though with a view to it, he was active in other directions at this epoch. He began the *Hexapla*. He visited Rome, in the days of Pope Zephyrinus, 198–†217, “out of a desire”, as he says, “to see the most ancient church of the Romans”.⁷ He attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, the father of Neo-Platonism, in order to study non-Christian thought,⁸ and that he might deal the more sympathetically with heretics and heathen who crowded his own lecture-room.⁹ So great were their numbers, that he handed over the elementary instruction to Heraclas,¹⁰ one of his pupils who became his successor and succeeded Demetrius¹¹ as

¹ Ibid. ii, §§ 3–6, iii, §§ 3–7.

² Ibid. ii, §§ 12–14.

³ Ibid. iii, §§ 3, 6, 7, 8.

⁴ Ibid. iii, § 9.

⁵ Ibid. iii, §§ 9–13.

⁶ Matt. xix. 12; Eus. *H. E.* vi. viii, §§ 1, 2.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xiv, § 10.

⁸ Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, § 7, and Document No. 171: Dr. Bigg suspects confusion here, *Chr. Pl.*² 156, n. 3.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xviii, § 2.

¹⁰ Ibid. xv.

¹¹ Ibid. xxvi, xxix, § 3.

bishop of Alexandria, 232-†48. Thus, to be Head of the Catechetical School was a position of growing importance; and Origen, while still a layman, was recognized as a leading teacher of the Church. But in 215 his work was interrupted. The people of Alexandria had satirized Caracalla for the murder of his brother Geta, 27 February 212. He took vengeance on them by a massacre known as the Fury of Caracalla,¹ 215. It was not specially directed against the Christians; but their affairs were, no doubt, thrown into disorder by it, and Origen temporarily withdrew to Caesarea in Palestine.²

In close touch with, though not wholly at, Caesarea Origen spent his early manhood, 215-28. No sooner had he arrived there than the bishops of Palestine,³ headed by their metropolitan, Theoctistus of Caesarea, 217-†58, and at the instance of Alexander of Jerusalem, 212-†50, the fellow-pupil⁴ with Origen of their common master, Clement, begged him, though still a layman, to expound the Scriptures, not now in a lecture-room, but in the public worship of the church. Demetrius, on hearing of it, raised objections. Theoctistus and Alexander quoted precedents, from Asia.⁵ But to no avail: and, c. 219, Origen was recalled by his own bishop to take up his work once more at the Catechetical School.⁶ In 223, under pressure from his friend and 'taskmaster',⁷ Ambrose, who supplied him with a staff of seven short-hand writers, seven copyists, beside 'ladies skilled in calligraphy',⁸ he began an extensive programme of literary work. It opened with systematic theology in the *De principiis*,⁹ and went on to the written exposition of Scripture in the *Commentary on St. John*,¹⁰ c. 228-38. And his 'far-reaching personal influence' took rise from this period. Clement's influence may be put down to his lightness of touch and his sense of humour. Origen had neither. He had none of the Greek genius: for, if we may judge from his name, meaning 'child of Hor the god of light',¹¹ he came of native Egyptian¹² or Coptic stock. 'But he wielded that powerful charm

¹ Gibbon, c. vi (i. 136, ed. Bury).

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, § 16.

³ Ibid., § 16.

⁴ Ibid. xiv, § 9.

⁵ Ibid. xix, §§ 16-18.

⁶ Ibid., § 19.

⁷ Origen, *Comm. in Ioann.* v, Praef., § 1 (*Op.* iv. 94; *P. G.* xiv. 185 c).

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxiii, § 2.

⁹ Ibid. xxiv, § 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. xxiv, § 1. Unfinished in 238, *ibid.* xxviii.

¹¹ C. Bigg, *Chr. Pl.*² 152.

¹² On 'Egyptian' as distinct from 'Alexandrian', see C. L. Feltoe, *The letters of Dionysius*, 13, n. 9.

which attaches to high intellectual gifts when combined with an ardent and sympathetic nature.' ¹ So he became the 'unofficial representative, arbiter, and peace-maker of the Eastern Church'. He was consulted by a provincial governor of Arabia ²; then, c. 218, at Antioch by Julia Mamaea, the Empress-mother ³; and, later on, by the Christian or half-Christian Emperor, Philip, 244-9, and the Empress Severa. ⁴ The churches of Achaia ⁵ and Arabia ⁶ made him their umpire; and, on each occasion, peace followed upon his award. Demetrius—if we may trust Eusebius ⁷ and Jerome ⁸—became jealous; and a false step that Origen took on the visit to Achaia, which he undertook 'without the consent of his own bishop', ⁹ gave the latter a handle against him. He allowed himself, on his way, at Caesarea, to be ordained priest by Theoctistus and Alexander. ¹⁰ Possibly they did it to further his facilities for teaching and preaching, and so to disarm the opposition of Demetrius. But it was a breach of ecclesiastical order which Demetrius could hardly overlook.

Origen had now spent twenty-five years as Head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, 203-28. He was to spend most of the remaining twenty-five years of mature age, 229-†54, in a similar position at Caesarea. For on his return to Alexandria Demetrius received him coldly. He certainly objected to the course he had taken on the ground of his self-mutilation, ¹¹ which may already have been an impediment to Holy Orders in Alexandria as it was afterwards recognized to be by the first canon of the Council of Nicaea. ¹² He may also have taken exception, as may be conjectured from Origen's reference to 'the storm at Alexandria', ¹³ to elements in Origen's teaching. At any rate, Origen had received ordination to the priesthood without his consent. A mixed synod of 'bishops and a few presbyters' under Demetrius banished him from Alexandria, 'though they did not depose him from the presbyterate'. Demetrius was not satisfied. In a provincial synod, of bishops alone, he took this

¹ C. Bigg, *Chr. Pl.* ² 158, and Greg. Thaum, *In Origenem Oratio Panegyrica*, c. vi (*P. G.* x. 1069 c, d).

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xix, § 15.

³ Ibid. xxi, §§ 3, 4.

⁴ Ibid. xxxvi, § 3.

⁵ Ibid. xxiii, § 4.

⁶ Ibid. xxxiii, xxxvii.

⁷ Ibid. viii, §§ 4, 5.

⁸ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liv (*Op.* ii. 893; *P. L.* xxiii. 663-5).

⁹ Pamphilus, *Apology for Origen*, ap. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. cxviii (*Op.* iii. 92 B; *P. G.* ciii. 397 B).

¹⁰ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxiii, § 4.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. viii, § 5.

¹² W. Bright, *Canons* ², &c., *ad loc.*

¹³ Origen, *Comm. in Ioann.* vi, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 101; *P. G.* xiv. 200 B).

step¹; and we may note in passing that if there was, as yet, no difference at Alexandria between bishops and presbyters, as has been inferred from Jerome's letter, Origen would not have been likely, in his defence, to let slip the opportunity of challenging his deposition by 'bishops alone' when 'bishops and presbyters' had not gone as far. Still Demetrius was not content. According to Jerome 'he wrote on the subject to the whole world',² and so obtained the condemnation of Origen at Rome. The decision, however, was disregarded by the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, and Achaia³; and Origen, defending himself warmly,⁴ settled at Caesarea, 231. Here, protected by Theoctistus and Alexander,⁵ he resumed his manifold activities. He taught: with Firmilian,⁶ bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 231-†65, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, afterwards bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus, 245-†65, among his pupils.⁷ He wrote⁸: with the support of Ambrose,⁹ as before. He preached: though it was not till he was sixty years of age that he allowed his sermons to be taken down¹⁰ for publication. He travelled: in Palestine to investigate 'the footsteps of Jesus'¹¹; to Athens,¹² perhaps for study; and twice to Arabia, whither he was invited once to confer at a synod, c. 244, with Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, apparently of modalist but, at any rate, Monarchian affinities,¹³ and again to meet some errors on the intermediate state to the effect that the soul dies with the body and at the resurrection is restored to life again with it.¹⁴ In both cases, he brought those in error back to the right faith. These labours, which included the reply to Celsus,¹⁵ c. 249, were twice interrupted by persecution. Under Maximin, 235-†8, Origen lost his friend Ambrose, to whom he addressed his *Exhortatio ad martyrium*,¹⁶ though he himself escaped. He took refuge with Firmilian in Cappadocia and a Christian lady there, by name Juliana, who had some books

¹ Pamphilus *ap.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. cxviii (*Op.* iii. 92 B; *P. G.* ciii. 397 B).

² Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. liv (*Op.* ii. 893; *P. L.* xxiii. 665 A).

³ Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 154; *P. L.* xxii. 447).

⁴ Jerome, *Adv. Rufinum*, ii, § 18 (*Op.* ii. 510; *P. L.* xxiii. 441).

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxvii.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. vi. xxx.

⁸ Ibid. xxxi, xxxii, xxxvi, §§ 2, 3.

⁹ Ibid. xxviii.

¹⁰ Ibid. xxxvi, § 1.

¹¹ Origen, *Comment. in Ioannem*, vi, § 24 (*Op.* iv. 140; *P. G.* xiv. 269 A).

¹² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxii, § 2.

¹³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxiii, §§ 1, 2.

¹⁴ Ibid. xxxvii.

¹⁵ Ibid. xxxvi, § 2.

¹⁶ Ibid. xxviii.

of Symmachus, the translator¹ of the Old Testament. In the Decian persecution, 250–1, his friend Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, died in prison²; and he himself was marked down for attack by his prominence as the greatest of Christian teachers and by his correspondence with Philip,³ the immediate predecessor of Decius. He suffered a variety of torments,⁴ probably at Tyre. His constancy was supported by a letter on martyrdom⁵ from his former pupil Dionysius, now bishop of Alexandria, 248–†65. But his health gave way; and he died at Tyre, 254, having ‘completed seventy years save one’.⁶ He was not the equal of Gregory of Nazianzus, nor of Chrysostom, in eloquence. He did not come near Athanasius in soundness of judgement, nor Augustine in the manysidedness of his powers. But in learning, he is entitled to rank with Jerome as one of the greatest of the Fathers: while, in zeal and constancy, he deserved, if any ever did, to stand high ‘in the catalogue of saints and martyrs, and to be annually held up as an example to Christian men’.

The writings⁷ of Origen were voluminous⁸; but, owing to his condemnation in the edict of Justinian,⁹ 543, in the eleventh canon of the fifth oecumenical Council at Constantinople,¹⁰ 553, and in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*,¹¹ which is ‘the work of an anonymous scholar of 519–53’, only a fraction of them are extant; and these, for the most part, have survived in the Latin versions of St. Ambrose,¹² †397, St. Jerome, †420, and Rufinus, †410. But, looking only at what remains, ‘the range of Origen’s activity is amazing. He is the first great scholar, the first great preacher, the first great devotional writer, the first great commentator, the first

¹ Ibid. xvii, and Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. cxlvii (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1250 sq.).

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxix, §§ 2, 3.

³ Ibid. xxxvi, § 3.

⁴ Ibid. xxxix, § 5.

⁵ Ibid. xlvi, § 2.

⁶ Ibid. vii. i.

⁷ Chronology in *D. C. B.* iv. 103; and critical text in Origenes *Werke*, i–v (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*: Leipzig, 1899–1913).

⁸ Epiphanius says rumour assigned him 6000: *Haer.* lxiv, § 63 (*Op.* i. 561; *P. G.* xli. 1177 c); Jerome says ‘not a third part’ of this number, *Adv. Rufinum*, ii, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 516; *P. L.* xxiii. 445 A)—anyhow, quite enough.

⁹ Justinian, *Liber adv. Origenem*, *P. G.* LXXXVI. i. 945–94, afterwards inserted in the ‘acta’ of the Co. of CP. 553, Mansi, *Concilia*, ix. 487–534; Hefele, *Councils*, iv. 217–20.

¹⁰ Mansi, ix. 384 B; Hefele, iv. 336 sq.

¹¹ Text in E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, 21–60 (*T. u U.* Bd. xxxviii, Hft. 4 [Leipzig, 1912], and review by F. C. Burkitt in *J. T. S.* 469–71.

¹² Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv [A. D. 400], § 7 (*Op.* i. 529; *P. L.* xxii. 749).

great dogmatist'. Origen's works may accordingly be classified as bearing upon (1) Scripture, (2) Doctrine, (3) Apology, (4) Practice, and we will now take them in that order:

(1) His works on the Scriptures exhibit him as scholar, and as commentator. Some are critical, others exegetical.

The critical labours of Origen were based on his conviction that the first requirement is a correct text. This requirement is not unconnected, in his case, with the exigencies of anti-Jewish polemic¹: it was thus inspired by controversial, as well as by critical, considerations. But let his motive have been what it may, Origen was the first to take immense pains in order to obtain a correct text; and, for this reason, he is entitled to be called the father of biblical criticism. Such pains he took in the *Hexapla*,² now extant only in fragments. It was a gigantic undertaking: begun before 231 and not completed till 244-5, and consisting of a sixfold arrangement of the text of the Old Testament, in as many columns.³

Column I gives the Hebrew text, in close agreement with the received Hebrew text of to-day.

Column II has the Hebrew text in Greek characters.

Column III displays the Greek version of Aquila,⁴ a native of Pontus and a relative of Hadrian. Aquila's version was recent when Irenaeus wrote,⁵ and probably dates *c.* 128-9. He was a pervert from Christianity to Judaism⁶; and 'the purpose of the translation was to set aside the interpretation of the LXX in so far as it appeared to support the views of the Christian Church'.⁷ It was therefore 'received with acclamation by his co-religionists',⁸ being literal and anti-Christian: Origen⁹ and Jerome¹⁰ both recognize its fidelity to the original.

Column IV sets out the Greek version of Symmachus,¹¹ a copy of whose commentary on St. Matthew was given to Origen, *c.* 235-8, by Juliana, to whom it had, in turn, been presented by

¹ Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* xv, § 14 (*Op.* iii. 671 sq.; *P. G.* xiii. 1293, 6).

² Eus. *H. E.* vi. xvi; H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*² (Cambr. Press, 1914), c. iii.

³ Specimen in Swete², 62 sq.

⁴ Swete², 31 sqq.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xxi, § 1, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. viii, § 10.

⁶ Epiphanius, *De mensura et pondere*, cc. xiv, xv (*Op.* iii. 170 sq.; *P. G.* xliii. 261), and Swete², 41.

⁷ Swete², 31.

⁸ *Ibid.* 33.

⁹ Origen, *Ep. ad Africanum*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 15; *P. G.* xi. 53 A).

¹⁰ Jerome, *Ep.* xxxvi, § 12 (*Op.* i. 167; *P. L.* xxii. 457).

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xvii; Swete², 49 ff.

the author. Symmachus was an Ebionite, and his literary activity cannot be earlier than the last years of Marcus Aurelius, †180. He translated into idiomatic Greek, with the crudely literal version of Aquila before him; and his object was so to improve upon it as to make the Scriptures 'acceptable to non-Jewish readers'.¹

Column V contains a special recension of the LXX,² the object of which was to restore the order of the Hebrew; to correct the corruptions for which the common text of the LXX was held to be responsible; and to point out the additions, and supply the omissions, in the LXX. This Hexaplaric LXX³ was afterwards published separately by Pamphilus, †309, and Eusebius, †339. In it, they believed, as did Jerome, that Origen had restored the text of the LXX to its original purity⁴; and their venture had a wide circulation in Palestine.⁵

Finally, column VI gave the Greek of Theodotion.⁶ He was a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus,⁷ c. 150, whose work is to be regarded as 'a free revision of the LXX rather than as an independent version'.

It may be observed that the order of the last four columns is determined not by the date of the several versions, but by the character of each as Origen conceived it. Thus '[III] Aquila is placed next to [I and II] the Hebrew, because his translation is the most verbally exact; and [IV] Symmachus and [VI] Theodotion follow [III] Aquila and [V] the LXX respectively, because Symmachus is on the whole a revision of Aquila and Theodotion of the LXX'.⁸

The Hexapla was preserved in the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea, where Jerome found access to it.⁹ But in 638 Caesarea fell into the hands of the Saracens¹⁰; and the Hexapla, but for a few fragments, disappeared. What remains, however, is sufficient

¹ 'Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotion incitati, diversum pene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt; alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepante,' Jerome, *Praef. in Eus. Chron.* (Op. viii; P. L. xxvii. 35 B).

² Swete², 67 sqq.

³ Ibid.² 76 sqq.

⁴ Jerome, *Ep.* cvi, § 2 (Op. i. 643; P. L. xxii. 838).

⁵ Jerome, *Praefatio in Paralip.* (Op. ix; P. L. xxviii. 1325 A).

⁶ Swete², 42 sqq.

⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. xxi, § 1, ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. viii, § 10.

⁸ Swete², 65.

⁹ Jerome, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum*, iii. 9 (Op. vii. 595; P. L. xxvi. 595 B).

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. li (v. 440, ed. Bury).

to make Origen 'the first great scholar' of the Christian Church. His title to fame is that of the pioneer; for he marked out the right road in two salient directions. As to the Old Testament, he held to the superiority of the Hebrew over the LXX, and revered the original¹ as the ultimate resort in controversy. In regard to the New Testament, he recognized that the manuscript evidence for its text was conflicting; and that, by consequence, the right text could only be ascertained by the method of comparison. These were great principles to establish; and they form Origen's chief contribution to textual criticism. But he could not make much play with them; for he was heavily handicapped both by tradition and by the bent of his own genius.

As to tradition, Origen's controversy with Julius Africanus,² ?170-?†250, in regard to the Apocrypha, illustrates the way in which his critical principles were baulked of fruitful application. Africanus had served as an officer in the expedition of Septimius Severus against Osrhoene, 195; had attended the lectures of Heraclas in Alexandria,³ where he must have come across Origen; and held office, under Alexander Severus, 222-†35 in Palestine. In his *Letter to Aristides*⁴ he discusses the discrepancies between the genealogy of our Lord in St. Matthew and in St. Luke; in his *Chronographia*,⁵ 221, he earned the title of 'the founder of Christian Universal-History'⁶; and in his *Cesti* or *Embroidered Girdles* he did for his day what an 'Encyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge', including the art of poisoning food and wells in war, attempts for ours. The fact that two Christian writers of such distinction as Origen and Africanus are coupled together in controversy, c. 240, is significant of the high place occupied by the Church in the culture of the time. The controversy turned on the relation between the Hebrew Canon and the LXX. Origen 'regarded the LXX as an independent and inspired authority; and, like Justin,⁷ accounted for its variation from the Hebrew by sup-

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xvi, § 1.

² O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 162-4; Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxi; Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, c. lxiii (*Op.* ii. 904; *P. L.* xxiii. 673-5). Texts in *P. G.* x. 63-94; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 238-309, and *Die Briefe des S. J. Africanus*, ed. W. Richardt (1909) in *T. u. U.* xxxiv. 3.

³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxi, § 2.

⁴ Text in *P. G.* x. 51-64; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² ii. 228-37; Eus. *H. E.* i. vii, §§ 2-16; tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* ix. ii. 164-70.

⁵ Its fragments are tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* ix. ii. 171-91.

⁶ F. Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, § 33.

⁷ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. lxxi (*Op.* i. ii. 256, ed. Otto).

posing that the latter had been deliberately falsified by the Jews. In this way he explained the absence, from the Canon, of the Apocryphal Books. On one occasion he had employed, in a public debate, doctrinal proofs taken from the *History of Susanna*.¹ Hereupon Africanus intervened with a *Letter to Origen*² in which he called his attention to the fact that, in Daniel's cross-examination of the witnesses against Susanna,³ there occurs in the Greek a play on words which shows that the *History of Susanna* could not have been composed, as were 'all the books of the Old Testament', in Hebrew, 'where the sounds are quite distinct.'⁴ It must therefore have been an addition to the Book of Daniel, and is not canonical Scripture. In reply Origen, in his *Letter to Africanus*,⁵ can only 'defend the Apocryphal additions to Daniel and other Septuagintal departures from the Hebrew text' on the ground of tradition. He admits elsewhere⁶ that if the play on words 'does not exist in Hebrew the objection of Africanus is fatal' to the canonicity of *Susanna*. But in reply to Africanus he says that the translator may have been reproducing an assonance in the Hebrew,⁷ and then contends that the 'Alexandrian Bible had received the sanction of the Church, and that to reject its testimony would be to revolutionize her canon of the Old Testament, and to play into the hands of her Jewish adversaries'.⁸

But Origen's services to criticism were also hampered by the bent of his own genius. It is no blame to him that he is deficient in the critical sense of a modern scholar. Yet he was not without a flash of it at times, as is clear from his opinion—often adopted but never bettered—about the authorship of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. 'The thoughts are those of the Apostle [Paul], but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the Apostles' teaching, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher.'⁹ Origen, however, had less of the critical

¹ Bigg, *Chr. Plat.*² 163.

² Text in Origen, *Op. i.* 10-12 (*P. G.* xi. 41-8); tr. in *The writings of Origen*, i. 369-70 (*A.-N. C. L.* x).

³ *History of Susanna*, 54 sq., 58 sq.

⁴ Africanus, *Epist. ad Orig.*, § 1 (*Op. i.* 11; *P. G.* xi. 45 A), and Document No. 122.

⁵ Origen, *Epist. ad Africanum* (*Op. i.* 12-30; *P. G.* xi. 47-86); tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* x. 371-87.

⁶ In a fragment of his *Miscellanies*, *Op. i.* 40 (*P. G.* xi. 104 B).

⁷ Origen, *Ep. ad Afric.*, § 6 (*Op. i.* 18; *P. G.* xi. 61 C).

⁸ Swete², 61; and Origen, *Ep. ad Afric.*, §§ 4, 5 (*Op. i.* 16; *P. G.* xi. 57) and Document No. 123.

⁹ Origen *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xxv, § 13, and Document No. 124.

faculty than some of his contemporaries ; less than his correspondent Africanus ' whose letter is a signal refutation of the epithets "credulous" and "uncritical" so often applied to the age in which, and the men by whom, the Canon of the New Testament was settled ' ¹; and less than his pupil Dionysius, whose verdict on the authorship of the Apocalypse ² is ' a piece of criticism unsurpassed in ancient times ' ³. The mind of Origen, on the whole, was of the idealistic, and not of the critical, order.

The exegetical task which Origen undertook, at the instance and with the resources of Ambrose, was 'prodigious. It was nothing less, according to Epiphanius, than to comment upon all the books of Scripture. ⁴ His expositions, so Jerome tells us, were contained in vehicles of three kinds. ⁵

Some were given in *Scholia*, *Excerpta*, or detached notes. In these he would try briefly to clear up obscure passages or to explain difficult words.

Others were given in Homilies, *Tractatus*, or Sermons : such as those on *Jeremiah*, ⁶ fourteen of which and fourteen on *Ezekiel* are preserved in the translation of Jerome. The Homily, ⁷ though its 'name' was 'derived from the philosophic schools', was a mode of address characteristic of Christian teachers. The pagan sophist or rhetorician aimed at display ; but the object of the Christian teacher was edification. So 'Christian eloquence' was 'didactic not rhetorical' ⁸; and the Homily was mainly devoted to the exposition of the Scriptures read in church. Hence it naturally followed the lections found in the non-eucharistic service of instruction which catechumens ⁹ would attend and at which heathen ¹⁰ might be present ; and it occupied there the place which 'the Sermon' ¹¹ still holds in the *Missa catechumenorum* of the Roman rite or the 'Ante-communion' of the English. But service, sermon, and congregation differed considerably then

¹ Bigg, *Chr. Plat.* ² 164.

² Dio. Al. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxv, and Document No. 165.

³ H. M. Gwatkin, *Selections from early Christian Writers* ⁵, p. xix (1909).

⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxiv, § 3 (*Op.* i. 526 ; *P. G.* xli. 1073 B).

⁵ Jerome, *Translatio hom. Origenis in Ier. et Ezech.*, Prologus (*Op.* v. 741-2 ; *P. L.* xxv. 585 sq.), and Document No. 206.

⁶ Text in *Werke*, iii. 1-194.

⁷ On which see note in Ignatius, *Ad Polycarpum*, v, § 1, in Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* ² ii. i. 347.

⁸ Bigg, *Chr. Plat.* ² 165.

⁹ Origen, *In Lucam Hom.* vii (*Op.* iii. 940 ; *P. G.* xlii. 1819 A, B).

¹⁰ Ibid. *In Ier. Hom.* ix, § 4 (*Op.* iii. 180 ; *P. G.* xlii. 354 c).

¹¹ Second rubric after the Nicene Creed, in the Order of Holy Communion. Preaching is no part of the Choir Office.

from what they are now. The bishop presided.¹ The lections, though selected from the Scriptures in course,² as was once the case with our Epistles whose sequence is broken indeed but recognizable,³ were read from the Old Testament as well as from the New. They were longer than ours. So was the Sermon, for which Origen allows himself an hour. He would ask the bishop—his patron Theoctistus, perhaps—which of the selections for the day he should take for his subject⁴: then he would begin its exposition, and sometimes continue for an hour and a half.⁵ We can scarcely be surprised that the congregation grew restive. Some would come only on feast-days, or not even then.⁶ Some went out before the Sermon.⁷ Others gathered in groups at the back of the church and talked till it was over. The women were the greatest nuisance to Origen in this respect. ‘Their tongues wag so with gossip that you cannot get silence: and as they think about nothing but their children, their spinning and their household affairs, what is one to think of their mental or their spiritual condition?’⁸ The mixed congregation of Caesarea was not altogether an encouraging audience for a great scholar; and he is oppressed by a sense of the need for Reserve,⁹ lest he should throw pearls before swine. Perhaps he was hardly the man for a popular audience, some of whom were more at home in the circus¹⁰ than in the church, while others were good but dull. He is conscious of it himself; and half-apologizes for his austerity by contrast with that kindliness of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, which they knew so well.¹¹ Yet Origen took immense pains with his preaching; and was so modest about his powers that he would not allow his sermons to be taken down till he was ‘over sixty years of age and had acquired great facility by long practice’.¹²

¹ Ibid. *In Iesu Nave Hom.* x, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 423; *P. G.* xii. 881 c).

² Ibid. *In lib. Reg. Hom.* ii (*Op.* ii. 490; *P. G.* xii. 1013 b).

³ ‘The Epistles of the Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity . . . form a continuous series from St. Paul’s Epistles’, F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *A new history of the B. C. P.* (1902), 466, n. 1.

⁴ Origen, *In lib. Reg. Hom.* ii, *ut sup.* ⁵ Bigg, *Chr. Pl.*² 166, n. 3.

⁶ Origen, *In Levit. Hom.* ix, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 240; *P. G.* xii. 515 d).

⁷ Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* ii. 243; *P. G.* xii. 523 c), and *In Gen. Hom.* x, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 86; *P. G.* xii. 215 c).

⁸ Origen, *In Exod. Hom.* xiii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 176; *P. G.* xii. 390 a).

⁹ Ibid. *In Num. Hom.* v, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 284–5; *P. G.* xii. 602–4); tr. in Bigg, *Chr. Pl.*² 179–81.

¹⁰ Ibid. *In Lev. Hom.* ix, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 243; *P. G.* xii. 523 a).

¹¹ Ibid. *In lib. Regn.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 481 sq.; *P. G.* xii. 995 sq.).

¹² Eus. *H. E.* vi, xxxvi, § 1.

3 The third vehicle for his expositions was the *Tomes*, or volumes, containing complete and elaborate commentaries. Of these, Eusebius mentions as begun at Alexandria, the *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*¹—important in itself and also for its preservation of Heracleon's *Commentary*² thereon—and commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, and Lamentations³: while to the period of Origen's residence at Caesarea, from 231, he assigns the commentaries on Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Canticles,⁴ and, after his sixtieth year, 244-5, the *Commentary on St. Matthew*⁵ and that on the Minor Prophets.⁶ Epiphanius thus turns out to be trustworthy in what he says of the industry of Origen, whose work, as an exegete, did cover the greater part of Scripture.

But the principles of his exegesis are of more interest than its extent. Origen ranks with Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, 392-†428, and Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 395-†430, as representative of the exegesis of the Church. Origen stands for allegorical interpretation, Theodore for literal, and Augustine 'for a sort of *via media* between the two'.⁷ But the allegorical method was not the invention of Origen: he inherited it.

In origin, allegorism⁸ belonged to the air he breathed, and was long anterior to his day; being traceable, in two directions, to heathen sources.

The first is the 'belief that language is in itself an enigma, a sort of sacrament of thought'.⁹ The poems of Homer and Hesiod were held to be inspired no less than the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Both of these ancient authorities were venerable, both were obscure in places, and both contained much that the enlightened conscience could not accept. Accordingly, while the Stoics applied allegorism to the pagan mythology, Philo and all orthodox Christians applied it to the Old Testament. The former took 'the heathen deities' as 'symbols of the forces of nature, and turned the hideous myths of Zeus or Dionysus into

¹ Ibid. xxiv, § 1, xxviii. Text in A. E. Brooke, *The Commentary of Origen on St. John's Gospel*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1896); tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xvi (additional vol.), 297-408.

² Ed. A. E. Brooke, *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 4.

³ Fragments in *Werke*, iii. 234-78; Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxiv, § 2.

⁴ Ibid. xxxii, §§ 1, 2.

⁵ Text in Origen, *Op.* iii. 440-830 (*P. G.* xiii. 829-1600); tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xvi. 411-512.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxvi, § 2.

⁷ P. Batiffol, *La littérature grecque*, 170.

⁸ For 'allegorism', see B. F. Westcott in *D. C. B.* iv. 131 sqq.; C. Bigg, *Chr. Pl.*² 172 sqq.; C. T. Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist.*, &c., ii. 484 sqq.

⁹ Cruttwell, ii. 485.

a manual of physical science'. Philo 'makes Tamar represent the soul widowed from sensual delights'; and 'Clement turns the unclean meats into vices that are to be shunned'. There was thus 'reason in the reproach of Celsus that Jews and Christians alike were ashamed of their Bible'.¹ But this allegorical treatment of venerable authority by pagan, Jew, or Christian was held by all alike to be scientific.

The second source of allegorism is found in the desire of the most independent thinkers for an authority to appeal to. 'Plato and Aristotle . . . after arriving at some result by a purely logical process, often clench their argument by appropriate quotations from Homer, by way of 'corroboration'. A little 'ingenuity' is all that is required; and the boldest of speculators can claim the highest sanction for the most 'independent conclusions'.² In this way the Gnostics supported their systems now from Homer³ or Euripides, and again from the Gospels or St. Paul.⁴

Origen, thus confronted, in interpretation, by Gnostic laxity as well as by Jewish literalism, took the weapon he found to hand in allegorism, as accepted on all sides, and struck a blow against the Jew for 'freedom' and spirituality by contrast with the 'bondage' of the letter and against the Gnostic for 'rule' to take the place of 'lawlessness'.⁵ Hence his was 'a liberal movement'⁶; and, in intention, at least, as 'systematized'⁷ and scientific as 'the wholly different methods of modern critical exegesis'.⁸

We pass now to the details of his method.

In principle the allegorical method rests, like the argument from analogy upon the belief that, as the Author of Nature and Grace is one and the same God, so 'all things are double one against the other',⁹ and the Spiritual order is thus discoverable in the material. Allegorism, in short, is but 'one manifestation of the sacramental mystery of nature'.¹⁰ The Scriptures, of course, come under this law of correspondence. They are but a material envelope conveying the Spiritual. Consisting, as it does, of body, soul, and Spirit, Scripture has three senses, the literal, the moral, and the Spiritual; and the task of the exegete is to start from,

¹ Bigg², 186.

² Cruttwell, ii. 487.

³ Cf. Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, v, § 7, pp. 144, 6 (edd. Duncker and Schneide-
win): tr. F. Legge (S.P.C.K. 1921).

⁴ Ibid. x, § 7, p. 498.

⁵ Cruttwell, ii. 487.

⁶ Ibid. 485.

⁷ *D. C. B.* iv. 132a.

⁸ Cruttwell, ii. 485.

⁹ *Eccclus.* xlii. 24.

¹⁰ Bigg², 173.

or even to ignore¹ the literal and by the aid of the allegorical method to set forth the other two—ascending first to the moral—hence called the anagogic²—and finally to penetrate to the Spiritual.³

A method so ambitious was capable of considerable achievement; and the functions of allegorism were both negative and positive.

Negatively, allegorism was used for the purposes of apologetic. Some passages of Scripture, it was urged, have no literal sense: such for instance as involve physical impossibilities—‘the creation of morning and evening before the Sun, the story of the Fall, the carrying up of our Lord into a high mountain at the Temptation’—precepts not to have two coats, to pluck out the right eye, to turn the cheek to the smiter: or, again, such sections as involve moral impossibilities and so offend the enlightened conscience—‘the adventures of Lot, the cruelties of the Israelitish wars, the execrations’ of Prophets and Psalmists.⁴ These passages were the key of the Gnostic position; they were felt to justify them in contrasting the just God of the Old Testament with the good God of the New; and to admit their literal sense would be to resign the field to the Gnostics. Origen therefore boldly denies it. Perhaps he was led, in maturer life, to this bold denial of the letter by reflecting on the literalism with which he had, as a youth, acted out the precept to make oneself an eunuch for the kingdom of heaven’s sake.

But allegorism was also capable of a positive function. It was applied, with didactic purpose, to discover mysteries. The word covered three regions of truth.⁵ There were the mysteries of Christian worship,⁶ which, in later days, were called the Sacra-

¹ Sometimes there is no ‘literal’ sense; cf. Origen, *Hom. in Gen.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 65; *P. G.* xii. 173); *De principiis*, iv, § 12=*Philocalia*, i, § 12 (ed. Robinson, 19; tr. Lewis, 13).

² ‘*Ἀναγωγή*’ is a technical Platonic phrase for the “road up”: Plotinus, *Enn.* i. iii. 1; Bigg², 174, n. 2.

³ Cf. Origen, *In Lev. Hom.* v, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 205; *P. G.* xii. 447 sq.)=*Philocalia*, i, § 30 [ed. J. A. Robinson, 35 sq.; tr. G. Lewis, 29 sq.], and Document No. 125.

⁴ Bigg², 176; and cf. Origen, *De Principiis*, iv, § 16 (*Op.* i. 174 sq.; *P. G.* xi. 376 sq.)=*Philocalia*, i, § 17 (ed. Robinson, 24; tr. Lewis, 18), and Document No. 125.

⁵ For a valuable note on the triple sense of ‘Mysteries’, see Bigg², 178, n. 1.

⁶ Ign. *Ad Eph.* xii, § 2; *Ad Trall.* ii, § 3; *Ep. ad Diogn.*, § 1; Tert. *Apol.*, c. vii.

ments.¹ Their general nature could not be kept secret ; but all minute acquaintance with them, as in the heathen mysteries, was reserved for the initiate. There were the mysteries of theology—such as the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement.² There were also the secrets of the invisible world.³ All these regions could be opened up by the application of the allegorical method.

Its consequences were of a mixed character. Whether employed for negative or for positive purposes, allegorism had to be handled with economy or reserve. ‘Give not that which is holy to dogs’⁴ was a maxim to be observed, whether, out of reverence for truth, in dealing with mocking heathen, or out of charity, for the protection⁵ of Christians of the simpler sort, so as to save them from waters too deep for them. Such reserve can be defended, as by Origen⁶ and by Cardinal Newman,⁷ if it be but the method of a skilful teacher who gives ‘milk’ to ‘babes’ and reserves ‘strong meat’ for ‘men’.⁸ But with the Alexandrines it came to be ‘the screen of an esoteric belief’.⁹ From this has arisen the bad sense attached to economy, specially of truth¹⁰ ; and hence, too, the tendency towards two religions, the one of freedom for the intellectual *élite*, and the other of bondage for the masses.¹¹ This was a reversion to paganism.

What, then, of the value of allegorism ? As a method it was ‘unsound’. It is ‘seen, at its worst’,¹² on its apologetic side, because of the ‘absence’, in Origen and others who employed it, ‘of a clear historic sense’.¹³ Had he possessed but a glimpse of this, he might have found a better weapon for defence of the Old Testament in the notion of a progressive revelation ; for he comes

¹ J. Bingham, *Ant.* i. iv, § 2.

² Origen, in enumerating the doctrines that were *not* hidden, mentions the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of our Lord with the Judgement, but omits the Trinity and the Atonement, *c. Celsum*, i, § 7 (*Op.* i. 325 ; *P. G.* xi. 667 B).

³ e. g. the secrets of the celestial hierarchy, which Ignatius says he is not at liberty to divulge, *ad Trall.* v, § 2 ; *ad Smyrn.* vi, § 1.

⁴ Matt. vii. 6 and Mark iv. 34 are the N. T. supports of ‘Reserve’, Bigg², 178, n. 2.

⁵ So Clem. Al. : ‘lest one should put a sword into the hand of a child,’ *Strom.* i. i, § 14 (*St.* ii. 11).

⁶ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 52 (*Op.* i. 482 ; *P. G.* xi. 989 B).

⁷ J. H. Newman, *Arians*⁵, 42 sqq.

⁸ 1 Cor. iii. 2 ; Heb. v. 12.

⁹ Bigg², 184.

¹⁰ On justifiable ‘economy’ see Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. ix, § 53 (*St.* iii. 39).

¹¹ For these two classes see Origen, *In Ioann.* xx, § 26 (*Op.* iv. 350 ; *P. G.* xiv. 648 c), and Bigg², 179, n. 1.

¹² Bigg², 185.

¹³ *D. C. B.* iv. 138.

near this doctrine of development in his admission of 'degrees of Inspiration'.¹ On its positive side the allegorical method is 'an excellent means of finding what you already possess', the substance in the shadow, the Gospel in the Law, and the reality in the symbol. It is, of course, true that 'many things in the Old Testament find their explanation only in the New'. But 'the Alexandrines found symbols where there were no symbols and treated symbols not as indications but . . . as proofs'.²

Such were the limitations of allegorism; but its merits and its services were real. As to its merits, it represented the search for unity as does our concept of a progressive revelation; and, like that concept, it was an application to religion of the scientific method of the day. Origen systematized, in the allegorical method, what before was tentative. He laid down broad lines of interpretation. His mystical meanings were not devised to meet particular emergencies. Through Ambrose³ and Augustine mediaeval interpretation was inspired by him. And as to Origen's services as an exegete: by the help of this method he saved the Old Testament. Indeed, it was when Augustine heard Ambrose, in sermons at Milan, interpreting the Old Testament allegorically, that it first seemed to him to be worth intelligent attention.⁴ By that time allegorism had been successful in fixing the general spirit in which the Old Testament was to be received; and, in the principle that underlay his allegorism, Origen was right. 'He felt that "the words of God" must have an eternal significance.'⁵

(2) In the sphere of Christian doctrine Origen was the first great philosophic or systematic theologian. His treatise *On First Principles—De principiis*⁶—won him this rank. Only fragments of it remain in the Greek original; but the whole is preserved in

¹ The Law is inferior to the Gospel; and, in the N.T., the Epistles to the Gospels, and the Synoptists to St. John, 'whose meaning none can grasp unless he has leaned upon the breast of Jesus or received from Jesus Mary to become his mother', Origen, *In Ioann.* i, §§ 4, 6 (*Op.* iv. 4, 6; *P. G.* xiv. 28 A, 32 A); Bigg², 186, n. 1.

² Bigg², 188. They tried to make too much of the *first* half of the Augustinian maxim 'In Vetere [Testamento] Novum latet, et in Novo Vetus patet', Aug. *Quaest. in Hept.* ii, § 73 (*Op.* iii. i. 445 G; *P. L.* xxxiv. 623).

³ Jerome, *Ep.* cxii, § 20 (*Op.* i. 753; *P. L.* xxii. 929).

⁴ Aug. *Conf.* v, xiv, § 24 (*Op.* i. 118 C, D; *P. L.* xxxii. 718).

⁵ *D.C.B.* iv. 133.

⁶ Text in *Op.* i. 42-195 (*P. G.* xi. 111-414), or Origenes *Werke*, Bd. v, ed. P. Kvetschau (Leipzig, 1913) (*Die gr. chr. Schriftsteller*); tr. *The writings of Origen*, i. 1-356 (*A.-N.C.L.*). Cf. *D.C.B.* iv. 119-21; Bigg², 193; O. Bardenhever, *Patrology*, 148 sq.; and Westcott, *Essays*, 224-45.

the Latin translation of Rufinus, who, however, took considerable liberties with the text. It was written at Alexandria, *c.* 220, when the author was not much above thirty, at the height of his powers, and still a layman; and it is worth observing that some of the most influential or notorious treatises on dogma have been the work of youthful laymen. Origen's *De principiis* is matched in this with Melancthon's *Loci Communes*¹ and Calvin's *Institutes*.² Origen's is the earliest attempt at a scientific exposition of Christian doctrine; and was written not for the simple believer, but for the scholar, familiar with the teaching of the Gnostics and of other non-Christian philosophers. Unmethodical in arrangement, it defies detailed analysis. But, starting in the preface from the basis of the apostolic preaching,³ Origen, in Book I, 'treats diffusely of God and the world of spirits'; in Book II of 'the world and man, their renovation, by means of the Incarnation and the Logos, and their end or scope'. In Book III he 'discusses human freedom and the final triumph of the good'. Book IV 'is devoted to a theory of Scriptural interpretation'.⁴ Or, to put the whole more briefly, 'the first three books contain the exposition of a Christian philosophy, gathered round the three ideas of God, the world, and the rational soul; and the last gives the basis of it'⁵ in the Scriptures.⁶

The *De principiis* has been well called 'the most remarkable production of ante-Nicene times'.⁷ It is a manifesto of ordered liberty, in Christian thought. The author begins by assuming the tradition of the Church,⁸ as to doctrine and usage. He starts, in fact, from fixed standards. These were taught to all Christians: and were a 'Rule of Faith rather than a Creed'⁹ in the strict sense of the word'. The Rule includes 'the moral attributes of God, creation out of nothing,¹⁰ the spiritual nature of the Resurrection-body, the connexion of punishments and rewards with conduct, the eternity of punishment,¹¹ the existence of Angels,¹²

¹ Published 1521, when he was 24: see B. J. Kidd, *Documents*, &c., No. 47.

² Published 1536, when he was 27, *ibid.*, No. 273.

³ Origen, *De principiis*, Praef., §§ 4-8 (*Op.* i. 47 sq.; *P. G.* xi. 117-20), and Document No. 126.

⁴ Bardenhewer, 149.

⁵ *D. C. B.* iv. 119.

⁶ Origen, *De principiis*, iv, § 1 (*Op.* i. 156; *P. G.* xi. 341 B).

⁷ Bigg², 193.

⁸ Origen, *De principiis*, Praef., § 2 (*Op.* i. 47; *P. G.* xi. 116 B).

⁹ The Creed is included in *ibid.*, § 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, § 6.

the freedom of the will,¹ the double sense² of Scripture'.³ Such is the ordered basis. Beyond these limits, and sometimes within them, e.g. as to the definition of the word 'eternal',⁴ he claims his liberty, and considers himself free to speculate. But the object of his speculations is to show that what is thus accepted on the authority of the Church can 'be arranged as a whole by the help either of the statements of Scripture or of the methods of exact reasoning'.⁵ Origen's conclusions made enemies as well as friends, in his own and succeeding ages. But his *De principiis* has three merits which no candid opponent could deny: he never slurs a difficulty, never dogmatizes, never consciously departs from the teaching of Scripture.⁶

(3) Apologetic is the field of Origen's most enduring achievement; for, whereas in exegesis and doctrine he wastes his strength in allegory and fanciful speculation, in the *Contra Celsum*⁷ he deals manfully with a doughty antagonist.

Celsus was taken by his opponent for an Epicurean⁸; but he was, undoubtedly, a Platonist.⁹ It was, however, as 'a cultivated man of the world rather than' as 'a philosopher' that he attacked Christianity in his *True Account* of it, probably¹⁰ in 176. Celsus was 'an enlightened advocate of the reformed paganism'¹¹ of his day; and by far the most formidable opponent of the Faith, though the Church awarded that distinction to Porphyry †304. Seventy years after it was written, the work of Celsus fell into the hands of Ambrose, who urged Origen to reply to it.¹² After some reluctance, he undertook the task,¹³ c. 249; allowing Celsus to state his case in his own words, and then answering him step by step.

The indictment of Celsus falls into two main divisions; in the first of which, Books I and II, he assumes the character of a Jewish opponent of Christianity; while in the second, Books III-VIII, he carries on the attack in his own person.

In Books I and II, Celsus (i) begins with, §§ 1-27, a preface in

¹ Origen, *De principiis*, Praef., § 5.

² Ibid., § 8.

³ Bigg², 192.

⁴ Bigg², 277, n. 1.

⁵ *D.C.B.* iv. 119.

⁶ Bigg², 193.

⁷ Text in Origen, *Op.* i. 310-799 (*P. G.* xi. 637-1632); *Werke*, i. 49-374 [bks. i-iv] and ii [bks. v-viii]; transl. in *The Writings of Origen*, i. 391-478 [bk. i] and ii [bks. ii-viii] (*A.-N.C.L.* x, xxiii); *D.C.B.* iv. 122-4; Bigg, *Chr. Pl.*² 302-16; Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist.* ii. 498-502; and John Patrick, *The Apology of Origen* (Blackwood, 1892).

⁸ c. *Cels.* i, § 8.

⁹ Ibid. iv, § 54.

¹⁰ Patrick, 9.

¹¹ Bigg², 302.

¹² *Praef.*, § 1.

¹³ *Praef.*, §§ 3, 4.

which he makes miscellaneous objections to Christianity on such grounds as that it is § 1 illicit and secret ; § 2 of barbarous origin ; §§ 3-4 not particularly new ; § 6 inspired by demons ; § 9 built up on faith instead of on reason¹ ; and, §§ 14-27, no more than an offshoot of Judaism after all. He then (ii) proceeds, in the rôle of a Jew who would be, as such, the best critic of a system which sprang out of his own people, to an attack (1) on, §§ 28-71, our Lord Himself, and (2) on, Book II, Jewish Christians. Thus, in regard to our Lord, he repeats, in criticism of the Gospel narrative, the § 28 Jewish story of the shameful birth to the effect that He was the son of a poor woman by adultery with a soldier named Panthera ; and adds that, because of His poverty, He went to Egypt and learned wizardry ; then returned home and gave Himself out as a god. He asserts, § 49, that there is a lack of trustworthy evidence for the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Baptism ; as also, § 50, for the prophecies which might just as easily fit other events as well. He considers the humiliations unworthy of God, as, for example, that, § 61, He should have lived so mean a life, with, § 62, ten or eleven publicans and fishermen ; while His, § 68, miracles were mere jugglery.² Passing, in Book II, to the attack on converts from Judaism to Christianity, the main charge of Celsus, in the character of the Jew, is that, § 1, ' they have forsaken the law of their fathers, in consequence of their minds being led captive by Jesus ; that they have been most ridiculously deceived, and that they have become deserters to another name and to another mode of life '. The deception he illustrates by the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence for the Resurrection. It rests, he says, on, § 55, the testimony of a ' half-frantic woman ',³ and of, § 63, the few rather than of the people at large. We note the modern, and the purely external, tone of much of this criticism. Origen, besides taking up the objections of Celsus one by one, drew attention to i, § 68, the moral aim of the miracles ; to i, §§ 29, 30, the moral glory of the Divine self-humiliation ; and to

¹ A false antithesis. In Scripture, ' faith ' is opposed only to ' sight ', 2 Cor. v. 6 ; John xx. 29 ; 1 Pet. i. 8 ; Heb. xi. 1.

² Document No. 127.

³ A sneer served up again : ' La passion d'une hallucinée donne au monde un Dieu ressuscité ', E. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 450. But whatever Mary Magdalen and the other women may have said, none of the *men* believed (Luke xxiv. 11 ; Mark xvi. 10, 11) until the Lord had appeared to Peter (1 Cor. xv. 5 ; Luke xxiv. 34) ; cf. H. B. Swete, *The appearances of our Lord*, 10, 16, Document, No. 60.

ii, §§ 45, 56, the moral change wrought in the Apostles after the Resurrection.

In Books III-VIII Celsus turns from this quarrel between Jews and Christians, which is, after all, about, iii, § 1, nothing more than 'the shadow of an ass', whether the Saviour has not or has come; and takes up the attack in his own person. He jeers at Christians as, iii, § 10, all one at first when but few in number, but now, § 12, divided and split up into factions; and as, § 44, not venturing to proselytize among the well-informed but only among, § 49, 'simpletons and low people, slaves and women and children'.¹ These, too, are the, § 55, agents of their propaganda²; while, § 59, they swell out their numbers by persons of bad character to whom, § 78, they hold out delusive hopes. To the charge of divisions among Christians Origen makes the same reply as Clement: there are, § 12, different schools amongst doctors and philosophers; and these divisions are not all due to faction, but to the desire of men of education to become acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity. To the charge of not venturing to proselytize except among the uneducated, he answers that, § 52, Christians do everything in their power to encourage intelligent hearers, but recognize that the less gifted must assimilate truth in simpler form. As for the taunt that Christ was the friend of publicans and sinners, and, § 64, that His followers seem actually to prefer them, Origen points out that, § 65, as a matter of fact most members of a Christian congregation were, as heathen, decent people who wished to become better; though, § 68, there were numbers of cases in which sinners both by nature and habit had undergone complete transformation of character.

Books IV and V are the most interesting of all, for in them Origen meets the attack of Celsus on that which is central in Christianity; and deals with, iv, §§ 1-28, his objections to the Incarnation. There can be, § 2, no sufficient cause, says Celsus, for a coming of God. If, § 5, He did come, then He left His own abode; and, § 7, supposing there was good cause, 'how was it that, after so long a period of time, God at last bethought Himself of coming to make men live righteous lives, but neglected to do so before?'³ Further, §§ 29-50, the account of God's dealings

¹ Document, No. 128.

² Document, No. 61.

³ For the same question, see Athanasius, *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 29 and ii, § 68 (*Op.* ii. 132; *P. G.* xxvi. 72 c); Greg. Nyss. *Oratio Catechetica*, § 29 (ed. J. H. Srawley, 107 sq.); Aug. *Ep.* cii, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 276-9; *P. L.* xxxiii. 373);

with mankind in the Old Testament is incredible : so incredible that, § 48, Jews and Christians alike are ashamed of their Scriptures, as they show by taking refuge in allegory. Man, §§ 54-99, is presumptuous in claiming superiority, § 75, over the irrational animals ; and, v, § 41, the Jews no less so in claiming a prerogative over other nations. The claims of Christianity, therefore, to be a universal religion, based on the coming of God into this world, are absurd.

Here Origen's answer was easy. To all cavilling at the Divine mission of the Jews, he replies by pointing to their monotheism, their assertion of the possibility of communion with this one personal God, and their insistence on holiness as a condition of it. As to the Incarnation, all seeming improbabilities of it vanish upon belief in the Divine Word out of, iv, §§ 17, 18, love for man, emptying Himself of His glory, and, by taking our human nature, raising it to the level of His own. Origen and Celsus here move on different planes. To Origen, God is love ; to Celsus, He is pure intelligence. According to Origen, therefore, He can change ; according to Celsus, He cannot. To Origen, again, moral evil, to Celsus contact with matter, is the real pollution ; and, sin being to Celsus either non-existent or necessary, salvation is either superfluous or impossible. So wide was the gulf between the heathen and the Christian point of view.

In the remaining Books, VI-VIII, Celsus, towards the last, exchanges his tone of wrath and derision for one of appeal and 'not unfriendly remonstrance'.¹ After all, vii, § 62-viii, § 32, the demons might claim some recognition. They are, vii, § 68, God's administrators. A salute, viii, § 58, not worship is all they ask : you just kiss your hand to them.² It is, moreover, not unfair, viii, §§ 32-68, to ask a reasonable conformity to the established worship ; and, §§ 69-75, civil obedience is paramount. Let Christians then, § 73, serve in the army and, § 75, take office as magistrates 'for the maintenance of the laws' and in support of religion.

Origen insists, in reply, on, viii, § 12, the exclusive claim and,

Leo, *Sermo*, xxiii [*In Nat. Dom.* iii], § 4 (*Op.* i. 76 ; *P. L.* liv. 202), and St. Thos. Aq. *Summa*, iii. i, art. 5 ; and, for the answer, *ibid.* ; *Gal.* iv. 4 ; *Ep. ad Diognetum*, § 9 ; H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, 226 ; H. P. Liddon, *Advent Sermons*, i. 158 sqq. ; W. Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, 123 ; *Sermons of St. Leo*, 144 sq. ; and Butler, *Analogy*, ii. iii, § 12, iv, §§ 2, 6.

¹ Bigg², 314.

² Cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, § 2.

§ 52, the certainty of the Christian revelation ; and, § 75, on the loyalty of Christians to the civil power. But his reply is less interesting than the appeal of Celsus, half scornful and half pathetic, for concessions from the Church. It cannot be supposed, he says, § 72, that ‘ all the inhabitants of Asia, Europe and Libya, Greeks and barbarians, will abandon their several religions and come under one law ’. The extinction of national and ancestral cults in favour of a Catholic Religion ! ‘ Any one who thinks this possible, knows nothing.’ ‘ If there is to be unity ’ let ‘ Christ accept a place, as in the Lararium of Alexander Severus, side by side with . . . the gods of Rome ’.¹ The despair of Celsus was all but prophetic. In little more than a century from the time of his attack, and half a century from Origen’s reply, the Empire capitulated to Christianity and found, under Constantine, a new unity in Christ.

(4) Of Origen’s devotional writings two specimens have come down to us, *On prayer* and *On martyrdom*.

The *De Oratione*,² written after the *Commentary on Genesis*³ and probably at Caesarea, c. 233-4,⁴ was addressed to Ambrose and a lady named Tatiana.⁵ They had asked about ‘ the efficacy, the manner, the subject and the circumstances of prayer ’. In answer, Origen, after, cc. i, ii, a short preface, deals in Part I with, cc. iii-xvii, prayer in general ; in Part II with, cc. xviii-xxx, the Lord’s Prayer ; and in Part III with, cc. xxxi-xxxiv, details about the circumstances of prayer. After, cc. iii-iv, commenting on the words⁶ for prayer, he discusses, c. v, its efficacy in view of the common objections that, § 2, God ‘ knows our necessities before we ask,’ and that, § 3, prayer is incompatible with the reign of law. Our possession, cc. vi-viii, § 1, of free-will and, cc. viii, § 2-x, the insistence of Scripture on prayer are sufficient reply to these difficulties. The need for prayer, cc. xi-xiii, § 1, is clear from the

¹ Bigg², 314. The argument was repeated by Aemilian, the Prefect of Egypt, to Dionysius of Alexandria, Eus. *H. E.* vii. xi, § 9, and by Symmachus in *Relatio*, § 10, to Valentinian II *ap.* Ambrose, after *Ep.* xvii (*Op.* ii. i. 830 ; *P. L.* xvi. 969 A). For the reply of Ambrose, see *Ep.* xviii, § 8 (*Op.* ii. i. 835 ; *P. L.* xvi. 974 A, B) ; cf. Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 192, ed. Bury). It is an expansion of ‘ Ye worship that which ye know not ; we worship that which we know ’, John iv. 22 ; cf. Acts xvii. 23.

² Origen, *Op.* i. 196-272 (*P. G.* xi. 415-561) ; *Werke*, ii. 295-443. Analyses in *Werke*, i. lxxviii-lxxx ; *D. C. B.* iv. 124.

³ *De orat.* xxiii, § 4 (*Werke*, ii. 352, line 7 sq.). *Genesis* was done at Alexandria, i. e. before 231, Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxiv, § 2.

⁴ *Werke*, i. lxxvii.

⁵ *De Orat.* ii, § 1, xxxiv.

⁶ εὐχή and προσευχή.

fact that Christ and the Angels, specially our Guardian Angels, pray along with us. A Christian's life, like the life of Jesus, should be, c. xii, § 2, 'one great unbroken prayer'. The advantage of prayer, c. xiii, §§ 2-5, is clear from the experience of the living, and from what Scripture records of the saints of old time. The different kinds, c. xiv, §§ 2-6, of prayer are indicated by St. Paul as 'the supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings'. In its highest form,¹ c. xv, prayer should be addressed to God only, 'our Father in heaven', and not to Christ the Son as apart from the Father, but to the Father through Him. The proper object, cc. xvi-xvii, of prayer is 'things heavenly'. Then follows, cc. xviii-xxx, the exposition of the Lord's Prayer; and, in a short appendix, cc. xxxi-xxxiv, the author goes into detail about the accompaniments of prayer. Men should pray with, xxxi, § 1, hands uplifted; § 2, standing, and, c. xxxii, facing east; and, though every place, xxxi, § 4, is suitable for prayer, yet, § 5, it is a great help to use the church for private prayer. Origen then illustrates from Scripture, c. xxxiii, the sequence of the several parts of prayer—praise, thanksgiving, confession, and petition for oneself and for others, with doxology; and he concludes, c. xxxiv, by asking Ambrosius and Tatiana to be content with these suggestions, till he is in a position to offer something better. 'No writing of his', it has been said, 'is more free from his characteristic faults, or more full of beautiful thoughts.'²

The *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*,³ c. 235, is the second of Origen's devotional works. It was written from Caesarea, and addressed to two friends.⁴ One of them was Ambrose; the other Protocletus, a presbyter of that church.⁵ Both of them suffered in the persecution of Maximin, 235-†8. Origen had a right to urge his friends to brave their trials. As a boy, he had challenged martyrdom.⁶ As an old man, he was to meet it face to face again.⁷ He begins,

¹ For Origen's teaching on the subject of prayer, see *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 26 (*Werke*, ii. 242, ll. 23-9), and cf. G. Bull, *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae*, ii. ix, § 15 (*Works*, i. 256-9: 'Libr. Anglo-Catholic Theol.', Oxford, 1851); H. P. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*, 390 sq.; W. Bright, *Lessons from the lives*, &c., 248 sq.; Bigg², 226-31, and Document No. 129. 'We may offer to the Son our prayers for He is God; but merely in order that, as our High Priest, He may present them to the Father,' J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 266. ² *D. C. B.* iv. 124.

³ Origen, *Op.* i. 273-319 (*P. G.* xi. 561-650); *Werke*, i. 1-47; analyses in *Werke*, i. xii-xiv, and *D. C. B.* iv. 124 sq.

⁴ *Exhort. ad Mart.*, § 1.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* vi. xxviii.

⁶ *Eus. H. E.* vi. ii, §§ 3-6.

⁷ *Ibid.* vi. xxxix, § 5.

in Part I, with, §§ 1-5, an urgent summons to martyrdom; for, § 1, the sufferings of his friends are a proof of their maturity and, § 5, a brave confession is a sure passport to salvation. In Part II he proceeds, §§ 6-10, forcibly to warn them against apostasy and idolatry, and in Part III he makes, §§ 11-21, a direct appeal for constancy. Only those, §§ 12-13, who bear the cross will wear the crown. The greater, §§ 14-16, the earthly goods left behind, the richer will be the reward. No Christian, § 17, can break his word, for every one of us, as a catechumen, has renounced false gods. Our behaviour, § 18, in the conflict is watched by a theatre of eye-witnesses, seen and unseen. So, §§ 20-21, unmoved by injuries, we must be ready to face our trials, let them be what they may. Origen then goes on, in Part IV, to, §§ 22-7, the examples of those who have already triumphed: Eleazar,¹ and the seven sons of a heroic mother,² in the times of the Maccabees. In Part V, where, §§ 28-44, he sets forth the value of martyrdom, he says, § 30, that by it a man can offer himself as a true priest in sacrifice to God; and then (after, Part VI, two short parentheses on, § 45, the worship of demons and on, § 46, the names of God) he concludes, in Part VII, with an admonition, §§ 47-50, to stand fast in danger; for, § 50, 'as Jesus redeemed us by His precious blood, so by the precious blood of the martyrs some may also be redeemed'. Merit! some one may say. Perhaps: but we can easily allow for it, when with Dr. Arnold, we consider 'the excellence of the martyr-spirit'.³

— Last, among Origen's works, must be included the *Philocalia*,⁴ a collection of 'Choice Thoughts', extracted from his writings by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil; and sent by them, c. 382, with a covering letter,⁵ to Theodore, bishop of Tyana. The collection is of interest, as frequently preserving Origen's Greek; for the intrinsic excellence of the twenty-seven extracts⁶ which it contains; and as 'showing what Catholic saints held to be the characteristic thoughts in Origen's teaching'.⁷

The theology of Origen⁸ must next detain us, though only so

¹ 2 Macc. vi. 18-31.

² 2 Macc. vii.

³ A. P. Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*¹², ii. 366.

⁴ Text in *Origenis Philocalia*, ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge, 1893), and tr. in G. Lewis, *The Philocalia of Origen* (T. & T. Clark, 1911).

⁵ Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cxv (*Op.* iii. 103; *P. G.* xxxvii. 212 c); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 472; and analysis in *D. C. B.* iv. 125 sq.

⁶ For some of which see Document No. 125.

⁷ *D. C. B.* iv. 125.

⁸ For this see Bigg², Lectures v, vi; *Athanasius*, ed. A. Robertson,

far as to exhibit his characteristic thoughts. For this purpose, the fundamental authorities are the *De Principiis*, the *De Oratione*, and the *Contra Celsum*; supplemented by his exegetical writings; in particular, the *Commentarium in Ioannem*. Origen was the first systematic theologian. He was free to write, as few Christian writers before him, apart from any pressure arising from administration, apologetics or controversy. He took Tradition as his foundation,¹ but held himself at liberty to raise his own building upon it; partly by the aid of Scripture, allegorically interpreted,² and partly with the help of philosophy.³ The result was an edifice sound in the main but many-sided and *bizarre*. Its irregularities and venturesomeness brought him into discredit; and whereas the Vincentian epigram, which tells how the teacher often gets off scot-free and only the pupils are condemned,⁴ is true of Cyprian and his real followers the Donatists, it is reversed in the case of Origen. He fell under condemnation. His followers, Basil and the two Gregories, and John of Damascus, became the accredited teachers of the Church.

Origen starts, in his doctrine of God, from the Platonist standpoint of his age and regards God as absolute being; or rather, as 'above and beyond all being'⁵: passionless also, in the sense of being untouched by 'mental disturbance or unreason of any kind', but 'not impassible. He has the passion of Love.'⁶ Thus Origen starts from the point at which all sound religion takes its rise, that 'God is love'. His teaching rests not on a metaphysical,

xxv sq. (*N. and P.-N. F.* iv); *D. C. B.* iv. 133 sqq.; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 256-84; J. B. Bethune-Baker, *Early History of Christian Doctrine*, c. xi; O. Bardenheuer, *Patrology*, 151 sq.

¹ 'Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur, istae sunt,' sc. what he then proceeds to give in *De principiis*, Praef., §§ 4-10 (*Op.* i. 47-9; *P. G.* xi. 117-21). He marks off, as he goes, the truths that are taught 'manifesta prædicatione' from those that are open to inquiry: the *ὄτι* from the *διότι*; what were meant for the 'pigriores erga inquisitionem' from what can be objects of interest only to the 'studiosiores', *ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 47; *P. G.* xi. 116 sq.), and Document No. 126.

² *De principiis*, iv, § 11 (*Op.* i. 168; *P. G.* xi. 364 sq.); *In Lev. Hom.* v, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 205; *P. G.* xii. 447 sq.) = *Philocalia*, i, §§ 11, 30, Document No. 125.

³ On the relations of Christianity and philosophy, see *In Genesim Hom.* xiv, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 98; *P. G.* xii. 237 sq.), and Document No. 130.

⁴ 'Absolvuntur magistri, condemnantur discipuli,' Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, § 6 (*P. L.* l. 646).

⁵ 'Ἄλλ' οὐδ' οὐσίας μετέχει ὁ Θεός' μετέχεται γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ μετέχει . . . ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας . . . ὁ Θεός, μεταδιδούς οὐσίας, *Contra Celsum*, vi, § 64 (*Op.* i. 681; *P. G.* xi. 1396 c).

⁶ Bigg², 197, quoting Origen, *In Ezech. Hom.* vi, § 6 (*Op.* iii. 379; *P. G.* xiii. 714 sq.).

but on an ethical basis. God, then, being Goodness Itself,¹ must impart² or reveal Himself; and, as the organ of this self-revelation, He had, in His Word, 'the Image of the Invisible God. . . . He reveals the Father.'³ It is thus 'in connexion with the revelation of God that Origen conceives, or at least expounds, the Trinity'. He does not, as later on Augustine did,⁴ infer an essential Trinity from the ethical notion of God they held in common, viz. that 'God is love'.

In regard to the relation of the Son to the Father, there are two sides to Origen's language. He insists on the co-eternity and the co-equality of the Son, but also on His subordination to the Father.

As 'it is for the very purpose of revealing God that His Word exists . . . He has a personal subsistence⁵ side by side with the Father; and must be (if He is to reveal Him truly), as regards His being, of one essence⁶ with God. He must be, in His own being, God⁷; and not only as sharing in the being of God.'⁸ Thus co-equal,⁹ He is also co-eternal; for God is eternally Father.¹⁰ The Son is derived from the Father, not by any act, but He is begotten incorporeally as the will from the mind or as a ray from the source of light. Such a generation was not an event, but is

¹ Τὸ αὐτοαγαθόν, *De principiis*, i. ii, § 13 (*Op.* i. 59; *P. G.* xi. 143 c).

² For this thought see Plato, *Timaeus*, 29 E, and Ath. *De Inc.* iii, § 3.

³ *De principiis*, i. ii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 56; *P. G.* xi. 135 B).

⁴ B.-Baker, 147, n. 1; and Aug. *De Trinitate*, vi, § 7 (*Op.* viii. 848 A; *P. L.* xlii. 928).

⁵ 'Nemo tamen putet aliquid nos insubstantivum dicere, cum eum Dei sapientiam nominamus. . . . Unigenitum Filium Dei sapientiam eius esse substantialiter subsistentem,' *De principiis*, i. ii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 53; *P. G.* xi. 130 B, C). 'The word for "Person", in Origen, is commonly ὑπόστασις; that for "Nature" is frequently οὐσία,' Bigg², 202-6, and nn.; e. g. δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν. . . . Ἐνα Θεόν, *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 750; *P. G.* xi. 1533 B), and Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις in *Comm. in Ioann.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 61; *P. G.* xiv. 128 A).

⁶ Commenting on 'Vapor virtutis Dei' and 'Aporrhoea gloriae Omnipotentis purissima' of *Sap.* vii. 25, Origen observes 'Quae utraeque similitudines manifestissime ostendunt communionem substantiae esse Filio cum Patre. Aporrhoea enim ὁμοούσιος, i. e. unius substantiae, cum illo corpore ex quo est vel aporrhoea vel vapor,' Origen, in *Ep. ad Hebr.* Fragm. 3 (*Op.* iv. 697; *P. G.* xiv. 1308 D); and see Bigg², 221, n. 1. Here ὁμοούσιος 'appears, for the first time, in its later Nicene sense'.

⁷ *De pr.* i. ii, § 10 *ad fin.* (*Op.* i. 58; *P. G.* xi. 142 B).

⁸ B.-Baker, 147.

⁹ *De pr.* i. ii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 59; *P. G.* xi. 143 B).

¹⁰ *De pr.* i. ii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 54; *P. G.* xi. 131 A). In § 10 he argues that the eternity of God's Fatherhood implies the co-eternity of His Son, but also His eternity as 'dominus', and 'omnipotens' implies the eternity of creation (*Op.* i. 57; *P. G.* x. 138 sq.): see Bigg², 199, n. 1.

an eternal process¹; and thus it cannot be said that there was ever [a time] when the Son was not.² This is Origen's chief contribution to the doctrine of the Person of our Lord. It is true that one may speak of the Son as begotten of the will of the Father³ by contrast with the notion that He issued by procreation or emanation from the Father.⁴ But the Divine will is inherent in the Divine Nature; and the Son would thus, with equal truth, be said to be begotten of the essence of the Father. Further, the Father is in the Son: and the Son in the Father. There is co-inherence.⁵

But Origen insists, with equal force, on the subordination of the Son to the Father. It was his way of getting rid of Modalism⁶: thus to lay stress on the distinctness of the Son from the Father. The Word, according to Origen, is 'God derivatively not absolutely'⁷: for this is what is meant in the opening of St. John's Gospel where we are told that 'the Word was with God, and the Word was God'.⁸ Thus the Son is 'God', the Father alone is 'the God'. The Father is 'God of Himself' and 'Very God',⁹ the Son is 'a second God'¹⁰ and 'entitled to a secondary rank next after the God of the Universe'.¹¹ Or again, while the Father is 'peerlessly good' the Son is 'the image of the goodness of God, but not Goodness-Itself'.¹² The Son, too, as Son of God, is con-

¹ 'Aeterna generatio sicut splendor generatur ex luce,' *De pr.* i. ii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 55; *P. G.* xi. 133 c); and ὁ Πατήρ . . . ἀεὶ γεννᾷ αὐτόν [*sc.* τὸ Υἱόν], *In Ierem. Hom.* ix, § 4 (*Op.* iii. 182; *P. G.* xiii. 357 A).

² 'Quomodo ergo potest dici, quia fuit aliquando quando non fuit Titius?' *De pr.* iv, § 28 (*Op.* i. 190; *P. G.* xi. 403 A), and 'Non est quando non fuerit', *ibid.* i. ii, § 9 (*Op.* i. 57; *P. G.* xi. 138 A). Thus 'Origen is the inventor of the phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, famous afterwards as the watchword of the Catholics against the Arians', Bigg², 208, n. 1; and Catholic theology was formulated, in its essence, *before* the fourth and fifth centuries: on which see A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, 168, n. 7.

³ 'Filius natus ex Patre velut quaedam voluntas eius ex mente procedens,' *De pr.* i. ii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 55; *P. G.* xi. 134 c).

⁴ *De pr.* i. ii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 54 sq.; *P. G.* xi. 133 B, c).

⁵ Bigg², 220. On the doctrine of the Περιχώρησις, Circumincessio, or Co-inherence, see J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of Athanasius*⁷, i. 72 (ed. 1890), and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 190.

⁶ Origen, *Comm. In Ioann.* x, § 21 (*Op.* iv. 199; *P. G.* xiv. 376 B).

⁷ A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxvi.

⁸ Ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, *John* i. 1.

⁹ Αὐτόθεος, i. e. 'per se Deus', as in *Comm. in Ioann.* ii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 50; *P. G.* xiv. 109 A, B); with which is connected the idea that prayer at its highest should be made only to the Father.

¹⁰ *Contra Celsum*, v, § 39 (*Op.* i. 608; *P. G.* xi. 1244 B).

¹¹ *Ibid.* vii, § 57 (*Op.* i. 735; *P. G.* xi. 1501 D).

¹² *De principiis*, i. ii, § 13 (*Op.* i. 60; *P. G.* xi. 143 c). Here is a good instance of the liberty which Rufinus took with the original text, Bigg², 224, n. 1.

trasted with all things creaturely (or originate); as contrasted with the unbegotten (or ingenerate) Father,¹ He stands at the head of all that is begotten (or generate)²; He is 'midway between the nature of the Unbegotten (or Ingenerate) and of the creaturely (or originate)'.³ In this intermediate position the Word, as conceived by Origen, resembles the Word as portrayed by the Apologists; but whereas according to them He was at first immanent in the mind of the Father and then put forth,⁴ according to Origen He was a Person co-eternal with Him.

The difficulty is to summarize the teaching of Origen without misrepresenting him; and the danger is that of isolating particular phrases, the very danger into which the Arians, who claimed him as their master, fell. With them, his clear recognition of the co-equality and the co-eternity went for nothing by the side of certain elements in his language which they were anxious to bring into prominence. Thus they laid stress on the intermediary position which he assigned to the Son between God and the universe,⁵ on his assertion of the pre-eminence of the Father,⁶ and on his speaking of the union between the Father and the Son as a moral union.⁷ In short, they took the subordinationist⁸

¹ ἀγέννητος, *Contra Celsum*, vi, § 66 (*Op.* i. 683; *P. G.* xi. 1400 A): 'innatus', *De pr.* i. ii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 55; *P. G.* xi. 134 c). ² γέννητα.

³ Μέταξυ τῆς τοῦ ἀγεννήτου καὶ τῆς τῶν γεννητῶν πάντων φύσεως, *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 34 (*Op.* i. 469; *P. G.* xi. 964 B); i. e. the Son is γέννητος but ἀγέννητος, 'natus', but 'infectus', 'begotten not made'. Distinguish γέννητος ἢ ἀγέννητος, 'natus an innatus', generate or ingenerate, begotten or unbegotten from γέννητος ἢ ἀγέννητος, 'factus an infectus', originate or unoriginate, creaturely or uncreate, and note the confusion attaching to these words: on which see Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² ii. ii. 90-4; A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, 149; and J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of Ath.*⁷, 398 sq.

⁴ Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and Λόγος προφορικός as in Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum*, ii, §§ 10, 22 (*P. G.* vi. 1064 c, 1088 B).

⁵ *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 34, *ut supra*.

⁶ ὑπερόχη, *Comm. in Matt.* xv, § 10 (*Op.* iii. 665; *P. G.* xiii. 1281 A): see Bigg², 223, n. 3.

⁷ Ἐνα οὖν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν θεραπεύομεν . . . ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοσίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος, *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 751; *P. G.* xi. 1533 c).

⁸ There is a Catholic, as well as a heretical, doctrine of the 'Subordinatio Filii'. If the 'ordo' be one simply of thought, as in the maintenance of the 'Principatus Patris', i. e. that in any right thinking about God the Father must come first, so that, while the Son is God, yet He is derivatively God because the 'Father hath given to the Son to have life in Himself' (John v. 26), then that is the Catholic doctrine of the Subordination of the Son. But if, as in Arianism, the 'ordo' be one of rank, or time, then the Son is neither co-equal nor co-eternal with the Father, i. e. not really God; and this is the heretical doctrine of the Filial Subordination commonly known as Subordinationism. See, further, in W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 212 sq.

language, and left the rest. But, after all, Origen's subordinationism was purely Scriptural. It was simply explanatory of such texts as 'My Father is greater than I',¹ 'That they may know thee, the only true God',² and 'None is good save one; that is, God',³ and 'the dominant text in his mind was the last'.⁴

The Holy Ghost is, according to the Christian tradition, 'associated in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son'⁵; and belief in Him is 'the distinguishing prerogative of Christianity'.⁶ Origen 'has no technical word to denote the relation of the third to the other Persons' of the Trinity; nor does he call him God,⁷ though he says that the Montanists 'by entertaining unworthy ideas of His divinity have delivered themselves over to errors and deceits'.⁸ The Holy Spirit, therefore, is to be invoked in prayer.⁹ He participates in creation¹⁰ and in revealing the Father.¹¹ He is the most exalted of all the 'beings that have come into existence through the Word'.¹² As the chief work of the Father is to impart being, and of the Son to give reason, so that of the Holy Spirit is sanctification.¹³

Thus Origen maintained a Triad of Divine Persons. The word Triad is often used. He speaks of Three Hypostases¹⁴ or Persons; and says that 'nothing in the Trinity can be called greater or less'.¹⁵ The Unity, or, as it was then called, the Monarchy, he expresses not of course, though nearly, in the exact phrases of Nicene times; but 'in the derivation of the Second Person from the First, and of the Third from the Second and First. The Father is "God", "the only true God". The Son is "God" without addition, because His deity is derived'.¹⁶

The Incarnation was fitting to the Word, because of the relation

¹ John xiv. 28.

² John xvii. 3.

³ Mark x. 18.

⁴ Bigg², 224 and n. 1.

⁵ *De principiis*, Praef., § 4 (*Op.* i. 48; *P. G.* xi. 117 c).

⁶ Bigg², 212; cf. *De pr.* i. iii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 60, xi. 146 A).

⁷ Bigg², 213, n. 1.

⁸ *De principiis*, II. vii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 93; *P. G.* xi. 217 c).

⁹ *Ibid.* i. iii *passim*; *In Ioann.* vi, § 17 (*Op.* iv. 133; *P. G.* xiv. 257 A); *In Lev. Hom.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 185; *P. G.* xii. 406 A); and Bigg², 214, n. 1.

¹⁰ *De principiis*, i. iii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 61; *P. G.* xi. 148 A), and Bigg², 215, n. 1.

¹¹ *De principiis*, i. iii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 61; *P. G.* xi. 149 A, B).

¹² *In Ioann.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 61; *P. G.* xiv. 128 sq.).

¹³ *Ibid.* i. iii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 62; *P. G.* xi. 150 B), and Bigg², 216, n. 1.

¹⁴ *Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, *In Ioann.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 61; *P. G.* xiv. 128).

¹⁵ 'Nihil in Trinitate maius minusve dicendum est,' *De pr.* i. iii, § 7 (*Op.* i. 63; *P. G.* xi. 153 c).

¹⁶ Bigg², 222 sq.

in which He stands to rational beings; and through the human soul,¹ as 'intermediate between God and the flesh',² the Word was united to the man Jesus. Thus perfect manhood, subject to the conditions of natural growth, and perfect Godhead became one in Him, while each nature remains distinct.³ Here Origen was the first of Christian thinkers to 'speak at large of the human soul in Christ',⁴ and the first to describe the union by the compound word God-man,⁵ and to illustrate it by the image of iron suffused with fire in a molten mass of metal. 'If any one were to attempt to touch or handle it, he would experience the action not of iron'—the human soul in Christ—'but of fire'—the Divine Word.⁶ The figure involves the *Communicatio Idiomatum*⁷ of later Christology.

The work of Christ was not merely to set us 'an example of the perfect life',⁸ and by His death to encourage His fellows and show them how to die for their religion⁹; but, though the work of redemption proceeds from the love of God the Father for mankind,¹⁰ to 'make God propitious', by His blood, 'to men',¹¹ and so to effect the reconciliation. But the death of Christ, or rather His soul, while thus a sacrifice to God, was a ransom to Satan. He accepted the soul of Christ as an equivalent,¹² or ransom; but he could not retain so pure a soul in his power, and so he found himself deceived in the transaction.¹³ 'The notion of intentional deception on the part of God, is expressed¹⁴; but is not prominent.'¹⁵ The notion is, rather, that the devil over-

¹ For Origen's theory of the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, as of all other human souls, see Bigg², 232 sq., 240 sq.

² *De principiis*, II. vi, § 3 (*Op.* i. 90; *P. G.* xi. 211 c).

³ *Ibid.* i. ii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 53; *P. G.* xi. 130 A).

⁴ Bigg², 233.

⁵ The word only occurs in the Latin form, 'Deus homo', as in *De pr.* II. vi, § 3 *ut sup.*, and *Hom. in Ezech.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* iii. 366; *P. G.* xiii. 689 B), not as Θεάνθρωπος; but there occurs Θεὸν ἐληλυθότα ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι in *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 29 (*Op.* i. 466; *P. G.* xi. 957 A).

⁶ *De principiis*, II. vi, § 6 (*Op.* i. 91; *P. G.* xi. 213 sq.).

⁷ Bigg², 233, n. 1; and for the *Comm. Id.*, W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 129 sq.

⁸ *Contra Celsum*, i, § 68 (*Op.* i. 383; *P. G.* xi. 788 c).

⁹ *Ibid.* ii, §§ 16, 17 (*Op.* i. 401, 404; *P. G.* xi. 825 and 828 A, 833 A).

¹⁰ Commenting on Rom. viii. 32, he says that while the Father 'gave' the Son, the Son also 'gave Himself', *In Matt.* xiii. 8 (*Op.* iii. 580; *P. G.* xiii. 1113 A); cf. R. C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, 346.

¹¹ *In Lev. Hom.* ix, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 243; *P. G.* xii. 523 B).

¹² ἀντάλλαγμα, *In Matt.* xii, § 28 (*Op.* iii. 546; *P. G.* xiii. 1044 sq.).

¹³ *In Matt.* xvi, § 8 (*Op.* iii. 725; *P. G.* xiii. 1397 A).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xiii, § 9 (*Op.* iii. 583; *P. G.* xiii. 1117 B, c).

¹⁵ B.-Baker, 337, n. 3; Moberly, 345.

reached himself; though, of course, the issue was known all along to God. What, then, of Satan's rights over us his captives? These Origen does not consider; but the idea that Satan had acquired an actual right over men controlled Christian thought till Anselm, †1109; and with it, as the explanation of the problem, went the theory that the devil was deceived, and deceived by God.¹ The theory was elaborated by Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, †396,² and is found in Rufinus,³ †410. But the rights of the devil were repudiated by Gregory of Nazianzus,⁴ †389, and by John of Damascus,⁵ †756. This, however, is to stray away from Origen. Christ's work is neither that of example nor that of reconciliation only, but the union of human nature with the divine. 'From Him there began the union of the divine with the human nature, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might rise to be divine, not in Jesus alone but in all those who not only believe but enter upon the life which Jesus taught.'⁶

The means to this end are baptism, which is 'the source and fount of divine gifts'⁷; the priest who, after 'the analogy between the Christian and the Mosaic hierarchy' is not merely 'the minister of the congregation but the vicar of God'⁸; confession, public⁹ and private¹⁰; absolution¹¹; and the Eucharist.¹² Of this, on the one hand, 'he speaks in terms that are only compatible with the highest conceptions of it'.¹³ 'We give thanks [not to demons but] to the Creator of all: and, along with thanksgiving and prayer for the blessings we have received, we also eat the bread presented to us: and this bread becomes by

¹ For the best account of this theory, see H. N. Oxenham, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, c. iii.

² Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Oration*, §§ 21-6 (ed. J. H. Srawley).

³ Rufinus, *In symbolum Apostolorum*, § 16.

⁴ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlv, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 862; *P. G.* xxxvi. 653).

⁵ John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, iii, § 27 (*Op.* i. 250; *P. G.* xciv 1096 c).

⁶ *Contra Celsum*, iii, § 28 (*Op.* i. 465; *P. G.* xi. 956 D).

⁷ *In Ioann.* vi, § 17 (*Op.* iv. 133; *P. G.* xiv. 257 A). This passage is a good example of the fact that, with the Fathers, 'symbol' is not opposed to 'reality', as with us: on which see K. R. Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrine*, § 73, and C. Gore, *The Body of Christ* [September 1907], 89, quoting A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 144.

⁸ Bigg², 259.

⁹ *In Lev. Hom.* ii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 191; *P. G.* xii. 418 B).

¹⁰ *In psalm xxxvii Hom.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 688; *P. G.* xii. 1586 B); Bigg², 261, n. 1.

¹¹ In regard to the conditions of absolution, Origen started with the 'stern old rule', but gradually came to set 'no limits to the Church's power of absolution', Bigg², 261-3, and see above, on penance.

¹² Bigg², 264-7.

¹³ B.-Baker, 408.

the prayer a sacred Body, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it.'¹ It is 'the Body of the Lord' and 'not a particle of it must be dropped'.² But, on the other hand, he treats 'the bread and the wine as allegories or symbols of the spiritual illumination and knowledge which Christ confers on those who enter on the higher life',³ and yet frankly witnesses against himself that his special conception was not 'the commoner acceptation' of the Church.⁴ He would not have denied—to use the phrase of later theology which was intended to sum up the patristic teaching about the sacraments—that the Eucharist is 'the extension of the Incarnation',⁵ i. e. the instrument for passing on the Incarnate life. His refinement upon it or 'depreciation of "the flesh"' goes with his depreciation of the historical sense [of Scripture]. It is part of his allegorism.'⁶

There remains his eschatology.⁷ In one word, it was Universalism, or belief in the final restoration of all souls, not excluding the evil spirits. Then God will be 'all in all'.⁸

The influence of Origen was enormous, as is shown by the opposition he roused and by the schools of disciples who were proud to follow him.

'The principal opposition came from Asia Minor, where the traditions of theological thought', as seen, for instance, in the realism of Ignatius, the chiliasm of Irenaeus, or the modalism of Marcellus, 'were not in sympathy with Origen'.⁹ Thus Methodius,¹⁰ bishop of Olympus in Lycia, †311, 'dealt with Origen much as Irenaeus with the Gnostics, defending against him the current sense of the *Regula Fidei*, the literal meaning of Scripture, the

¹ *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 33 (*Op.* i. 766; *P. G.* xi. 1565 c).

² *In Exod. Hom.* xiii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 176; *P. G.* xii. 391 A); cf. H. B. Swete in *J. T. S.* iii. 175, n. 2.

³ B.-Baker, 408; as in Origen, *In Matt. Comm. Series*, § 85 (*Op.* iii. 898; *P. G.* xiii. 1734 sq.), and *Hom. in Num.* xvi, § 9 (*Op.* xii. 334; *P. G.* ii. 701 B), both quoted by H. B. Swete in *J. T. S.* iii. 169, n. 3.

⁴ κοινοτέραν ἐκδοχήν, *In Ioann.* xxxii, § 16 (*Op.* iv. 444; *P. L.* xiv. 809 B); and H. B. S. in *J. T. S.* iii. 174.

⁵ Jeremy Taylor, *The Worthy Communicant* [A. D. 1660], i. ii, § 4 (p. 30, London, 1674), and L. Thomassin [1619-†95], *Dogm. Theol. De Incarnatione*, x. xxii. *ad init.*, p. 722 (Parisii, 1680).

⁶ C. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, 60, n. 1.

⁷ Bigg², 269-79.

⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 28.

⁹ A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxvi.

¹⁰ Text in *P. G.* xviii. 9-408; tr. A.-N. C. L. vi. 309-402. Fragments only of the *De Resurrectione* are extant, but there is an abstract of it in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. ccxxxiv (*Op.* iii. 293 A-301 B; *P. G.* ciii. 1109-38); Bardenhewer, 175-8.

origination of the soul along with the body, the resurrection of the body in the material sense, and generally opposing realism to the spiritualism of Origen'. But 'Methodius is not uninfluenced by him. . . . The legacy of Methodius and of his Origenist contemporaries to the Eastern Church was a modified Origenism; that is, a theology systematised on the intellectual basis of the Platonic philosophy—but expurgated by the standard of the *Regula Fidei*.'¹ Later assailants² were Eustathius,³ bishop of Antioch, 325–8; Epiphanius,⁴ bishop of Salamis, 367–†403; Theophilus,⁵ bishop of Alexandria, 385–†412; Jerome,⁶ †420; and the Emperor Justinian,⁷ 527–†65.

On the other hand, among his followers, there are distinguishable, in the latter half of the third century, two sections: a 'right' wing and a 'left'.⁸ The Origenist 'right' laid more stress on the unity of being in the Trinity. To this school belonged the Origenist bishops of Asia and Syria, e. g. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus, 245–†65, Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 232–†72, and others who ousted the adoptianist Paul of Samosata from the see of Antioch, 269–72. The Origenist 'left' wing laid more stress on the distinctions of personality and the subordination of the Persons, especially of the Son to the Father, in the Trinity. With this school must be classed Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, 248–†65, who put down the Sabellians of Libya. Thus Origenists, of the 'right' and of the 'left', were both engaged in the overthrow of Monarchianism; but the 'left' perpetuated, and even isolated, the subordinationist elements in Origen's Christology, and so threw the mantle of his great name over the bare shoulders of Arianism.

¹ Robertson, *Ath.* xxvii.

² List in Bigg², 216, n. 2.

³ Socrates, *H. E.* II. xiii, § 3, and his treatise on the Witch of Endor, written against Origen. For this *De engastrimytho*, *P. G.* xviii. 613–74. He denies the apparition of Samuel, and vigorously refutes the allegorizing of Origen. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 253.

⁴ *Haer.* lxiv (*Op.* i. 524–604; *P. G.* xli. 1068–1200), and *Ep. ad Ioann. ep. Hierosol.* (*Op.* iii. 259–64; *P. G.* xliii. 379–92)=Jerome, *Ep.* li (*Op.* i. 241–54; *P. L.* xxii. 517–27), tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 83–9.

⁵ Paschal Letters, ii, iii, v, Gk. fragments, in *P. G.* lxxv. 55–60; Latin tr. in Jerome, *Epp.* xcvi, xcvi, c (*Op.* i. 561 sqq.; *P. L.* xxii. 773 sqq.).

⁶ Jerome, *Epp.* lxxxiv, cxxiv (*Op.* i. 522–33, 916–32; *P. L.* xxii. 743–52, 1059–72); and tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 175 sqq., 238 sqq., and *Apol. adv. Rufinum* (*Op.* iii. 457–572; *P. L.* xxiii. 397–492).

⁷ Justinian, *Adv. Origenem* or *Ad Mennam*; *P. G.* lxxxvi. 945–1036; and Mansi, ix. 487–582.

⁸ B.-Baker, 151; A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxvii.

Before that controversy broke out, the chief among his champions were his successors in the chair of the Catechetical School, Theognostus, 247-82, and Pierius, 282-300, both 'cautious' about subordinationism but 'tenacious of other startling features of Origen'¹; and, in Syria, Pamphilus,² †309, and his friend Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, ? 313-†39, an Origenist of the extreme 'left'. Together the two friends composed an *Apology for Origen*,³ one book of which is extant in a translation by Rufinus. The defence is based on the distinction between speculation and doctrine. When, at length, Origen was claimed by the Arians, Athanasius cited him to show that he was Nicene.⁴ What Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus thought of him, they showed by collecting and issuing the *Philocalia*. Gregory of Nyssa adopted some of his speculations; and Jerome, mainly on literary grounds, became his admirer⁵ and translator.⁶ Then, about 394, Epiphanius stirred up the bitter strife⁷ over his memory, which set Jerome against Rufinus, disgraced Theophilus, and involved Chrysostom. Nor was it appeased till after the condemnation of Origen, at Rome,⁸ 400, at Alexandria,⁹ 400, and at Constantinople, 403, in the person of Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak.¹⁰

¹ Robertson, *Ath.* xxvii: and see L. B. Radford, *Theognostus Pierius and Peter: a study in the early history of Origenism and anti-Origenism* (Cambridge Press, 1908); Bardenhewer, 157-9.

² Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. xxxii, § 25; *Mart. Pal.* xi.

³ Origen, *Op.* vii (*P. G.* xvii. 541-616).

⁴ *Ath.*, *De decretis*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* xxv. 465).

⁵ Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii [A. D. 384], § 3 (*Op.* i. 153 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 446 sq.).

⁶ Jerome, *Translatio hom. Origenis in Ier. et Ezech.* (*Op.* v. 741-86; *P. L.* xxv. 583-1004); and Document No. 206.

⁷ Jerome, *Ad Pammachium adv. Ioann. Hierosol.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 417 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 364); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 430.

⁸ By Pope Anastasius, 399-†401: see his letter, *Grandem sollicitudinem*, to Simplicianus, bp. of Milan, *ap.* Jerome, *Ep.* xcv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 559; *P. L.* xxii. 774), and Jaffé, *Regesta* I, No. 276.

⁹ By Theophilus, in a Synodical Letter, tr. in Jerome, *Ep.* xcii (*Op.* i. 541-3; *P. L.* xxii. 759-69).

¹⁰ On the Origenistic controversies, see *D. C. B.* iv. 142-56; Bigg², 321-7; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., App. ix; B.-Baker, 152 sq., and *infra*.

CHAPTER XVI

PERSECUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

c. 250-60

§ 1. DECIUS,¹ who became Emperor in the autumn of 249 and ruled till towards the end of 251, was born in Pannonia. He first appears in history as a senator, of fifty or sixty years of age, with a grown-up son, in the last year of the Emperor Philip. Sent to restore order among the mutinous legions of Moesia, he was forced to place himself at their head; and, after Philip had been slain in battle, or put to death, near Verona, 17 June 249, Decius began to reign. His elevation marks the opening of 'twenty years, 248-68, of shame and misfortune',² which began with the celebration of the millennium of Rome and ended with the death of Gallienus. It was a period of 'barbarous invaders', 'military tyrants', and social degeneracy; and it had been preceded by half a century of Oriental syncretism and religious liberty. Decius, 'as anti-Christian as he was virtuous',³ took the Roman ideals of Trajan for his model⁴; and, while marching against the Goths, saw, in the dissolute morals and the religious liberty of the day, the real root of the decline. In order to arrest the moral decay, he restored the office of Censor, which had been in abeyance since the reign of Domitian, 81-†96,⁵ and committed it to Valerian,⁶ who afterwards succeeded him both as emperor, 253-†60, and as persecutor. To recover its supremacy for the religion of the State, he opened severities against the Christians.

§ 2. The Decian persecution⁷ raged from the autumn of 249 to the summer of 251. Its events⁸ are known to us partly from

¹ Gibbon, c. x; *D. C. B.* i. 797-9.

² Gibbon, c. x (i. 237, ed. Bury).

³ E. W. Benson, *Cyprian*, 64.

⁴ He took the name of Trajanus, and, says Vopiscus, his 'et vita et mors veteribus comparanda est', *Vita Aureliani*, xlii, § 6 (*Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. 180: ed. Teubner).

⁵ Gibbon, c. x (ed. Bury, i. 247, n. 42).

⁶ Ibid. (i. 247).

⁷ e. g. *Passio Pionii*, ap. O. von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta*, 96-114 (Berlin, 1902).

⁸ Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 113 sqq.); P. Allard, *Histoire des Persécutions*, ii, cc. 7-10; and *Le Christianisme et l'Empire*, 96-101; B. Aubé, *L'Église et l'État*² (Paris, 1886); J. A. F. Gregg, *The Decian Persecution* (1897); and H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, 244 sqq.

Passions,¹ but also from the writings of Cyprian,² bishop of Carthage, 248–†58, and of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria,³ 24–†65, and from the *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*,⁴ bishop of Neo-caesarea in Pontus, 245–†65, composed by Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, 371–†94. In common with the persecution under Severus and other persecutions of the third century it differed from those of the second in that it was an official persecution conducted for reasons of State; universal, not sporadic; systematic, and not spasmodic. Moreover, the popular feeling, in the second century, was against the martyrs⁵: in the third, the sympathies of the people were more often on their side.⁶

Anticipations, pointing to a persecution of this character, are discernible some years before its outbreak under Decius. Thus Maximin the Thracian, 235–†8, was responsible for an official persecution. He had directed, or permitted, attacks upon ‘the rulers of the churches’⁷ in Rome⁸ and in Cappadocia.⁹ He probably thought their powerful organization a source of danger to the State. At the celebration of the millennium of Rome, 248, under Philip the Arabian, 244–†9, the patriots murmured at the toleration of Christians—so Origen tells us,¹⁰ writing within a year of the event; they feared the growth of the Church.¹¹ An attack was threatening; and, in the gathering clouds, Origen foresees a fulfilment of the prophecy that ‘they shall deliver you up unto tribulation and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all the nations for my name’s sake’.¹² He thinks that there will soon be ‘persecutions no longer local as hitherto, but universal’.¹³ Diony-

¹ For selections, see R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyreraken*, and A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*.

² Ed. G. Hartel (*C. S. E. L.* iii).

³ *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xl–xlii, vii. xi, § 20; and ed. C. L. Feltoe in *Cambridge Patristic Texts*.

⁴ Greg. Nyss. *Op.* iii (*P. G.* xlii. 893–958). The pertinent parts of these texts are in E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 35–60.

⁵ Cf. ‘Christianos ad leonem,’ Tert. *Apol.*, c. xl.

⁶ Cf. *Δεινὴ κρίσις καὶ ἄδικα προστάγματα* as the bystanders exclaimed at the death of Agathonice, *Martyrium Carpi, Papyli et Agathonices*, § 45, *ap. O von Gebhardt, Acta martyrum selecta*, 17. The date may be of the Decian persecution: see L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 267, n. 3.

⁷ *Eus. H. E.* vi. xxviii; Preuschen, 32.

⁸ Exile of Pope Pontianus and of Hippolytus, 235, *supra*.

⁹ So Firmilian, bp. of Caesarea Cappadocia, 232–†72, *ap. Cyprian, Ep.* lxxv, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 816 sq.).

¹⁰ Origen, c. *Celsus*, iii, § 15 (*Op.* i. 456; *P. G.* xi. 937 B, c.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, and vii, § 26 (*Op.* i. 712; *P. G.* xi. 1457 c, d).

¹² Matt. xxiv. 9.

¹³ Origen, *In Matt. Comment.*, § 39 (*Op.* iii. 857; *P. G.* xiii. 1654 c).

sus also connects a local outbreak of persecution which took place at Alexandria¹ under Philip with the readiness of the masses to support such a universal proscription as that of Decius the moment it came.

It came early in 250, with the edict² of Decius. The edict is lost. But it provided for an universal proscription; and left nothing to local or personal initiative, whether of people or magistrate. It fixed a date, or appointed term, for making profession of belief³; and all who by this day⁴ had failed to declare their paganism were to be taken for Christians and so liable to persecution,⁵ not only in the large cities such as Rome,⁶ Carthage,⁷ Alexandria,⁸ Antioch,⁹ or Ephesus,¹⁰ but in lesser towns such as Neo-caesarea,¹¹ in villages, and on private estates.¹²

The edict also regulated the procedure to be employed. A commission of magistrates and notables for each locality¹³ summoned the populace to a temple: in Carthage, to the Capitol.¹⁴ Names were called.¹⁵ Each had then, in veil and crown,¹⁶ to offer a victim,¹⁷

¹ Dio. Al. *ad Fabianum*, ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, § 1; Feltoe, 5 sq. Four martyrs, Metras, Quinta, Apollonia, and Sarapion, perished in this preliminary persecution, the work of a local agitator. The recipient of the letter was Fabian (Fabius), bishop of Antioch, 251-†2.

² Πρόσταγμα, Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, § 1.

³ 'Explorandæ fidei praeſiniebantur dies,' Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 238).

⁴ 'Dies praestitutus,' *ibid.*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 238).

⁵ 'Cum dies negantibus praestitutus excessit, quisque professus intra diem non est, Christianum se esse confessus est,' Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 238).

⁶ Where there was an 'immense multitude': so Cornelius, bp. of Rome, 251-†3, ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 12. Their clergy prevented them from apostatizing, Cyprian, *Ep.* viii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 487).

⁷ 'Illic, apud idolum quo populus confluebat,' Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 25 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 255).

⁸ Dio. Al. *Ep. ad Fabianum*, ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, § 11.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxix, § 4.

¹⁰ See the *Acta S. Maximi* in T. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera* (Ratisbonae, 1859), 203 sq., and P. Allard, *Histoire des Persécutions*, ii. 394, n. 1.

¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita S. Greg. Thaum. Op.* iii. 567 B sqq. (*P. G.* xli. A, 944 A sqq.); Preuschen, 53-5.

¹² Case of Ischyron: Dio. Al. *Ep. ad Fabianum*, ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlii, § 1.

¹³ 'Quinque primores illi qui edicto nuper magistratibus fuerant copulati, ut fidem nostram subruerent,' Cyprian, *Ep.* xliii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 592); and Dio. Al. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, § 23.

¹⁴ Cyprian, *De lapsis*, §§ 8, 24 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 242, 254).

¹⁵ Dio. Al. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, § 11.

¹⁶ 'Impio sceleratoque velamine . . . diaboli coronam,' Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 238), and Document No. 131.

¹⁷ 'Hostiam' (goat or sheep) or 'victimam (ox) immolaturus,' *De lapsis*, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 243).

or, at least, incense¹ and a libation²; to renounce Christ,³ and to partake in the sacrificial meal.⁴

Thus, if they apostatized, they undid their baptismal renunciation of 'the pomps and vanities'⁵ of idolatry; and by making a heathen communion at 'the table of demons' they cancelled their communion at 'the table of the Lord'.⁶ This done, the apostate bought a certificate or *libellus* from the magistrate. Specimens of such *libelli* have been found among the *papyri* of Egypt, and they consist of two parts. The first contains a request 'to those who have been elected to preside over the sacrifices' of the town or 'village' in which the renegade lives. He gives his name, age, and any signs of identity, such as 'a scar on his right eyebrow'; affirms that 'according to the terms of the edict' he 'has sacrificed and poured libations and tasted the sacrificial victims'; asks the Commission to certify, and signs his name. The second part contains the signature of one of the Commissioners, with date and name of the Emperor.⁷ But *libelli* were often bought, or accepted, without compliance with the law⁸: and hence, among the *lapsi*, there were two classes of offenders to be dealt with by the discipline of the Church. There were *Sacrificati* or *Thurificati*, who had openly apostatized, and there were *Libellatici*, whose guilt though less, was real,⁹ and yet a matter for nice adjustment.

For those who neither apostatized nor took refuge in flight,

¹ 'Thurificatis,' Cyprian, *Ep.* lv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 624).

² 'Lethali poculo,' *De lapsis*, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 243).

³ 'Stare illic potuit Dei servus et loqui et renuntiare Christo qui iam diabolo renuntiaverat et saeculo?' *De lapsis*, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 242), and Document No. 133.

⁴ 'Feralibus cibus; mortiferos idolorum cibos; sceleratus cibus,' *De lapsis*, §§ 10, 15, 24 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 244, 248, 254), and § 25 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 255)—The Infant's Communion.

⁵ 'Pompa' was the procession in which the images of the gods were carried before the magistrate when he entered the circus or the amphitheatre to preside at the games: hence its association with 'vanitates' = *παρὰ ὁμῆτες*, cf. 1 Kings xvi. 13, 26; Deut. xxxii. 21, 'vanity' = 'not God'; Ps. xxxi. 6; Jer. viii. 19, 'vanities' = 'images'; and Acts xiv. 15.

⁶ 1 Cor. x. 21. The argument breaks down unless the Christian 'table' is an 'altar', like the pagan, and the Eucharist the Christian sacrifice.

⁷ Specimens in J. A. F. Gregg, *The Decian Persecution*, 153-5, and Document No. 135.

⁸ Cyprian, *Ep.* xxx, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 550 sq.).

⁹ 'Nec sibi quominus agant poenitentiam blandiantur qui, etsi nefandis sacrificiis manus non contaminaverunt, libellis tamen conscientiam miscuerunt,' *De lapsis*, § 27 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 256).

but stood firm, there followed a trial before the Proconsul, and then grievous sufferings: long imprisonment¹ in horrible dungeons,² and repeated³ efforts to break down constancy. These were of all sorts, and ranged from torture⁴ to threats and treatment which, in the case of women, were far more to be dreaded.⁵ All these were attempts to secure not martyrs but apostates⁶; and not till they were exhausted came the final sentence⁷ of exile or death, with confiscation.⁸

The object of the persecution was not to stamp out individual Christians, but to weaken the Church.⁹ This was to be done in two ways. Attacks were made upon its leaders,¹⁰ with a view to breaking up its organization. The leaders themselves were alive to the project and knew how to defeat it. For Dionysius of Alexandria¹¹ and Cyprian of Carthage¹² took flight and were let alone, the emissaries of the State being quite unaware that they were ruling their churches from their hiding-places and so maintaining the very organization which the Government wished to destroy. The making not of martyrs but of apostates¹³ was a second device for weakening the Church. Christians were thus

¹ Thus Maximus (Cornelius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 6), one of a body of Roman confessors thrown into gaol in January 250 (Cyprian, *Ep.* xxviii, § 1; *C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 545), was in prison for over a year; for Moyses, one of his companions, died before him, after 'menses xi, dies xi' of imprisonment: Philocalian Catalogue, *ap.* *Chronica minora*, i. i. 75, ed. Th. Mommsen (= *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix).

² Cyprian, *Ep.* xxii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 534).

³ 'Iterato,' *ibid.* *Ep.* viii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii, § 3); and the case of Origen, Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxix. 5. ⁴ *De lapsis*, § 13 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 246).

⁵ As in the case of Sabina, *Martyrium S. Pionii*, vii, § 6, *ap.* O. von Gebhardt, *Acta mart. selecta*, 102: and see Cyprian, *De mortalitate*, § 15 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 306).

⁶ In the case of Origen 'the judge strove eagerly with all his might not to end his life', Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxix, § 5. He wanted to secure a notable apostate.

⁷ e. g. at Smyrna, the judge 'read out, from a tablet, in Latin: "Pionius, having confessed himself a Christian, we order to be burnt alive",' *Mart. S. Pionii*, xx, § 7 (Gebhardt, 113; Knopf, 73).

⁸ Confiscation followed both upon banishment (Cyprian, *Ep.* xix, § 2; *C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 526) and upon voluntary exile (*De lapsis*, §§ 3, 10; *C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 239, 243; and *Ep.* xxiv; *C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 537).

⁹ '[Decius] sperans insanus quod, si istos [the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem] qui erant capita ecclesiarum tolleret, corpus omne ecclesiae interiret,' *Passio Caloceri et Parthenii*, § 1; *Acta SS. iv Maii*, 302; cf. H. B. Workman, *Persecution, &c.*, 244, n. 4.

¹⁰ Cyprian, *Ep.* lv, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 630); *Ep.* lxvi, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 731).

¹¹ Dio. Al. *ad Germanum*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xl, and vii. xi, § 23.

¹² Cyprian, *Ep.* v, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 478).

¹³ P. Allard, *Hist. des Persécutions*, ii. 272.

deprived of the glory of martyrdom, and the prestige of the Church was lowered. It is probable that the sale of lying certificates, to the effect that this or that person had complied with the command to sacrifice when he had not, can best be explained as part of this policy of discrediting the Church.

Nor was the policy without considerable success. The persecution was short but sharp: it told heavily on the Church. 'Corrupted' by 'the long peace'¹ of the preceding forty years since the death of Severus, †211, apostates were very numerous: specially among the rich and the powerful. Cyprian describes the worldliness of bishops as well as of ordinary Christians; and both he and his colleague Dionysius tell how they rushed to the tribunals to sacrifice. But martyrs also were numerous; and these came from all ranks of society. There were bishops²: Fabian, of Rome, 236-†50, whose death,³ 20 January 250, gave the signal for the outbreak; Babylas,⁴ of Antioch ?240-†50, who was credited with having when alive repelled the Christian Emperor Philip from the Church until he did penance,⁵ and, who when dead, discomfited the pagan Emperor Julian⁶; and Alexander of Jerusalem,⁷ 216-†50. There were presbyters: Moyses and Maximus in Rome,⁸ and Pionius in Smyrna who was seized while celebrating the anniversary⁹ of the martyrdom of Polycarp. His *Passio*¹⁰ remains, and is of interest in one connexion. 'You are a Christian?' asked the judge. 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Of what Church?' 'The Catholic'¹¹: where 'Catholic', once

¹ *De lapsis*, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 240), and Document No. 132.

² *De lapsis*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 240). Bishops, he says, in some cases, were as worldly as their flocks. Hence episcopal apostates, e. g. Basilides, bishop of Legio (Leon) and Asturica Augusta (Astorga), and Martial, bishop of Emerita (Merida), bought *libelli*, Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxvii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 735); Euctemon, bishop of Smyrna, *Mart. S. Pionii*, xv, § 2 (Gebhardt, 109; Knopf, 70); Document No. 132.

³ *Eus. H. E.* VI. xxxix, § 1; cf. Benson, *Cyprian*, 65 sq.

⁴ *Eus. H. E.* VI. xxxix, § 4.

⁵ *Eus. H. E.* VI. xxxiv, and Chrysostom, *In sanctum Babylam*, § 6 (*Op.* II. ii. 544 sq.; *P. G.* I. 541).

⁶ Gibbon, c. xxiii and n. 113 (ii. 467, ed. Bury).

⁷ *Eus. H. E.* VI. xxxix, § 2. He had been a fellow-pupil, with Origen, in the school of Clement (*ibid.* VI. xiv, § 9); a bishop in Cappadocia (*ibid.* VI. xi, § 2), and coadjutor in, and then bishop of, Jerusalem.

⁸ See their letter in Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxi, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 559), and his description of their year's sufferings in *Ep.* xxxvii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 576-9).

⁹ Document No. 136.

¹⁰ *Mart. S. Pionii*, ii, § 1 (Gebhardt, 96; Knopf, 59). On these *Acta* see Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*² II. i. 638-42; Gregg, *The Decian Persecution*, 242-61.

¹¹ *Mart. S. Pionii*, ix, § 2 (Gebhardt, 103; Knopf, 65).

meaning 'universal', has now come to mean, as well and by consequence, 'orthodox' in contradistinction to 'heretical'. There was Polyeuctes,¹ an officer of the *Legio XII Fulminata*, stationed at Melitene, on the Upper Euphrates, in *Armenia Secunda*; a tradesman, Maximus of Ephesus²; and two Persian princes, Abdon and Sennen, martyred in Rome and commemorated in the Cemetery of Pontianus.³ There were also Confessors, a title now used for the first time of those who survived the proceedings before the Proconsul.⁴ Origen, †254, at Caesarea⁵; Maximus the presbyter and his companions, both clergy and laity at Rome; Celerinus,⁶ who escaped from his trial before Decius in person,⁷ and afterwards, at Carthage, was admitted Reader⁸ by Cyprian; and, at Alexandria, the heroic lad of fifteen, named Dioscorus, whom the magistrate dismissed from the tribunal in sheer admiration of his courage.⁹

But in the spring and early summer of 251 the persecution began to slacken.¹⁰ The attention of Decius was diverted from inoffensive Christians to invading Goths. The Roman armies met them in battle in the marshes of the Dobrudzscha; and Decius, by 29 August 251, had perished on the field.¹¹ Short as it was, his persecution left deep wounds. The number of apostates and *Libellatici*, their efforts to return to the Church, the strife between Confessors and Bishops and between the advocates of rigour and of laxity, not to mention the schism of the rigorists and the doctrinal question about rebaptism, together with the personal rivalries involved—all these things were a serious legacy

¹ 'Acts' in F. C. Conybeare, *Monuments*, 123-46; A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*, 120-2; P. Allard, *Hist. des Persécutions*, ii. 411.

² T. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera*, 203 sq.

³ So the Philocalian Calendar: 'III Kal. Aug. [30 July] Abdos et Semnes in Pontiani, quod est ad ursum piliatum,' *Chronica minora*, i. i. 71, ed. Th. Mommsen (= *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix).

⁴ The 'technical difference', according to Cyprian, may be stated thus: 'those who appeared before the local court of inquiry, and were remanded for further examination, or were banished, were *confessors*; but immediately that the torture had been applied (in the presence of the proconsul) they became *martyrs*, and the category included those who died under the severity of their imprisonment,' Gregg, *Decian Persecution*, 292 sq., e. g. Cyprian, *Ep.* xii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 503).

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxxix, § 5

⁶ Cornelius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 6.

⁷ Cyprian, *Ep.* xxii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 533).

⁸ Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxix (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 581-5).

⁹ Dio. *Al. ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xli, §§ 19, 20.

¹⁰ P. Allard, *op. cit.* ii. 433.

¹¹ Gibbon, c. x, and, for the date, n. 52 (i. 250, ed. Bury).

to the Church. They belong to the times of Cyprian and of Novatian.

§ 3. Cyprian¹ became bishop of Carthage after June 248 and held the see till his death on 14 September 258.

Of his birthplace and family we know nothing ; but Thascius² Cyprianus became an advocate, and a master of forensic eloquence.³ He was thus a leading member in Carthage of the highest of the professions. He had a retentive memory,⁴ a polished style,⁵ a dignified and yet attractive presence,⁶ while his tact and business habits contributed greatly to his success as the first of Church organizers. No accessions to the ranks of the Church counted for more than the conversions of the great barristers : Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Cyprian had the further prestige of wealth⁷ and social position⁸ ; and nothing was more significant of the hold which Christianity, once the religion of the uneducated only, was now establishing for itself in the Roman world than, first, the conversion and, next, the superiority to contemporary pagan writers, both in genius and cultivation, of such men. Cyprian, converted by a presbyter named Caecilian,⁹ became a catechumen, 246. He devoted himself to continence,¹⁰ distributed part of his wealth to the poor,¹¹ and wrote a ' brilliant little pamphlet ' ¹² . . . ' the work of a learner, not of a teacher ',¹³ *Quod idola dii non sunt*.¹⁴ It was a ' telling little résumé ' ¹⁵ of

¹ Cf. E. W. Benson, *Cyprian* (Macmillan, 1897), where, for the chronology of his life and letters, note pp. xxii, xxiii. For his works : Latin, ed. G. Hartel in *C. S. E. L.* III (3 vols., 1868-71) ; tr. *L. F.* iii [Treatises], xviii [Epistles], or *The Writings of Cyprian*, 2 vols. ; *A.-N. C. L.* vols. viii and xiii.

² ' Cyprianus qui et Thascius,' *Ep.* lxxvi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 726) ; ' Thascius Cyprianus ' in *Acta proconsularia*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. cxii).

³ Jerome, *In Ionam* iii. 6 *Comment.* (*Op.* vi. 420 ; *P. L.* xxv. 1143 B) ; and Augustine, *Sermo*, cccxii, § 4 (*Op.* v. 1257 c ; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1421 sq.).

⁴ ' Memoriosae mentis,' Pontius, *Vita*, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. xevi).

⁵ '[Cypriani] linguam doctrinae christianae sanitas ab ista redundantia revocaverit, et ad eloquentiam graviolem modestioremque restrinxerit,' Aug. *De doctrina christiana*, iv, § 31 (*Op.* III. i. 76 D ; *P. L.* xxxiv. 107). ' On the style and language of St. Cyprian,' see E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iv. 189-317.

⁶ Pontius, *Vita*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. xevi).

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. xcii).

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 14 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. cv).

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. 4). Cyprian took his name, and, as a Christian, became Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. xcii).

¹² Benson, 12 ; referring to Jerome, *Ep.* lxxi, § 5 (*Op.* i. 430 ; *P. L.* xxii. 668).

¹³ Benson, 10.

¹⁴ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 19-31 ; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 13-20.

¹⁵ Benson, 9.

the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and the *Apology* of Tertullian. Then he was baptized probably at Easter,¹ 19 April 246; and, in the autumn, addressed *Ad Donatum*,² a fellow-neophyte and brother-rhetorician, a treatise on the grace of God. He invites³ his friend to pass life in review: § 6 the criminal classes, § 7 the arena, §§ 8, 9 the theatre, § 10 the forum—all these were corrupting influences. But there were others no less dangerous: § 11 locked-up capital, § 12 great estates, evictions and the disappearance of yeomen, luxury side by side with pauperism, ‘the disruption of the client-bond and the disowning of obligation between rich and poor’.⁴ For a remedy he looks, §§ 3, 4, to the transforming effect of the sacrament of Regeneration and, § 15, to the new life of the Baptized. It was probably as a deacon, 247, that Cyprian sold his gardens for the benefit of the poor,⁵ and attached himself to the aged presbyter, Caecilian, who had converted him. Then as presbyter—one of the *ordo* not now of the *plebes*,⁶ as clergy and laity were respectively called at Carthage by terms borrowed from the *Curia* and commons of provincial towns—he compiled his *Testimonia ad Quirinum*,⁷ or three books of Scripture proofs ‘against the Jews’, grouped under pithy headings and addressed to the layman⁸ at whose request they had been drawn up. Book I consists of twenty-four heads on the succession of the Gentile to the Jewish Church; Book II, of thirty on the Godhead, Messiahship, and Salvation of Jesus; Book III, separately issued, is a common-place book or ‘Daily Round’, meant for rapid and frequent reading, of an hundred and twenty on Christian duty. These *testimonia* well illustrate Cyprian’s copious memory⁹—the memory, too, of a neophyte who, though fresh from the study of Scripture, had not spent a long time on it and had come to it in middle life. They illustrate also the free circulation of the Scriptures among the laity which the ancient Church en-

¹ The time most usual in Africa, Tert. *De baptismo*, § 19 (*Op.* i. 639: ed. Oehler).

² Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 3-16; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 1-12.

³ For this analysis see Benson, 13 sq.

⁴ Benson, 15.

⁵ Pontius, *Vita*, § 15 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. cvi).

⁶ On these terms, Benson, 19; W. Bright, *Aspects*, &c., 66.

⁷ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 35-184; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 21-115.

⁸ Cyprian, now a presbyter, addresses Quirinus as ‘my son’, *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 35.

⁹ He says he has confined himself to what ‘mediocris memoria suggerebat’, *Test.* i. Praef. (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 36).

couraged.¹ But they are of most value for 'the wording of the actual versions which the "African" Christian thus studied.'² Such were the activities of Cyprian as presbyter, 247-8. He was still a neophyte³ when, on the death of Donatus, bishop of Carthage, ? 238-†48, the public opinion of the laity⁴ called him to the see, June 248. At first, he declined.⁵ A small but influential⁶ minority supported his refusal. They included five presbyters⁷—Novatus, Donatus, Fortunatus, Gordius, and another⁸—who afterwards maintained an organized opposition against him. But the *plebes* would take no refusal, and Cyprian gave in. Ordinarily the requisites of a regular episcopate in Africa and elsewhere were three: the choice of the neighbouring bishops of the province assembled at the see; the *suffragia*, by which is meant not the votes, but the presence and support, of the faithful *plebes* at that choice⁹; and 'the judgment of God'¹⁰ by which is, apparently, meant 'the fact of the election and ordination proceeding in due order without interruption'.¹¹ To these, Cyprian adds, in vindicating the election of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, 251-†3, the testimony of a large majority of the clergy.¹² In his own case when, more than once, he had to defend his title,¹³ he omits election

¹ The laity, however, were under instruction and discipline. They were encouraged to 'examine into the Scriptures, Old and New' (*Test.* i. Praef.; *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 36). Chrysostom, however, finds that, though the Bible was in the hands of the laity, they would not read it, *Hom. i in Act.*, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 1 A; *P. G.* lx. 13); and *Hom. ix in Col.*, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* xi. 391 D, 392 C; *P. G.* lxii. 361 *ad fin.*, 362).
² Benson, 25.

³ Pontius, *Vita*, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i, p. xcv).

⁴ 'Suffragium vestrum,' *Ep.* xliii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 591).

⁵ *Vita*, § 5 *ut sup.*

⁶ 'Aetas . . . auctoritas,' *Ep.* xliii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 593).

⁷ 'Quorundam presbyterorum malignitas . . . dum coniurationis suae memores et antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum venena retinentes,' *Ep.* xliii, § 1 *ut sup.*
⁸ Benson, 110, n. 4.

⁹ 'Apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem, cui praepositus ordinatur, episcopi eiusdem provinciae proximi quique convenient et episcopus deligatur, plebe praesente,' *Ep.* lxvii, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 739), and Document No. 134, where note 'convenire ad' means 'resort to', as in *Iren. Adv. Haer.* III. iii, § 2, where, in support of the Roman claims, it is usually mistranslated 'agree with'. For 'suffragia' = 'support' (not 'votes'), see *Epp.* lv, § 8, lix, §§ 5, 6; lxviii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629, 672-3, 745), and Benson, 28; and cf. 'suffragatores et fautores haereticorum', *Ep.* lxxiii, § 22 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 795).

¹⁰ 'Contra suffragium vestrum et Dei iudicium,' *Ep.* xliii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 591).
¹¹ Benson, 28.

¹² 'Cornelius episcopus de Dei . . . iudicio, de clericorum paene omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tunc adfuit suffragio, de sacerdotum . . . collegio,' *Ep.* lv, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629); Document No. 144.
¹³ *Epp.* xliii, lxvi.

by the comprovincials and yet claims to have had the 'consent of his fellow-bishops'.¹ We may suppose this was taken as given by the imposition of their hands at his consecration; and, if so, the acclamation of the *plebes* superseded further process of election. Cyprian was thus elected by the people and accepted by the neighbouring bishops: whereas, according to his rule, a bishop was selected by the neighbouring bishops and accepted by his flock, probably also after a vote of the clergy. These three elements, the synod of bishops, the vote of the presbyterate, and the request of the laity² may 'well represent the ante-Nicene rule'³: though circumstances will have modified the influence of the clergy in one place and of the people in another. The part played by the episcopate remained constant; though it may have preceded, or have concluded, the action of others. As constant, it means 'that the final responsibility rested neither with the laity nor with the clergy, whose influence was also potent, but with the bishops of the province'.⁴ 'Give us Athanasius,'⁵ cried the people of Alexandria to the comprovincials. 'Let no bishop be *given* to a people against their will'⁶ is the rule for episcopal appointments laid down by Pope Celestine, 422-†32. These later incidents illustrate the main feature in the earlier appointments, of Cyprian or others, viz. that the episcopate perpetuated itself and that, as in the New Testament, the ministry is transmitted from above. But the acclamations of the people had their recognized place in the process; and, in the case of Cyprian, they were not less discerning than in the similar cases of Fabian⁷ of Rome, of Athanasius,⁸ and of Ambrose.⁹ Thus Cyprian became Pope¹⁰ of Carthage; and came to be known by

¹ 'Co-episcoporum consensum,' *Ep.* lix, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 672).

² Peter II, bp. of Alexandria, 373-†80, in describing the intrusion of the Arian Lucius on the death of Athanasius, says that there was no synod of bishops, no vote of clergy, no request of people—'as the laws of the Church enjoin', Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. xxii, § 9.

³ W. Bright, *Aspects*, 77, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 78.

⁵ *Ath. Apol. c. Arianos*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 A); with this *αἴτησις*, cf. the 'petitio' of the laity in Ambrose, *Ep.* lxiii, § 46 (*Op.* II. i. 1033; *P. L.* xvi. 1201 B).

⁶ In *Cuperemus quidem* of 26 July 428 [Jaffé, No. 369]; Coelestine, *Ep.* iv, § 7 (*P. L.* I. 434 B).

⁷ 'Boni viri, collegae mei,' Cyprian, *Ep.* ix, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 488); 'nobilissimae memoriae viri Fabiani,' *Ep.* xxx, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 553).

⁸ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 8 (*Op.* i. 390; *P. G.* xxxv. 1089 B).

⁹ Paulinus, *Vita*, § 6, *ap.* Ambrose, *Op.* i (*P. L.* xiv. 28 sq.).

¹⁰ So the Roman clergy address him, *Epp.* viii, § 1; and salutations of xxx, xxxi, xxxvi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 485, 549, 557, 572); Benson, 29-31.

a title first formally given to the bishop of that see; and not—in his days—to the bishop of Rome.

§ 4. The episcopate of Cyprian began in peace; continued under persecution; and ended in martyrdom.

The period of peace, June 248 to January 250, consisted of the remaining eighteen months of 'the eight and thirty years' peace for the Christians'¹ that elapsed between the end of the persecution under Septimius Severus and the opening of that under Decius. At this time Cyprian was engaged on matters of discipline, and with something of a metropolitan's authority.² Thus, in his first epistle, he forbids the Eucharist to be offered for the repose of the soul of one who had contravened a synodical decision by making a cleric trustee under his will.³ The epistle is thus of interest as bearing on the doctrine of prayers for the faithful departed⁴ and of the Eucharist⁵ and on clerical secularity.⁶ His second letter forbids an actor who, as a Christian, had left the stage⁷ to instruct others for it; and offers maintenance by the Church, instead, during loss of employment.⁸ This letter is of interest as bearing on the relation of Christianity to art⁹ and morals, on the obligations of baptism, and on the administration of relief. The fourth letter deals with *subintroductae*¹⁰; and, in the suppression of this fanaticism, or 'form of self-deceit', observes, with truth, that 'no one'—virgin or cleric—'very close to danger is safe for long'.¹¹ Closely connected with this letter, in subject as in date, is Cyprian's treatise *De habitu virginum*,¹² a pastoral to women. Dedication to the unmarried estate was

¹ 'Interiectis deinde annis viii et xxx pax Christianis fuit,' Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 32 (*P. L.* xx. 147 B).

² The local bishops had neglected it for gain, *De lapsis*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 241-9); and Cyprian was invoked beyond his diocese.

³ *Ep.* i (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 465-7).

⁴ On which, see H. B. Swete in *J. T. S.* viii. 500 sqq.

⁵ Such 'oblaciones et sacrificia' were offered for martyrs, *Epp.* xii, § 2, xxxix, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 503, 583). On the Eucharist, see H. B. Swete in *J. T. S.* iii. 161 sqq.

⁶ 'Due to their being socially known as leading men, but unprovided with material independence,' Benson, 43; on clerical secularity see W. Bright, *Canons*², &c., 47 sqq.

⁷ Because of its 'turpi et infami contagione', *Ep.* ii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 468); on which, see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, xi. v, § 6, xvi. xi, § 12.

⁸ *Ep.* ii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 468).

⁹ On which, see B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 329 sqq.

¹⁰ On this practice, see note *ad loc.* (*L. F.* xvii. 7, note k), and Bingham, vi. ii, § 13.

¹¹ *Ep.* iv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 474).

¹² *C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 183-205; tr. *L. F.* iii. 116-30; cf. Benson, 51 sqq.

becoming common among Christian women. But it was, as yet, self-dedication only¹: they entered upon the life by private resolution not by public vow. They had no common life, and no peculiar dress; but such dedication was recognized and held in honour. It was considered like almsgiving, a Christian 'work', but the 'work' was to be 'in secret'.² There was also an Order of sexagenarian 'Widows' or Deaconesses, with a seat of honour in church³: their functions were to instruct women-converts, and to assist at their unction in baptism.⁴ In the time of Tertullian there was first seen, at Carthage, by permission of the then bishop, 'the monstrous marvel',⁵ as he calls it in his *De virginibus velandis*, c. 208-11, of a Virgin seated among them and, like them, unveiled. The meaning of this was that as girls, under the age of betrothal, wore no veils, though unmarried women above that age did, a claim had been made by certain dedicated virgins to continue the symbolic freedom of the age of innocence; and, at least in church, to lay aside the covering which elsewhere public opinion enforced. Their object was to make the profession of virginity more attractive; and the 'work' was thus no longer 'in secret'. Tertullian evidently effected the restoration of the usual dress; for Cyprian has no complaint to make against departure from the rule, in his day. Dedicated virgins thus took the veil, i.e. they adopted the dress then usual with unmarried women of their own age. To these Cyprian addresses himself in the *De habitu virginum*: § 3 they are the flower of the Church's growth. He, § 21, ranks the Virgin next to the Martyr; § 22 contrasts her freedom, and capacity for influence, with the privacy and subjection of the married woman; and sets himself not merely, § 5, to the correction of vanity but, since, § 7, many of the Virgins belonged to the wealthier classes, § 8 dressed as they did and went with their friends, § 18, to wedding parties where customs were coarse and, § 19, to the baths where they were shameful, to purify and exalt the influence of women in the community. He sees in the profession of Virginity great possibilities, and aims at setting them free to work.

¹ 'Decreverint,' *Ep.* iv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 473).

² *Tert. De virginibus velandis*, § 13; *Matt.* vi. 3, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, § 9; 1 *Tim.* v. 9, 10, and H. P. Liddon, *Analysis of 1 Tim.* ad loc.; Bingham, II. xxii, § 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* II. xxii, §§ 8, 9; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 343.

⁵ *Tert. De virg. vel.*, § 9.

§ 5. Persecution cut short this peaceful discharge of the duties of his office. The edict of Decius caused it to break out early in 250. Cyprian retired January 250 and remained in concealment till Easter, 251; for 'the presence of the bishop on any one spot was 'infinitely less important than' the 'uninterrupted government' of his church¹; and this Cyprian carried on from his place of hiding. Meanwhile, by April 250 the Proconsul was on tour² in Africa. At the end of that year Decius left Rome to take the field against the Goths and their *protégé* the usurper Priscus.³ About the same time, November 250, the persecution began to relax in Carthage.⁴ In October 251 Valerian was appointed Censor⁵; and in November 251 Decius was killed.⁶ Such was the course of events that determined the main effort of Cyprian's episcopate, when he shaped the policy of the Western Church in dealing with the lapsed.

The effects of the persecution on the inner life of the Church declared themselves chiefly at Carthage and at Rome; first during Cyprian's retirement, and afterwards on his return.

During his retirement, January 250 to March 251, opposition began to stir. Its growth may be attributed to the 'malignity'⁷ of the five presbyters and to the handle that his absence gave; and its course can be traced in Cyprian's correspondence.⁸ At Rome, the clergy were administering the affairs of the church without their bishop, for the see was vacant from the martyrdom of Fabian, 20 January 250, to the election of Cornelius, 5 March 251.⁹ They tried to deal with the question of the lapsed in conjunction with the clergy of Carthage independently of Cyprian.¹⁰ He remonstrated on the bad Latin, the bad manners, and the bad paper of their letter,¹¹ and on the irregularity of their proposals. Then they inclined towards strictness under the guidance

¹ Benson, 85.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* x, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 492).

³ Gibbon, c. x (ed. Bury, i. 246).

⁴ Benson, 107.

⁵ Gibbon, c. x (i. 247, ed. Bury).

⁶ Ibid. (i. 249).

⁷ Cyprian, *Ep.* xliii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 591).

⁸ For the classification and dating of this correspondence, 81 letters in all, of which 65 are from Cyprian himself, see O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 196 sq.

⁹ The correspondence of this period, between Cyprian and the Roman clergy, consists of twelve letters: viii, ix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxvii, xxviii, xxx, xxxi, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii.

¹⁰ Cf. the letter of the Roman clergy to the clergy of Carthage, *Ep.* viii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 485 sqq.).

¹¹ 'Et scriptura et sensus et chartae ipsae,' *Ep.* ix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 489).

of Novatian¹ who, 'in right of his scholarship and abilities',² held a foremost place among them. At Carthage, the veneration³ for Confessors and the remorse⁴ of the lapsed increased side by side. So the factious clergy, taking advantage of the situation, got the Confessors to cover with their merits the demerits of the lapsed, and to give *libelli pacis* for their readmission.⁵ They even put out an indulgence or absolution from 'all the Confessors to all the lapsed',⁶ and desired Cyprian to promulgate it.⁷ But the effect of this would have been to subvert all discipline⁸ and to sign away his own authority.⁹ Cyprian met the opposition by proposing its proper remedy. This was episcopal action in reliance upon the laity.¹⁰ He did not think it politic to return to the ancient discipline of the West and adopt, as the basis for reconstruction, the permanent exclusion of the lapsed. 'Severity', such as that, may have been African¹¹ and ancient¹² but it was unapostolic,¹³ and it had been proved unwise. Hermas wrote to mitigate it¹⁴; and, though Tertullian regretted it,¹⁵ Montanists practised it,¹⁶ and Novatian wished to revert to it,¹⁷ nevertheless

¹ *Epp.* xxx and xxxvi are his, written in the name of the Roman clergy : for the strictness, see xxx, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 549).

² W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 47.

³ Rightly given : for, says Cyprian to Moyses, Maximus, and the Confessors, 'nutantem multorum fidem martyrii vestri veritate solidastis', *Ep.* xxxvii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 579), and he had the names of those who died sent regularly to him, so that he might recite them in the list or *canon* at the Eucharist, *Ep.* xii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 503 sqq.), whence 'canonization'.

⁴ Some went back to the tribunals for sentence, *Ep.* xxiv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 536).

⁵ *Ep.* xxvii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 540). They gave them an order of admission, 'not transferable', see Document No. 137; others wrote, 'Communicet ille cum suis', *Ep.* xv, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 516), i. e. 'Admit bearer and friends'.

⁶ *Ep.* xxvii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 542), and Document No. 137. If he refused, the odium of refusing Confessors and Martyrs would be his : and this is where the factiousness of the presbyters shows itself; cf. *Ep.* xv, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 516).

⁷ For this request, *Ep.* xxiii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 536), and Document No. 138.

⁸ *Ep.* xxvii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 542), and Document No. 137.

⁹ *Ep.* xvi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 517).

¹⁰ *Epp.* xvii-xix (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 521-6) [summer of 250; cf. xviii, § 1], and xx (*ibid.* 527-9), and Documents Nos. 139-41.

¹¹ *Ep.* lv, § 21 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 638).

¹² 'Antiqua severitas,' *Ep.* xxx, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 550); on the penitential system, see H. B. Swete, in *J. T. S.* iv. 321-47.

¹³ 2 Cor. ii. 5 sqq.; Rev. ii. 20 sq.

¹⁴ *Pastor* : Mand. IV, iii, §§ 5, 6, and *supra*, c. vi.

¹⁵ *De penitentia*, c. vii, and *supra*, c. xiv.

¹⁶ *De pudicitia*, c. xix, and *supra*, c. xi.

¹⁷ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 1, and the letter of Dio. Al. to Dionysius of Rome, *ap. ibid.* vii. viii, and Document No. 160.

the Roman Church, under Callistus, had seen fit to relax it further.¹ Cyprian took a similar view. He knew that the lapsed were the majority. As an ecclesiastical statesman, he saw that their exclusion would bring about that very weakening of the Church which it was the aim of the Government to secure. So he outlined a policy of his own and sent it to the Confessors at Carthage,² to his clergy³ and laity,⁴ to bishops elsewhere,⁵ and to the Roman Confessors⁶ and the clergy⁷ still under the lead of Novatian. He proposed, first, to reserve all cases of *lapsi*, regardless of *libelli pacis*, till Councils of Bishops, at Rome and at Carthage,⁸ should, after the persecution, lay down the terms of readmission⁹; second, that bishops, with clergy and laity¹⁰ assisting, should then investigate each case on its merits, and that, on the full confession of the penitent, bishop and clergy should, if satisfied, grant readmission by imposition of hands¹¹; third, that meantime *libelli pacis*, given by Confessors, should be recognized so far as that those who had one might be readmitted *in extremis* by any presbyter or even by a deacon,¹² but that those who had not, must even then be simply commended to the forgiveness of God without readmission to communion on earth. The grounds for this programme were simple: first, that 'so general a question should be decided upon some general principle, and not by individual discretion'¹³; second, 'that the lapsed, if restored at once, would have fared better than the constant who had borne

¹ *De pudicitia*, c. i; Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12, and *supra*, c. xiv.

² *Ep.* xv (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 513 sqq.).

³ *Ep.* xvi (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 517 sqq.).

⁴ *Ep.* xvii (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 521 sqq.).

⁵ 'Epistulas . . . quarum exemplum collegis quoque multis iam misi,' *Ep.* xxvi (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 539).

⁶ *Ep.* xxviii (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 545 sqq.).

⁷ *Ep.* xxvii (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 540 sqq.).

⁸ *Ep.* lv, § 4 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 626).

⁹ 'Plane ceterorum causas, quamvis libello a martyribus accepto, differri mandavi et in nostram praesentiam reservari ut, cum pace a Domino nobis data, plures praepositi in unum convenire coeperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum [*sc.* the Roman clergy] consilio, disponere singula vel reformare possimus,' *Ep.* xx, § 3 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 529). Note the place of bishops alone as constitutive members of these Councils: and see W. Bright, *Letters*, 304 sqq.

¹⁰ 'Examinabuntur singula praesentibus et iudicantibus vobis [*sc.* fratribus in plebe consistentibus],' *Ep.* xvii, § 1 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 522). The Roman presbyters and confessors agreed: 'consultis omnibus episcopis, presbyteris diaconibus confessoribus et ipsis stantibus laicis, ut in tuis litteris et ipse [Cyprian] testaris,' *Ep.* xxxi, § 6 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 562).

¹¹ *Ep.* xvii, § 2 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. § 2).

¹² *Ep.* xviii, § 1 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 524).

¹³ *Ep.* xix, § 2 (C. S. E. L. III. ii. 526).

the loss of all things'¹; and, third, 'that some regard should be had to the "prerogative" of Confessorship'.² These principles³ were afterwards embodied in the *De lapsis*⁴ of March 251.⁵ But, before that date, Cyprian had obtained for his proposals a large measure of acceptance. He first secured the concurrence of African⁶ and Italian⁷ bishops, and of Novatian⁸ and the Roman clergy and Confessors.⁹ He then took a stronger line with his own clergy; for he required them to circulate the whole correspondence,¹⁰ and denounced excommunication against all who should allow communion except on the terms agreed.¹¹ Thus the affair 'was reserved for the decision of the organic authority—the united Episcopate'.¹²

But, before their decision could be taken, there appeared, in opposition, malcontents on either side.

In Carthage there appeared a party of laxity. It consisted of various elements: Confessors spoilt by flattery¹³; fashionable *lapsi*¹⁴; the five presbyters, who had originally opposed the election of Cyprian,¹⁵ headed by Novatus,¹⁶ a presbyter in charge of the Citadel¹⁷; and some other clergy,¹⁸ led by Felicissimus. This man had attached himself to Novatus as his deacon¹⁹; and this adherence gave to the party control of considerable funds.²⁰ Ostensibly, its policy was one of 'lenity to the lapsed'; but its

¹ *Ep.* xix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 526).

² 'Honor martyribus habendus,' *Ep.* xx, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 528).

³ Benson, 97.

⁴ *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 235-64.

⁵ For this date see 'librum', *Ep.* xxv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 538); Benson, 127, n. 2; but § 1 is a preface added later, since 'ultioni divina securitas nostra reparata est' refers to the death of Decius, November 251, and the cessation of the persecution.

⁶ *Epp.* xxv, xxvi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 538 sqq.).

⁷ *Ep.* xliii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 592).

⁸ *Ep.* xxx (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 549 sqq.), the author of which was Novatian: see *Ep.* lv, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 626 sq.).

⁹ *Ep.* xxxi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 557 sqq.), and 'Confessoribus et clericis urbicis', *Ep.* xliii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 592).

¹⁰ *Ep.* xxxii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 565). This was done: *Ep.* lv, § 5 (*ibid.* 627).

¹¹ *Ep.* xxxiv, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 570).

¹² Benson, 106.

¹³ *De unitate*, § 20 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 228).

¹⁴ *De lapsis*, § 30 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 259).

¹⁵ *Ep.* xliii, §§ 1, 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 591 sq.).

¹⁶ He speaks of 'quinque presbyteros Felicissimo copulatos', *Ep.* xliii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 592); and of Novatus as acting with him, *Ep.* lii, § 2 (*ibid.* 618).

¹⁷ Reading, with Benson, 112, n. 1, 'monte' for 'morte' in *Ep.* xli, §§ 1, 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 588).

¹⁸ *Ep.* xvii, §§ 2, 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 522 sq.).

¹⁹ *Ep.* lii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 618), and Document No. 143.

²⁰ Benson, 113 sq.; whence the prominence of deacons at this time.

inner spirit was clericalism in opposition to the bishop and the laity. And hence it is easy to see, what is hardly intelligible at first sight, why, after the party had been crushed in Africa, Novatus, the leader of the advocates of laxity at Carthage, no sooner arrived, March 251, in Rome than he threw himself in with the party of rigorism under Novatian.¹

At Rome this party of rigorism showed itself malcontent with the Cyprianic proposals. Its adherents began to make head in the Roman church upon the removal by death, 31 December 250, of Moyses the Confessor.² His was a moderating influence³; and his death threw the rigorist Novatian into exclusive prominence among the Roman clergy. Novatian is known to us from the correspondence of Cyprian⁴; from the letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch⁵—a source to be used with reserve, as ‘the letter of an inferior man who greedily adopted imputations against his rival’⁶; and from the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria.⁷ He was ‘a learned man’ and ‘a copious theological writer’.⁸ His *De Trinitate*,⁹ c. 249, is ‘a work of superior merit’,¹⁰ and has been called for the West ‘a dogmatic *Vade mecum*.’¹¹ His *De cibis Iudaicis*¹² is ‘addressed to the Novatianist community in Rome, for the purpose of showing how certain foods were declared unclean by the Mosaic law in order to withdraw the Jews from the sins and vices symbolized by those animals. The Christians, however, apart from the precept of temperance, is bound only to avoid the use of meats sacrificed

¹ On the relation of the two, and how Novatus egged on Novatian, see *L. F.* xvii. 111, note m.

² For this date, see the Liberian or Philocalian Catalogue, *ap. Chronica minora*, i. i. 75, ed. Th. Mommsen (= *M. G. H.* ix), or *ap. Lightfoot, Ap. F.*² i. i. 255; Benson, 119.

³ Moyses had remonstrated with the opposition at Carthage, *Ep.* xxviii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 545); was a signatory of *Ep.* xxx (ibid. 549 sqq.) and author of the manly *Ep.* xxxi (ibid. 557 sqq.): with an insight lacking to the rest he had marked the progress of Novatian towards rigorism, Cornelius *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xliii, § 20.

⁴ *Epp.* xli–lii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 587–620).

⁵ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. xliii, §§ 5–20; and Document No. 145.

⁶ W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 47, n. 1; and L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* i. 296, n. 2.

⁷ Dio. Al. *ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. vii § 6 and viii; *Letters*, ed. Feltoe, 55 sq., and Document No. 160.

⁸ W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 47; for the writings of Novatian, see Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, c. lxx (*Op.* ii. 911; *P. L.* xxiii. 681), and Bardenhewer, 220–3.

⁹ Text in *P. L.* iii. 911–82, and ed. W. Y. Fausset (*Cambr. Patristic Texts*).

¹⁰ Bardenhewer, 221.

¹¹ A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 315.

¹² Text in *P. L.* iii. 982–92.

to idols.¹ Prominent, therefore, because of his dogmatic writings, before the persecution, Novatian, though 'he had been promoted somewhat irregularly to the presbyterate', now 'took the foremost place . . . among his brother-clergy at Rome'.² During the vacancy of the bishopric, 20 January 250 to 5 March 251, 'he had been employed by them to write in their name to Cyprian,³ and to support his line against an over-hasty reconciliation of the lapsed. But towards the end of that year—possibly in disappointment at finding that he was not likely to be elected bishop—he passed over from a moderate to a rigoristic view'⁴; and, though as yet he was only a strong partisan, he entered upon a course which ended in schism.

Such was the opposition maturing at Carthage and at Rome when Cyprian emerged from his retirement and, shortly after Easter, 23 March 251,⁵ returned to his see. His return almost coincided with the opening of the episcopate of Pope Cornelius, 5 March⁶ 251 to June 253; and, by the co-operation of these two prelates, in Councils first at Carthage and then at Rome, effect was given, in the main, to the Cyprianic programme for dealing with the lapsed.

The Council of Carthage⁷ sat from 1 April to June 251. The encyclical which contained its decisions is lost; but they are recoverable from the letter of Cyprian to Antonian,⁸ a Numidian⁹ bishop who consulted him about them. The synod consisted of 'a large number of bishops'.¹⁰ It first dealt with two personal questions: (a) the case of Felicissimus, and (b) the rival candidates for the see of Rome; and then proceeded to shape its policy in respect to (c) the lapsed.

¹ Bardenhewer, 221.

² W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 47.

³ His two letters rank, in Cyprian's correspondence, as *Epp.* xxx and xxxvi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 549-56 and 572-5).

⁴ W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 47.

⁵ For the date see *Ep.* xliii, §§ 1, 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 591, 3) and Benson, 128.

⁶ For this date see Benson, 127, n. 3.

⁷ Mansi, *Concilia*, i. 863-6; Hefele, *Conciles*, ed. H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907), i. i. 165; Benson, 127-59.

⁸ Cyprian, *Ep.* lv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 624-48); and Document No. 146.

⁹ *Ep.* lxx, salutation (*ibid.* 766).

¹⁰ 'Copiosus episcoporum numerus,' *Ep.* lv, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 627). As to the place of the laity at a synod, see Benson, 426 sqq., and a criticism in W. Bright, *Letters*, 307 sqq. Laymen, like presbyters and deacons, were present and were consulted, but they never voted individually in actual decisions; and this is the one differentiating point of real membership in an assembly. Cf. Hefele, *Conciles*, i. i. 27 sq.

(a) As to Felicissimus his offence consisted not in his policy of lenity to the lapsed (for the treatment to be meted out to them still lay open to discussion), but 'in his readmitting people whose cases had been by due notice reserved'¹ for the decision of the episcopate in synod. The Council condemned him: though we know this from Cyprian only by implication.² Cyprian, being practically plaintiff, could not well act as one of the judges, and he absented himself from the decision.³

(b) The Council next turned to the episcopal election at Rome, which had issued, 5 March, in the appointment of Cornelius,⁴ 251-3. He was an aristocrat; 'a Roman'⁵ of the Romans', who afterwards was 'buried under a Latin inscription among the noble Cornelii'⁶; and a man of no little 'courage', for he had accepted the bishopric at a time when Decius had declared that 'he would far sooner hear of a rival Emperor than of a bishop set up at Rome'.⁷

What Decius feared was the power of the Church as an organization; and what this meant throughout the Empire may be inferred from a glimpse of the organization and the numbers of the local Roman church over which Cornelius was elected to preside. 'In it', writes Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, 'there were', besides 'the one bishop in a Catholic church',⁸ as many as 'forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and ushers',⁹ and over fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom the grace and kindness of the Lord nourishes'.¹⁰ Including the Pope, we note here the eight orders of the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy; and it is worth noting, too, how, at this time, the organization of the local church came to approximate to that of the City. Fabian 'constituted the seven ecclesiastical regions'¹¹

¹ Benson, 132.

² *Ep.* xlv, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 603).

³ Benson, 132 sq.

⁴ The fragments of Cornelius are collected in M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 13-29.

⁵ 'Natione Romanus,' L. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* 150.

⁶ Benson, 124.

⁷ *Ep.* lv, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 630).

⁸ Hence, where a bishop had a rival, he signed himself or was described as 'bishop of the Catholic Church' in Hippo, Rome, &c. [or without this addition], e. g. Augustine (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xliii. 828); Pope Hilary (Mansi, vii. 960 A). It did not mean that the Pope was *the* bishop of the whole Catholic Church: see E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 1234.

⁹ Ostiarii.

¹⁰ Cornelius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 11, and Document No. 145.

¹¹ L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 345.

of Rome, and placed each under one of the seven deacons.¹ Soon afterwards—under Cornelius or his immediate successors—the deacon had assigned to him as assistants six acolytes and a subdeacon. The latter was ‘a kind of head acolyte’ and ‘the ministry of subdeacon and acolyte a development of that of the deacon’. These three categories of clergy, moreover, have this in common, that they are all attached to the service of the altar; which is not the case with² exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, nor with the deaconesses or widows. There is no archdeacon of Rome as yet.

Such was the local hierarchy over which Cornelius was placed, just before Easter, 251. His career resembled that of several bishops of Rome. For, whereas in other sees, bishops were not infrequently chosen for personal or official distinction in other walks of life,³ the Roman bishop was more often⁴ a cleric who had risen through the usual *cursus honorum* in his church—of no brilliant parts, perhaps, but well versed in affairs. And this contributed in no small degree to the stability and sagacity of the Roman church, and to its influence in Christendom. Two African bishops, Pompey⁵ and Stephen, had been present at the election⁶; and the Council, on their information, addressed letters of recognition to Cornelius. He had been ‘made bishop’, said the Council, ‘by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the consent of a majority of the clergy, by the support of the laity then and there present, and by the college of bishops, all men of years and character’.⁷ Thus every element then requisite for an episcopal appointment co-operated in the elevation of Cornelius; and the Council notified his election throughout the region dependent on Carthage,⁸ i.e. to the churches of Proconsular Africa, Numidia and Mauretania.⁹

¹ ‘Hic [*sc.* Fabianus] regiones dividit diaconibus,’ *Lib. Pont.* 148, ed. Duchesne. Augustus divided Rome into fourteen regions: it is possible that Fabian assigned two to each deacon, *ibid.*, n. 3, *ad loc.*

² Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*⁵, 345.

³ e. g. Cyprian, Ambrose, Synesius, bp. of Ptolemais, ? 407–†15, and Apollinaris Sidonius, bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, ? 472–?†90.

⁴ ‘[Cornelius] per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus et in divinis administrationibus Dominum saepe promeritus ad sacerdotii sublimi fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit,’ *Ep.* lv, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629), and Document No. 144.

⁵ Bp. of Sabrata, in Tripoli, among the signatories of the Co. of Carthage in 256 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 460); Cyprian’s *Ep.* lxxiv is addressed to him (*ibid.* 799).

⁶ *Epp.* xlv, § 1, and xlv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 598, 600).]

⁷ *Ep.* lv, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629), and Document No. 144.

⁸ *Ep.* xlv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 600).

⁹ *Ep.* xlviii, § 3 (*ibid.* 607).

Cornelius, however, had a rival in Novatian. Egged on by Novatus, he let himself be put forward by Maximus and some other confessors, newly liberated.¹ They secured three country bishops to consecrate him,² and he became the first anti-pope. It is possible that, in lending himself to their machinations, Novatian was actuated simply by zeal for the purity of the Church; for he sent a deputation to Carthage, professing that the object of himself and his friends was simply to stand by 'the Gospel'³—a word then first associated, as at sundry epochs since,⁴ with strictness or 'precision'. But there may also have been a taint of ambition in his motives: though Cyprian only suggests this six years later, in a passage where he does not mention Novatian though he clearly has him in mind.⁵ At any rate, Novatian pleaded that the position had been forced upon him.⁶ But the plea made little impression. For the Council of Carthage repudiated the election of Novatian⁷; while the wise and tolerant Dionysius of Alexandria observed that, if that were so, then all Novatian had to do was to retire from it.⁸ This however, the anti-pope declined, and thus began the Novatianist schism.⁹ It was a schism pure and simple; arising, as it did, in the first instance, 'not from a doctrinal but from a personal question.'¹⁰ Novatus at Carthage and, under his influence, Novatian at Rome, were bent upon exploiting the prestige of the Confessors against the bishop. The Council of Carthage defeated their project by promptly recognizing Cornelius. Afterwards, as in the dedication of the *De cibis Iudaicis*, Novatian protested that he and his

¹ *Ep.* liv, § 2 (*ibid.* 622).

² Cornelius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, §§ 8, 9. The pope embellishes the tale of his rival's consecration with details like those of the Nag's Head story.

³ 'Se adsertores evangelii et Christi esse confitentur,' *Ep.* xlv, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 599); ὁ ἐκδικητὴς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Cornelius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 11, and 'Novatianus plebi in Evangelio perstanti salutem', at the opening of his *De cibis Iudaicis*.

⁴ So Luther's 'Gospel' gave widespread offence, Erasmus, *Adv. Epist. Lutheri*, *Op.* x. 1555 D, E (Lugd. Bat. 1706); and the Swiss had another 'Gospel', Kidd, *Documents of Cont. Ref.* 468, 483, &c.

⁵ Cyprian, *De zelo et livore*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 423).

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlv.

⁷ Cyprian, *Epp.* xlv, § 2, l, and lxviii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 598, 613, 745); Benson, 144.

⁸ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlv; *Letters*, 38 (ed. Feltoe), and Document No. 161.

⁹ 'Humanam conetur ecclesiam facere,' *Ep.* lv, § 24 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 642).

¹⁰ L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 297.

adherents stood for 'the Gospel', i.e. for austerity in discipline; and this gave them ultimately the character which Novatianists bore till they came to an end with the sixth century. Strictly orthodox, as is clear from their behaviour throughout the Arian controversy, they developed a doctrinal error in regard to discipline. They came to be known as Kathari,¹ and stood for a 'pure' or 'Virgin' Church. Every lapsed person was to be permanently excluded from it.² They forgot, as Pacian, bishop of Barcelona 360-90, reminded Sympronian, one of their bishops in Spain, that the Church, though a Virgin, is 'a mother too, by whom the sick are cared for, and the young kept safe'.³ Their 'merciless'⁴ discipline might have reduced the Church to a museum of saints; but in the Catholic view, she has a wider and gentler embrace. She is a school where sinners may be trained to sanctity and a hospital where they may be cured from sin.

(c) Finally, the Council took up the question of the lapsed. It adopted the following decisions. First, that the *libelli pacis* granted by the Confessors to the lapsed should not be taken into account, but that each case, upon penance done, should be gone into on its merits, with regard not only to the facts but to motives and inducements.⁵ Second, that the *libellatici* should be distinguished from the *sacrificati*. The former, being less guilty, should be admitted one by one to reconciliation, after penance. The latter were to do penance all their lifetime, but would be restored *in extremis* if they had continued penitent to the end.⁶ Third, those who had refused penance till death should die unrestored; for that would mean that fear, and not sorrow, had driven them to ask for readmission.⁷ Fourth, clerics who had

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, § 1.

² 'Sic obstinatos esse ut dandam non putent lapsis paenitentiam aut paenitentibus existiment veniam denegandam,' *Ep.* lv, § 22 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 639).

³ 'Curantur aegroti . . . securi fetus sub indulgentia matris retinentur,' Pacian, *Ep.* iii, § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 1066 B).

⁴ Dio. Al. tr. Dio. Rom. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii. viii; *Letters*, 56 (ed. Feltoe), and Document No. 160.

⁵ 'Traheretur diu paenitentia et rogaretur dolenter paterna clementia et examinarentur causae et voluntates et necessitates singulorum,' *Ep.* lv, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 627 sq.), and Document No. 146.

⁶ 'Placuit . . . examinatis causis singulorum, libellaticos interim admitti, sacrificatis in exitu subveniri quia exomologesis apud inferos non est,' *Ep.* lv, § 17 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 636), and Document No. 146.

⁷ 'Et idcirco . . . paenitentiam non agentes . . . prohibendos omnino censuimus a spe communicationis et pacis, si in infirmitate adque in periculo

lapsed would be deposed : they would then as laymen pass through the ordeal of exomologesis without hope of reinstatement in their charge, a decision, observes Cyprian, in which Cornelius and the episcopate at large concurred.¹

These resolutions were somewhat milder than the suggestions contained in the *De lapsis*,² one of the two pamphlets read to the Council, the other being the *De ecclesiae unitate*.³ They were embodied in a *libellus*,⁴ or Synodal Letter, now lost ; and communicated to Cornelius of Rome,⁵ to Fabius of Antioch,⁶ and to the episcopate at large, before the Council broke up in June 251. Its constitutional results are important ; for they amount, in brief, to this, that the government of the Church rests with the free action of the episcopate in Synod. Cyprian himself accepted the principle ; for he submitted his policy to revision and, as primate, accepted its modification by his Council.⁷ Thus he had allowed some weight to the merits of the martyrs⁸ ; but the Council allowed none. Similarly, the cases of Novatian and Felicissimus are decided as if finality rested with the bishops in Council. Against the former it is settled that there are no offences beyond the power of the Church to remit ; and against the latter that no authority to retain or remit resides in any class or person but in the authentic organization of the Church.⁹ Thus conciliar action became the mainstay of the Church in Africa, and lasted till its overthrow by the Vandals.

But in June 251 a Council of Rome¹⁰ completed the work of the Africans under pressure from Cyprian.¹¹ Maximus and the other Confessors at Rome returned from the schism of Novatian to the communion of Cornelius.¹² The pope, then, with sixty bishops in

coeperint deprecari, quia rogare illos non delicti paenitentia sed mortis urgentis admonitio compellit,' *Ep.* lv, § 23 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 641 sq.), and Document No. 146.

¹ 'Eiusmodi homines ad paenitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri adque sacerdotali honore prohibere,' *Ep.* lxxvii, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 741), and Document No. 146 ; *Eus. H. E.* vi. xliii, § 10.

² Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 235-64 ; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 153-76 ; analysis in Benson, 175 sq.

³ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 207-33 ; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 131-49 ; Benson, 180-5.

⁴ *Ep.* lv, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 628).

⁵ *Ep.* xlv, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 603).

⁶ *Eus. H. E.* vi. xliii, § 3.

⁷ *Ep.* lv, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 625).

⁸ *Ep.* xx, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 528).

⁹ 'Commune concilii nostri consilium,' *Ep.* lv, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 628).

¹⁰ Mansi, i. 865 sq. ; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 169.

¹¹ *Ep.* xlvii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 604 sq.).

¹² *Epp.* xlix, li, liii, liv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 608 sqq., 614 sqq., 620, 621 sqq.).

Council, received and promulgated the decisions of Carthage, and excommunicated Novatian.¹ So, too, did a Synod of Antioch,² March 252, under Demetrian, ?252-†?260; for the late bishop Fabius, ?251-†2, had been inclined to take his side.³ Dionysius of Alexandria also exerted his influence in favour of restoration for the lapsed at the point of death⁴ and against Novatian.⁵ The weight of these episcopal condemnations in Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage did not, indeed, prevent the Novatianists from taking steps to give permanence to their schism. Evaristus, one of the consecrators of Novatian, went to Carthage with Nicostratus, a Roman deacon, and one of the factious Confessors. They organized a small Novatianist church in 'Africa' with Maximus for its bishop.⁶ In Gaul, Marcian, bishop of Arles, 251-4, declared himself in sympathy with them, and treated apostates on Novatianist principles.⁷ In Rome, Novatian held out, with a number of adherents 'firm in the Gospel'.⁸ These were the limits of his success in the West. In the East, his followers maintained themselves much longer. They became strong in parts of Asia Minor,⁹ and played a part not inconspicuous during the Arian controversy. Meanwhile, Cyprian's letter of congratulation to Maximus and his friends on their return from the schism marked the impossibility of defending this, or any other, puritan separation from the Church on grounds of Scripture: 'for although there seem to be tares in the Church, yet neither our faith nor our charity ought to be hindered, so that, because we see there are tares in the Church, we ourselves should withdraw from the Church: we ought only to labour

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, §§ 2, 21, 22.

² So the *Libellus Synodicus* or *Synodicon*, *ap.* Mansi, i. 871 c. It is a collection of the ninth century, and contains notices of 153 Councils from that of Jerusalem in Acts xv to that of CP. [8th Oec.] in 877. It is probably not to be entirely relied upon. It is printed consecutively in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, xii. 360-421; but, by Mansi, piecemeal, among the documents of each synod. Cf. Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 128, n. 3.

³ Whence the letter of Cornelius to him, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliii, §§ 5-20.

⁴ Serapion, who had lapsed, asked for absolution and was communicated, *in extremis*, with the reserved Sacrament, either by intinction or, more probably, in one kind, Dio. Al. in a letter to Fabius, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xliv, §§ 2-6, and *Letters*, 19 sq. (ed. Feltoe); Document No. 162.

⁵ Dio. Al. in letters to Novatian, and to Dio. Rom. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlv and vii. viii; *Letters*, 38, 55 sq. (ed. Feltoe), and Documents Nos. 160-1.

⁶ *Epp.* 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 613), and lix, § 9 (*ibid.* 676): not the Confessor, but a presbyter.

⁷ *Ep.* lxviii, §§ 1, 2 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 744 sq.).

⁸ 'Novatianus plebi in Evangelio perstanti salutem' is the opening of the *De cibis Iudaicis*.

⁹ Socrates, *H. E.* iv. xxviii.

that we may be wheat.'¹ We have here the earliest exposition of the parable of the Wheat and the Tares: where the wonder is not that the tares are found in the world, but in the Church, i.e. in 'the world evangelized'. Such is the interpretation which Augustine puts upon the parable²; and he quotes against the Donatists, who in his day represented the puritan position and had much in common with Cyprian, the use of the parable, by Cyprian himself,³ as fatal to the main contention of separatists, that evil within the Church is justification enough for secession from it. The letter, therefore, is of first theological importance, though it was called forth only by the return of Maximus and his friends from Novatian to Cornelius.

Closely connected with the decisions thus taken at Carthage and Rome is Cyprian's treatise *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*.⁴ In its original form an allocution to the bishops⁵ at the Council of Carthage, it was published 'after the settlement of the question about Felicissimus, and before that of Novatian, was determined'.⁶ Its problem is thus the existence of schism; for Felicissimus was simply factious and Novatian orthodox but an anti-pope. Schism, as distinct from heresy, was a phenomenon hitherto unknown. To this new problem Cyprian addressed himself. His object was to expound the unity of the Church; and his exposition of it is not merely 'the greatest of all his writings' but, as has been truly said, 'in proportion to its bulk one of the most influential documents in the world'.⁷ The primate of 'Africa' begins by reminding his colleagues that, § 1, the craftiness of Satan is often more dangerous than his open attack; and that, § 3, of such craftiness heresies and schisms are the best examples. The truth, however, § 4, in regard to unity may be 'quickly stated' in our

¹ *Ep.* liv, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 622 sq.).

² e. g. 'Ego autem possem . . . ostendere illum esse veriore intellectum quod Ecclesia habeat et bonos et malos, zizania scilicet et triticum, mundumque ipsum appellatum esse pro Ecclesiae nomine,' Augustine in *Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis* [A. D. 411], iii, § 265, *ap.* Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum* (*Op.* 316; *P. L.* xi. 1415 B), or Aug. *Op.* ix. 68 E (*P. L.* xliii. 839).

³ e. g. Aug. *Ep.* cviii [A. D. 409], § 10 (*Op.* ii. 309 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 411); *Contra Cresconium* [A. D. 406], ii, § 43 (*Op.* ix. 432; *P. L.* xxxii. 492); *Contra Gaudentium* [A. D. 420], ii, § 3 (*Op.* ix. 667; *P. L.* xxxii. 742); and see R. C. Trench, *Parables*¹⁵, 88 sqq.; W. Bright, *History of the Church*, A. D. 313-451, 263 sq.; *Lessons*, &c., 152.

⁴ Cf. C. T. Cruttwell, *A Lit. Hist. of Early Christianity*, ii. 606-9.

⁵ *De unit.*, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 213).

⁶ Benson, 181.

⁷ Cruttwell, ii. 606.

Lord's words to St. Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth',¹ &c., and 'Feed my sheep'²; and again in 'the equal authority'³ given to all the Apostles by 'Whose soever sins ye remit',⁴ &c. 'In order to manifest unity He has, by His own authority, so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one. It is true that the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal share both of office and authority⁵; but a commencement is made from unity in order that the Church may be set before us as one.' And St. Paul is equally emphatic upon 'the sacrament⁶ of unity': 'There is one body and one Spirit', &c.⁷ This unity, § 5, it is for us bishops to maintain; for it resides in the episcopate which is one, and a whole in which each enjoys [not a share but] full possession.⁸ Thus the Church is one; and, § 6, he cannot have God for his Father who has not the Church for his mother.⁹ Passing to illustrations of this unity, the author finds them, in § 7, the seamless robe of Christ, and, § 8, His own flock. The peace that goes with it, § 8, is symbolized by the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove: a creature whose peaceable temper is so contrary to, § 9, the wilfulness of those who set themselves up as rulers without any lawful rite of ordination, and assume the name of bishop though no man gives them their episcopate. It is true, § 12, they justify themselves by quoting 'Where two or three are gathered together',¹⁰ &c.; but they overlook the previous words which put agreement¹¹ first. Agreement thus being essential, § 13 the prayers, § 14 the martyrdoms, and § 15 the prophecies and miracles of schismatics avail nothing. To such a pitch has the mischief of schism lately

¹ Matt. xvi. 19.² John xxi. 17.³ 'Parem potestatem,' Document No. 147.⁴ John xx. 23.⁵ 'Pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis,' Document No. 147. For 'honoris' = office, cf. 'cursus honorum', and W. Bright, *Roman See*, 43.⁶ On the meaning of the word 'sacrament' in Cyprian, see E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iv. 253, n. 1. It here = a bond. 'Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiae,' &c., *De unit.*, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 215).⁷ *Eph.* iv. 4.⁸ 'Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur,' Document No. 147.⁹ For the same phrase, cf. *Ep.* lxxiv, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 804): it was adopted by Calvin (*Inst.* iv. i, § 4) along with the similar Cyprianic phrase, 'salus extra ecclesiam non est', *Ep.* lxxiii, § 21 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 795). This doctrine, however, is older than Cyprian: see K. R. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, § 71, and J. C. L. Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, § 67. On the meaning of 'salus' not 'safety' but 'salvation', cf. the two first verses of the *Quicumque vult*, where 'salvus esse' is opposed to 'in aeternum peribit', and R. H. Malden in *J. T. S.* viii. 301.¹⁰ Matt. xviii. 20.¹¹ Matt. xviii. 19.

grown that, § 16, the end must be at hand. But, § 17, let us not be disturbed. We know, § 18, what happened to Korah. Let us rather be warned for, § 19, schism is worse than lapse; and, § 20, if confessors are guilty of it, that only means that confessorship does not make a man safe from the crafts of the devil. After all, § 21, it is only a good beginning; and, § 22, as with Judas who was first an apostle and then fell away, so it may be with a confessor. Further exhortations conclude the argument.

Cyprian's doctrine¹ of the unity of the Church is striking, but difficult. It lies in the unity and solidarity of the episcopate, to separate from which is to be cut off from God and from Christ.² The authority of each bishop, however, is perfect and independent. It does not form, along with the authority of his colleagues, a mere agglomerate; but—in a legal phrase that 'reflects the author's earlier training'³—it is 'a tenure on a totality like that of a share-holder in some joint property'⁴: for every bishop possesses 'the plenitude of the priesthood', and as such is a Vicar of Christ and an occupant of 'the chair of Peter'.⁵ It follows that there is only one bishop in each place⁶; that the whole body of the bishops⁷ decides where necessary; and yet that the majority cannot coerce the minority. Thus Polycarp made good his independence against Anicetus; Irenaeus successfully affirmed the rights of other bishops against Victor; and Cyprian himself interpreted his own theory by maintaining, without suspicion of schism, in opposition to Pope Stephen, 254–†7, the African tradition against the admission of baptism in heresy or schism.

¹ Cf. C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry* (ed. 1919), 151 sqq.

² *De unit.*, § 5, and *Ep.* xliii, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 594).

³ J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*², 173; C. Bigg, *Origins*, 363, n. 5.

⁴ Benson, 182; cf. 'the Roman collegiate magistracies; the tribunes, consuls, even in Cyprian's time the *imperium*: each wielded in his own person the whole power of the office', Bigg, *ut sup.*

⁵ See note in *L. F.* iii. 150.

⁶ 'Nec enim ignoramus,' said the Roman confessors after they came over to Cornelius from Novatian, 'unum Deum esse et unum Christum esse Dominum quem confessi sumus, unum sanctum Spiritum, unum episcopum in catholica esse debere', *Ep.* xlix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 611). Exactly the same words—'One God, one Christ, one bishop'—greeted the rescript of Constantius, c. 357, when he recommended the Roman people to recognize both claimants to the see, Liberius and Felix. Theodoret, *H. E.* II, xvii, § 6. Cf. 'unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos', Cyprian, *Ep.* lix, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 672), where 'sacerdos', as usual with Cyprian, = 'bishop'.

⁷ 'Ecclesia, quae catholica una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa et cohaerentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata,' *Ep.* lxvi, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 733).

The Cyprianic theory of unity was thus open to those defects in practice which often declare themselves in common action, or the want of it, between members of a college such as the episcopate. Moreover, it would justify not merely the jealous independence of one bishop against his neighbours, but even his right to intervene in their affairs, where Faith or Order was in danger.¹

Three questions arise in regard to this theory, which demand a brief notice before we leave it: Was the authority thus claimed for the episcopate a new thing? How does it compare with the papalist theory of unity? And does separation from the bishop really carry with it separation from Christ?

As to the first, the theory was not devised to counter the claims of Novatian.² For when Cyprian claimed that the bishop in each church, and the episcopate in the Church as a whole, was the centre of unity, he claimed no more than had been claimed for episcopacy by Irenaeus³ or by Ignatius,⁴ and an authority no 'larger than the power which St. Paul had entrusted to his own "Vicars"'.⁵ That he increased the dignity of the Order in the eyes of all Christians is undeniable; but neither the episcopal rights and powers, nor the conception of a Catholic Church, were invented by him. And, if this theory be denounced as sacerdotalism, we must allow the 'invidious'⁶ associations⁷ of a word to serve instead of argument, and we must remember that no one insisted more strongly than Cyprian that the authority of the bishop is a constitutional authority⁸ and rests not with the bishop alone but with bishop, clergy, and faithful laity.⁹

But, secondly, does not the theory that unity is bound up with the episcopate require for its coping-stone 'a single centre of Church

¹ e. g. Clement of Rome at Corinth; as Cyprian urged Stephen of Rome to intervene, not as Pope but as bishop, in the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, who had joined the schism of Novatian, *Ep.* lxviii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 747); Athanasius (*Soc. H. E.* II. xxiv, § 8); and Eusebius of Samosata (Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. xiii, § 4, and v. iv, §§ 5-7 [cf. Bingham, *Antiquities*, II. v, § 3, and J. Wordsworth, *op. cit.*² 174 sq.]), by ordaining in Arian dioceses.

² 'Not' devised as 'an engine against Novatian', Benson, 187.

³ *supra*, c. vii.

⁴ *supra*, c. x.

⁵ W. Bright, *Aspects*, &c., 83.

⁶ H. P. Liddon, *University Sermons*, II. 191.

⁷ The word, as commonly used, 'is made to cover anything that anybody who can make his voice heard may wish to challenge as being above or below his own standard of faith, morals or manners', W. Stubbs, *Visitation Charges*, 351.

⁸ He rules 'paternally, even fraternally', W. Bright, *Aspects*, 52.

⁹ e. g. *Epp.* xiv, § 4, xxx, § 5, xxxiii, § 1, xxxviii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 512, 553, 566, 579).

government',¹ as in the Roman see? Certainly, papalism is the easier way; and hence, perhaps, the 'interpolations'² in the text which some have thought to come from Cyprian's own hand, and to represent, in a second edition of his allocution, his riper thoughts on unity.³ But, if thus admitted, the 'interpolations' either do not go far enough, or else they go too far. Not far enough: for to claim a *primatus*⁴ may mean to claim for Peter and his see simply precedence. Or too far: if the meaning is to assign to him universal jurisdiction. Precedence every one in Cyprian's age, as in our own, would accord to the bishop of Rome; but jurisdiction, which is what the 'interpolator' meant to claim for him, does not and never has coincided with the universal opinion of Christendom.⁵ Moreover, to assign such jurisdiction to Peter and the Roman see involves both the argument of the *De unitate* and the subsequent conduct of its author in a mass of contradictions. The principle he asserts is the oneness of the commission and the equality of the commissioned. Of this oneness Peter is treated by him as the type but not the centre: he is 'a living object-lesson' in unity.⁶ For powers that were afterwards given to all, were first, for the sake of emphasis on unity, bestowed upon one. Further, a headship attributed to one among the bishops would ruin at one stroke the whole theory of unity and authority which rested, according to Cyprian, with the college of bishops.⁷ If that college might not compel one of its number, *a fortiori*, no one of its number might overrule

¹ Benson, 192 sqq.

² So they are regarded by C. Bigg, *Origins*, &c., 363, n. 4.

³ So Dom Chapman, O.S.B., in the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1902-3: for the discussion, see E. W. Watson in *J. T. S.* v. 432-6; Dom Chapman, *ibid.* 634-6; E. Denny, *Papalism*, §§ 570, 1239-46.

⁴ In *De unitate*, § 4, after 'Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur' is added 'et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur' (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 213).

⁵ See below, on the addition to the sixth canon of the Co. of Nicaea of 'Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum', instantly repudiated, as soon as produced, 1 November 451, at the Co. of Chalcedon.

⁶ W. Bright, *Roman See*, 39, and note in *L. F.* iii. 150.

⁷ Cf. 'copiosus episcoporum numerus', *Ep.* lv, § 6; 'copiosum corpus sacerdotum', *Ep.* lxxviii, § 3; 'episcopatus unus', *De unitate*, § 5; 'episcoporum multorum concordii numerositate diffusus', *Ep.* lv, § 24 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 214, ii. 627, 642, 746), where note 'sacerdos' = bishop, as always in Cyprian's writings, in which there is no passage where 'sacerdos' must, and not many where it can, be equivalent to 'presbyter', E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 258, n. 1.

it.¹ And, finally, Cyprian's attitude to Pope Stephen, in the matter of rebaptism, could never have been maintained if the papalist doctrine of the supremacy of the Roman see had inspired the *De unitate*: for often enough Cyprian rebuked and excused the Pope, but obeyed him never.² Not papalism but federalism—if we may characterize in one word the theory of the *De unitate*—best expresses the doctrine of its author.

There remains the third question: whether that doctrine was well-founded. Is it inevitable that to be out of communion with the bishop is to be separate from Christ? The Cyprianic theory needed supplementing,³ as far as it said that schism is separation from Christ, by the distinction, which Augustine was the first to work out, between the visible and the invisible Church.⁴ Some are 'members incorporate' into the visible Church who are not entirely sound⁵; and some belong to the soul of Christ's Church who are yet not of His body.⁶

§ 6. On the defeat and death of Decius, Gallus became Emperor, ?November 251 to ?May 253, and bought off the Goths.⁷ But his reign was marked in Africa by the Berber raid and by the arrival at Carthage, 252, of the Plague.⁸ It lasted twenty years: 'reduced the population of Alexandria by half,⁹ destroyed the armies of Valerian before Sapor, kept the Goths off the Thracian

¹ 'Et quidem apud antecessores nostros quidam de episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem moechis non putaverunt et in totum paenitentiae locum contra adulteria clausurunt. Non tamen a coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt aut catholicae ecclesiae unitatem vel duritiae vel censurae suae obstinatione ruperunt, ut, quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de ecclesia separeretur. Manente concordiae vinculo et perseverante catholicae ecclesiae individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus,' *Ep.* lv, § 21 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 638 sq.).

² *Epp.* lxxviii, § 2, lxxiii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 744 sq., 780). There is, however, a trace of the later or papal theory of unity at this time, i. e. of an 'episcopus episcoporum', but it is definitely repudiated by the Africans in *VII Conc. Carth. Praefatio* (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 436), A.D. 256.

³ Benson, 186.

⁴ For this distinction, see W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. xvii.

⁵ Associate, as baptized, with the 'numerus certus sanctorum predestinatus'; they are a 'multitudo spinarum . . . super numerum', *Aug. De Baptismo*, v, § 38 (*Op.* ix. 159 B; *P. L.* xliii. 195); and 'Alios autem ita dici in domo, ut non pertineant ad compagem domus', *ibid.* vii, § 99 (*Op.* ix. 200 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 241).

⁶ 'Sunt etiam quidam ex eo numero [*sc.* of the predestinate] qui adhuc nequiter vivant, aut etiam in haeresibus vel in Gentilium superstitionibus iaceant; et tamen etiam illic "novit Dominus qui sunt eius"', *ibid.* v, § 38 (*Op.* ix. 159 F; *P. L.* xliii. 196).

⁷ Gibbon, c. x (i. 281, ed. Bury).

⁸ Dio. Al. *ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. xxi, §§ 9, 10; *Letters*, ed. Feltoe, 89

frontier, and for some time killed five thousand persons daily in Rome.'¹ These disasters had immediate effect on Christian and heathen, and on the disciplinary measures of the Church; and they are reflected in the letters and treatises of Cyprian.

Thus, on the part of the Christians, they led to the organization of relief for their captive co-religionists: for Cyprian wrote to eight bishops of Numidia whose dioceses were raided, enclosing £800² for ransom and requesting that the donors might be remembered 'in sacrifices and prayers'.³ He was as prompt to organize assistance for the plague-stricken. Appealing to his flock to 'rise to the obligations of their new birth' in baptism,⁴ he instituted a nursing staff and a burial fund, and bade them minister to all religions or none without distinction.⁵

On the part of Cyprian, the events of 252 prompted the four treatises assigned to that year. The *De Dominica Oratione*⁶ would naturally grow out of the anxieties of the time. It is similar in contents to the *De Oratione*⁷ of Tertullian, and soon became a Christian classic for its exposition of the Lord's Prayer.⁸ To us, perhaps, its liturgical allusions are the feature of outstanding interest. Cyprian refers to daily Communion,⁹ to the 'Sursum corda' and its response 'Habemus ad Dominum',¹⁰ to standing as the attitude usual with Christians,¹¹ as with Jews,¹² in prayer, and to the observance of the third, the sixth, and the ninth as the three hours of prayer.¹³ This devotional manual was followed by the *Ad Demetrianum*,¹⁴ an essay in apologetic.

¹ *D. C. B.* i. 747.

² 'Sestertium centum millia nummum,' *Ep.* lxii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 700, note), and Benson, 239 and n. 1.

³ *Ep.* lxii, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 701).

⁴ 'Respondere natalibus,' Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. p. c). ⁵ *Ibid.*, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. p. c), and Benson, 245.

⁶ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 265-94; transl. by T. H. Bindley in 'Early Christian Classics' (S.P.C.K. 1904), and *L. F.* iii. 177-98.

⁷ *Tert. Opera*, i. 553-84 (ed. Oehler).

⁸ *De dom. orat.*, §§ 7-27 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 270 sqq.); Benson, 267 sqq.

⁹ *De dom. orat.*, § 18 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 280).

¹⁰ *De dom. orat.*, § 31 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 289); as earlier, c. 225, in *The Egyptian Church Order*, ed. R. H. Connolly, *Texts and Studies*, VIII, No. iv, p. 176.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 31 (*ibid.* 289): it was made obligatory, in Eastertide and on Sundays, by Nic. 20; cf. W. Bright, *Canons, &c.*, 82 sqq.; while, in the time of Tertullian, it was thought 'nefas' to kneel on the Lord's Day, *Tert. de Cor. Mil.*, c. iii.

¹² e. g. Luke xviii. 11 (the Pharisee), 13 (the publican); Mark xi. 25; Matt. vi. 5.

¹³ *De dom. orat.*, § 34 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 292); so *Tert. De ieiunio*, c. x.

¹⁴ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 349-70; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 199-215; Benson, 249 sqq.

Demetrian was a professor of rhetoric and an opponent of the Gospel. He held, as did the author of Maximin's rescript, A.D. 311, of persecution¹ and pagans in general,² that, § 2, the evils of the time—war, pestilence, and famine—were to be ascribed to the wrath of the gods against the Christians for deserting them. Cyprian, § 3, admits the premises,³ but denies the conclusion. Disasters are divine punishments, but they are inflicted because of the, § 5, obstinacy⁴ and, § 10, wickedness of the heathen; and, § 12, in particular, because of their persecution of Christians.⁵ He then goes on to work out the thought that human life is essentially a probation.⁶ Probably the pamphlet, as a reply to the heathen, took little effect, for the same charge recurs again and again, and we find Cyprian's answer repeated from time to time: by Arnobius, also a professor of rhetoric in 'Africa', who devoted the first two books of his *Adversus nationes*, c. 303-5, to the now trite accusation⁷; by Ambrose, in his reply to Symmachus,⁸ 384; and, on the grand scale, by Augustine in the *De civitate Dei*,⁹ c. 413-26. Cyprian's next treatise, the *De mortalitate*,¹⁰ reveals its connexion with the year of the plague by its very name. Christians need not be surprised, he argues, that, § 8, they, as well as the heathen,¹¹ are carried off by its ravages, so clear is it from Scripture, §§ 9-13, that trial is the special destiny

¹ Eus. *H. E.* ix. vii, § 9.

² Cf. Tert. *Apol.* xl; *Ad Nat.* i. ix; and Origen, c. *Celsum*, iii, § 15 (*Op.* i. 456; *P. G.* xi. 937 B); and *In Matt. Comm.*, § 39 (*Op.* iii. 857; *P. G.* xiii. 1654 B).

³ 'Senuisse iam saeculum, non in illis viribus stare quibus prius steterat,' *Ad Dem.*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 352).

⁴ 'Non . . . quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur, sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus,' *ibid.*, § 5 (*ibid.* 354).

⁵ 'Quod nos infestatio innoxios,' *ibid.*, § 12 (*ibid.* 359).

⁶ 'Patientes facit de secutura ultione securitas,' § 18 (*ibid.* 363) and sqq.

⁷ 'Postquam esse in mundo Christiana gens coepit, terrarum orbem periisse,' Arnobius, *Adv. nationes*, i, § 1 (*P. L.* v. 719 A, or *C. S. E. L.* iv. 3).

⁸ *Relatio Symmachi*, § 14; Ambrose, *Ep.* xviii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. i. 831, 833; *P. L.* xvi. 970 B, 972 C).

⁹ 'Occurrit mihi respondendum esse primitus eis qui haec bella, quibus mundus iste conteritur, maximeque Romanae urbis recentem a barbaris vastationem [*sc.* by Alaric, A. D. 410] Christianae religioni tribuunt, qua prohibentur nefandis sacrificiis servire daemonibus,' Aug. *De civ. Dei*, ii, § 2 (*Op.* vii. 32 D; *P. L.* xli. 48).

¹⁰ Text in *C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 295-314; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 216-30.

¹¹ 'At enim quosdam movet quod aequaliter cum gentilibus nostros morbi istius valitudo corripiat: quasi ad hoc crediderit Christianus ut immunis a contactu malorum mundo et saeculo feliciter perfruatur, et non hic omnia adversa perpeusus ad futuram laetitiam reservetur,' *De mort.*, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 301).

of Christians. Similarly the *De opere et eleemosynis*¹ betrays the circumstances of its origin by its title: almsdeeds are a means of grace, and, § 2, wash out the sins done after the washing of baptism.² There follows a reference to the oblations in kind at the Eucharist³; and the pastoral—for such it is—concludes, § 26, with a reminder of the reward that awaits works of charity.

On the part of the heathen the disasters led to what has been called a 'magisterial and popular outbreak',⁴ but what is rightly known as the persecution of Gallus,⁵ 251–†3. It resulted, at Rome, in the exile of Pope Cornelius, †June 253, to Centumcellae,⁶ now Civita Vecchia; and, at Carthage, in the mitigation of the recent legislation about the lapsed, so that the Church might show an unbroken front against persecution.

It was the second Council of Carthage,⁷ 15 May 252,⁸ that carried through this statesmanlike work. Forty-two bishops, under the presidency of Cyprian, readmitted to communion all the lapsed who had continued penitent; for, wrote the president in the synodal letter⁹ which announced the decision to Cornelius, 'how do we teach or summon them to shed their blood in confession of the Name, if, when about to engage, we deny them the blood of Christ?'¹⁰

To this date, c. 252–3, belong two letters of Cyprian relating to the sacraments. His sixty-third epistle is addressed to Caecilius of Biltha, the senior bishop of 'Africa', and concerns the Eucharist.¹¹ Some Christians had been allowed to communicate in water only, the reason being not 'teetotalism', as with the Encratites, but fear of persecution: lest, 'in the morning sacrifices, by the savour of wine one should smell of the blood of Christ,'¹² and so be identified as a Christian. Cyprian requires the mixed chalice, of wine as well as water; for 'what was commanded is not

¹ Text in *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 371–94; tr. in *L. F.* iii. 230–49.

² 'Post gratiam baptismi sordidatos denuo posse purgari' [*sc.* by almsdeeds, according to Luke xi. 41], *De op. et el.*, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 374).

³ *Ibid.*, § 15 (*ibid.* 384).

⁴ Benson in *D. C. B.* i. 746.

⁵ Dio. Al. *ap. Eus. H. E.* VII. i; *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 70; Gregg, *D. P.* 275.

⁶ Liberian catalogue, *ap. Duchesne, Liber Pont.* i, p. 6; Benson, 298.

⁷ Mansi, i. 867 sqq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 169–71; Benson, 224 sq.

⁸ 'Idibus Maiis,' *Ep.* lix, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 677).

⁹ *Ep.* lvii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 650–6); M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 93–7.

¹⁰ *Ep.* lvii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 652).

¹¹ Benson, 289 sqq.

¹² 'Nisi si in sacrificiis matutinis hoc quis veretur, ne per saporem vini redoleat sanguinem Christi,' *Ep.* lxiii, § 15 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 713).

observed by us unless we also do the very same that the Lord did, and, mingling the cup of the Lord in like manner, depart not from the Divine authority'.¹ His language is also evidence for the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, since 'that priest truly acts in Christ's stead, who imitates that which Christ did,'² and 'the sacrifice we offer is the Passion of the Lord'³; for the necessity of a congregation to constitute a sacrament,⁴ and for the irregularity of evening Communion. 'It behoved Christ to offer at the evening of the day that the very hour of the sacrifice might intimate the setting and evening of the world, as it is written in Exodus [xii. 6], "And the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening." . . . But we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning.'⁵ The other letter—his sixty-fourth—concerns the baptism of infants, and is a Synodal Letter⁶ from a Council of sixty-six bishops assembled at Carthage,⁷ 253. It was written in answer to Fidus, a bishop who held that baptism, like circumcision, should be deferred till the eighth day, and contains the famous passage which became classical with Augustine⁸ in the Pelagian controversy whenever he argued, as so often, from the institutions of the Church to the doctrine which they imply, e.g. from Infant Baptism to the need for it in Original Sin. 'If then even to the most grievous offenders . . . when they afterwards believe, remission of sins is granted and no one is debarred from baptism and grace, how much more ought not an infant to be debarred, who being newly born has in

¹ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 10 (*ib.* 709).

² 'Ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum hinc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse', *ibid.*, § 14 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 713). This sentence, with § 17, exercised no less influence on the ceremonial, than on the theology, of the Mass, which came to be treated as a sacred drama exhibiting, again and again, the Lord's Passion 'until His coming again': see my *Later Mediaeval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 112.

³ 'Passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus,' *ibid.*, § 17 (*ibid.* III. ii. 714).

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 16 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 714).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ep.* lxxiv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 717-21); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 98-101.

⁷ Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 170.

⁸ Augustine refers to, or quotes, the letter in *Ep.* clxvi [A. D. 415], § 23 (*Op.* ii. 593 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 731); *Contra duas Epp. Pel.* [A. D. 420] iv, § 23 (*Op.* x. 481 F; *P. L.* xlv. 625), as confuting Pelagianism beforehand; *De gestis Pelagii* [A. D. 417], § 25 (*Op.* x. 205 D; *P. L.* xlv. 335), with reference to *Sermo* ccxciv [A. D. 413], § 19 (*Op.* v. 1193; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1347 sq.), where he quoted it, at Carthage, to show what 'the Church had ever felt' about the baptism of infants and original sin.

no way sinned, except that, being born after Adam in the flesh, he has by his first birth, contracted the contagion of the old death.’¹

§ 7. On the death of Pope Cornelius, June 253, after the short episcopate of Lucius,² 25 June 253 to †5 March 254, there succeeded Pope Stephen,³ 12 May 254 to †2 August 257. He was engaged with Cyprian over the question of Rebaptism: for so Catholic doctrine requires us to call it, though Cyprian, of course, from his point of view, resented the term.

In dealing with those who came over to the Church from schism or from heresy, the practice of the churches differed. The West was divided. Africa treated the baptism of schismatics and heretics as null and void, and required them to be baptized *de novo*. This was apparently the theory of Tertullian,⁴ and it became the practice of the African churches at any rate since the days of the Council held under Agrippinus,⁵ bishop of Carthage, next but one before Cyprian. Elsewhere in the West, and particularly at Rome, custom had been steadily against what was held to be rebaptism⁶; although a section had attempted it under Callistus, 217–†22, not, however, from rigorism but from laxity.⁷ In the East, the churches of Asia Minor, like those of Africa, had come to require it, *c.* 230, at the Councils of Iconium⁸ and Synnada.⁹ ‘Many districts’¹⁰ were of like mind, as in Antioch and northern Syria¹¹; while, about 253, the churches of Asia had a difference with Pope Stephen about the matter.¹²

¹ *Ep.* lxiv, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 720 sq.).

² Benson, 304–7.

³ *Ibid.* 307 sqq.

⁴ ‘Baptismus unus . . . quem cum rite non habeant [*sc.* haeretici] sine dubio non habent, nec capit numerari quod non habetur; ita nec possunt accipere, quia non habent,’ Tertullian, *De baptismo*, c. xv. He is here speaking of Gnostic baptism; not of baptism by any heretic or schismatic.

⁵ ‘Exinde,’ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 780), and Document No. 148; cf. *Ep.* lxxv, § 19 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 822); Augustine, *De baptismo*, iii, § 3 (*Op.* ix. 109 A; *P. L.* xliii. 140), and Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, i, § 6 (*P. L.* i. 645). The date of the Council is variously placed at *c.* 198 or *c.* 220 in Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 180 and n. 2; in any case about contemporary with the *De baptismo*, 200–6.

⁶ Thus Stephen’s capital maxim was: ‘Si quis ergo a quacunque haeresi venerit ad nos, nil innovetur; nisi quod traditum est ut manus illi imponatur in paenitentiam,’ *ap.* Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 799), and Document No. 149.

⁷ Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix, § 12, and Document No. 120.

⁸ Firmilian *ap.* Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv, §§ 7, 19 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 815, 823).

⁹ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 5; *Letters*, 54 (ed. Feltoe).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Didascalica et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vi, c. xv (i. 336, ed. F. X. Funk).

¹² Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. v, §§ 4, 5; *Letters*, 49 sq. (ed. Feltoe).

Some churches clung to their usage as 'apostolic'; but that only meant immemorial. Cyprian, however, was well aware that, in Africa, no such claim to immemorial usage could be made. So he disparages the appeal to antiquity in favour of the argument from the reason of the thing or from Scripture. 'Custom without truth', he contends, 'is error inveterate.'¹

The question arose, 255, in connexion with Novatianism. Can Novatianists, baptized as such, i. e. in schism but not in heresy, be received without rebaptism?² Next year, 256, the case of Marcionites was raised; and the question now came to be, Is heretical baptism to be recognized?³ In either case, Stephen would answer, Yes⁴; and Cyprian, No. Their great contemporary, Dionysius of Alexandria, took a middle line. His view was that heretics and schismatics 'may be validly admitted without second baptism; but that churches which ruled otherwise must not be overruled from without'.⁵

The points of agreement and difference underlying these rival positions may be briefly told. First, in regard to what came afterwards to be called the Form and the Matter⁶ of the sacrament, both sides were agreed. The Form of baptism was held to be the Threefold Name, and the Matter to be water: Rome required no more.⁷ But, secondly, Cyprian and his friends required, in addition, right faith, i. e. faith in the Trinity. Thus, in his letter to Jubaianus, a bishop of Mauretania, which is 'the most important document on the theory of the question',⁸ he writes: 'We ought to consider the faith of those who believe outside' [the Church]; as, for instance, of Marcion. A Marcionite may use the Trinitarian formula; but he has no right belief in the Trinity. 'How then can he who is baptised among Marcionites be thought to have obtained "remission of sins", and the grace of the divine

¹ *Ep.* lxxiv, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 806).

² *Ep.* lxix, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 756), and Document No. 150.

³ *Ep.* lxxi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 771), and Document No. 151.

⁴ In *Epp.* lxix, §§ 3, 10, lxxi, § 3, Cyprian is clearly 'shooting at' Stephen (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 752, 758 sq., 774).

⁵ Benson, 357; cf. Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* VII. vii, § 5; *Letters*, 54 sq. (ed. Feltoe).

⁶ For these terms see St. Thos. Aq. *Summa*, III. lx. 6 ad 2; and the 'Decretum pro Armenis' of Eugenius IV, 1431-†47, in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, No. 590.

⁷ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 781), and Document No. 152; *Ep.* lxxv, §§ 11, 18 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 822), and Auctor Incertus, *De rebaptismate* [A. D. 256], § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. iii. 69); cf. Bardenhewer, 199.

⁸ L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 308.

mercy through his faith, when he hath not the truth of the Faith itself? . . . Believing what is false [*sc.* as to the Trinity], he could not obtain the true [baptism].'¹ But, if heresy thus invalidated baptism, so also did schism; and Cyprian and his friends required, in the third place, right relation to the Catholic Church. He would point to the baptismal creed current in Africa: 'Dost thou believe in remission of sins and eternal life through the holy Church?' As, then, schismatics have no Church and 'themselves confess', in answer to this interrogatory, 'with their own mouths that remission of sins can only be given through the holy Church', clearly their baptism is no baptism at all.² And on rallying to the Catholic Church, they were not rebaptized, but baptized.³

Such, then, were the questions under discussion, 255-6, between Rome and Africa: the steps of the controversy⁴ must next be traced from the correspondence of Cyprian, *Epistles* lxi-xlv.⁵ It was started, 255, by Magnus, a layman, who asked whether Novatianists should be rebaptized. Cyprian sent him, in reply, his sixty-ninth letter, in which he argues that, as remission of sins can only be had through the holy Church, schismatical baptism is worthless.⁶ Eighteen bishops of Numidia, who practised rebaptism⁷ but had their doubts, applied next. A Synod of thirty-one bishops of 'Africa', known as the fifth Council of Carthage and first on Baptism under Cyprian,⁸ declared rebaptism necessary, but were not unanimous.⁹ Their Synodal Letter ranks as the seventieth of Cyprian's epistles.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards, Quintus, a Mauretanian bishop, made inquiry; and received, for answer, the seventy-first epistle¹¹ with the Synodal Letter of the recent Council enclosed.¹² The reply to Quintus shows Stephen arrogant, and Cyprian injured. 'We must not frame a prescription on custom,' argues Cyprian, 'but prevail by reason. Peter . . . when Paul . . . disputed with him . . . did not

¹ *Ep.* lxxiii, §§ 4, 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 781 sq.), and Document No. 152: see too, § 25 (*ibid.* 797 sq.).

² *Ep.* lxi, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 756), and Document No. 151.

³ *Epp.* lxxi, § 1, lxxiii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 771, 779).

⁴ See 'De haereticorum baptismate monumenta veterum' in *P. L.* viii. 1045-1268.

⁵ *C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 749-827; Benson, 349 sqq.

⁶ *Ep.* lxi, § 7, *ut sup.*

⁷ *Ep.* lxx, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 766 sq.).

⁸ Mansi, i. 921-6; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 174.

⁹ *Ep.* lxxi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 771), and Document No. 153.

¹⁰ *Ep.* lxx (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 766-70), and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 108-11.

¹¹ *Ep.* lxxi (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 771-4).

¹² *Ep.* lxxi, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 774).

claim or assume anything insolently or arrogantly to himself; so as to say that he held the primacy, and should rather be obeyed of those late and newly come. Nor did he despise Paul . . . but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily assented to the legitimate grounds which Paul maintained; giving us thereby a pattern of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own opinions, but should rather account as our own any true and rightful suggestions of our brethren and colleagues for the common . . . weal'.¹ Passions were rising; and so the more to be admired are Cyprian's treatises *De bono patientiae*² and *De zelo et livore*³ which belong to this juncture, at the summer of 256. They make no allusion to the controversy; but they deal respectively with the temper to be maintained and the passions to be feared and kept in check at such times of strain.

In the same year, 256, the question next occupied a Synod of seventy-one bishops of Africa and Numidia, reckoned as the sixth Council of Carthage and second on Baptism.⁴ This time the bishops were all agreed. They unanimously reaffirmed the opinion that rebaptism is necessary for all converts from the sects⁵; sent their decision in an unconciliatory letter—the seventy-second⁶—to Pope Stephen, though aware of the offence that it would give; and enclosed⁷ both the Synodal Letter of the first council on Baptism and Cyprian's reply to Quintus. About the same time Jubaianus, a bishop of Mauretania, forwarded to Cyprian a copy of a paper there in circulation with some authority—perhaps Stephen's—which recognized heretical or Marcionite baptism.⁸ To this Cyprian made reply in his long seventy-third epistle which, as has been noted, contains the fullest elaboration of his position. In it he denies the validity of lay baptism⁹; and he encloses the two Synodal Letters and the letter to Quintus,¹⁰ together with the *De bono patientiae*.¹¹

¹ 'Non est autem de consuetudine praescribendum, sed ratione vincendum,' *ibid.*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 773).

² *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 395-415; *L. F.* III. 250-65; Benson, 437 sqq.

³ *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 417-32; *L. F.* III. 266-77; Benson, 448 sqq.

⁴ Mansi, i. 925-7; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 175.

⁵ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 779), and Document No. 154.

⁶ *Ep.* lxxii (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 775-8); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² III. 112-14.

⁷ *Ep.* lxxii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 776).

⁸ *Ep.* lxxiii, §§ 4, 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 781 sq.), and Document No. 152.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 783).

¹⁰ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 778 sq.).

¹¹ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 26 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 798).

Meanwhile, a deputation of bishops from Cyprian waited on Stephen with a letter. He refused to receive them¹; but he answered the letter, claiming apostolic authority for the Roman usage,² magnifying the chair of Peter,³ and vituperating Cyprian as 'a false Christ', 'a false apostle', and 'a deceitful worker'⁴—not, however, without previous provocation on Cyprian's part.⁵ By this time also he had circulated a letter in the East,⁶ declaring that he would hold no communion with bishops who practised second baptism.⁷ It awakened a storm of indignation in Asia Minor; and Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 232–†72, voiced it when he wrote of Stephen, 'Thou hast cut thyself off: make no mistake about it . . . for while thou thinkest that all may be excommunicated by thee, thou hast excommunicated thyself alone from all'.⁸ Neither in Cappadocia nor in Africa was the theory then accepted that for the pope to withdraw his communion from other churches put them out of communion with the Catholic Church.⁹

Pompey, bishop of Sabrata on the Syrtis was the next inquirer, asking for Stephen's reply. This Cyprian sent,¹⁰ with a covering letter of his own—the seventy-fourth.¹¹ It is remarkable for strong language. Some of this is directed against the Pope, whom Cyprian charges with 'presumption'¹² and 'unyielding obstinacy',¹³ in terms which Augustine afterwards deplored as those of a man who wrote in a fit of 'irritation', though 'with the indignation of a brother'.¹⁴ Language equally strong is used in repudiation of the appeal to tradition by contrast with the sounder argument from truth,¹⁵ and from Scripture.¹⁶

¹ *Ep.* lxxv, § 25 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 826).

² 'Stephanus dixit', says Firmilian, 'quasi apostoli eos, qui ab haeresi veniunt, baptizari prohibuerint et hoc custodiendum posteris tradiderint.' This appears to be the drift of the Pope's letter; but we only have Stephen's opinions in quotation by his adversaries. *Ep.* lxxv, §§ 5, 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 813 sq.), and Document No. 155.

³ *Ep.* lxxv, § 17 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 821).

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 25 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 827).

⁵ e. g. *Ep.* lxxix, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 758 sq.).

⁶ *Ep.* lxxv, § 25 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 826).

⁷ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* VII. v, § 4; *Letters*, 49 sq. (ed. Feltoe).

⁸ *Ep.* lxxv, § 24 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 825).

⁹ Cf. E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 584.

¹⁰ *Ep.* lxxiv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 799). Stephen's letter is, unfortunately, not now extant.

¹¹ *Ep.* lxxiv (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 799–809).

¹² *Ep.* lxxiv, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 801).

¹³ *Ibid.*, § 7 (*ib.* III. ii. 805).

¹⁴ Aug. *De Baptismo*, v, § 36 (*Op.* ix. 158 A, B; *P. L.* xliii. 194).

¹⁵ *Ep.* lxxiv, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 806).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, § 10 (*ibid.* III. ii. 808).

In the autumn, however, the vehemence of letters gave place to deliberation in Council ; for on 1 September 256 there met the seventh Council of Carthage and third on Baptism.¹ Eighty-seven bishops from Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania were present, with presbyters, deacons, and laity in attendance. They read the letter from Jubaianus with the capital document of the discussion sent in reply to him,² and the letter to Pope Stephen.³ Then Cyprian, as president, made a brief oration with allusion to what we now call the papal, in contrast with the Catholic, theory of the episcopate. ' No one of us setteth himself up as bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying, inasmuch as every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another, than he can himself judge another.' ⁴ The bishops responded by giving their opinions in turn ; and they decided unanimously, with and through Cyprian, in accordance with his letter to Jubaianus, that ' heretics . . . when they come to the Church, are to be baptized with the one only baptism of the Church, that they may be made . . . of antichrists, Christians ' .⁵

It was risking schism to flourish in the face of Pope Stephen a statement so emphatic and so numerously signed. The Africans felt, therefore, their need of support ; and Cyprian sent a deacon, Rogatian by name,⁶ to announce their decision to Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, as to the foremost bishop of the East. The deacon took with him a letter from Cyprian, and copies of those to Jubaianus and to Pompey. Firmilian was of noble birth in Cappadocia,⁷ and a man of some consequence in what was then a city of some four hundred thousand people.⁸ He had studied under Origen,⁹ to whom he introduced Gregory Thaumaturgus.¹⁰ Both became bishops : Firmilian of Caesarea, 232-†72, in Cappadocia ; and Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, 245-†65, in Pontus.¹¹ Firmilian not only prevailed on his master to come

¹ Mansi, i. 951-65 ; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 177 ; *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 433-61 ; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 115-31 ; *L. F.* xvii. 286-303.

² *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 435.

³ § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 441).

⁴ *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 435 sq., and Document No. 156.

⁵ § 87 (*ibid.* 461), and Document No. 156.

⁶ *Ep.* lxxv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 810).

⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (*Op.* iii ; *P. G.* xlvi. 905 c).

⁸ Gibbon, c. x (i. 271, ed. Bury).

⁹ *Eus. H. E.* vi. xxvii.

¹⁰ See note 7.

¹¹ *Eus. H. E.* vii. xiv.

and lecture in his neighbourhood,¹ but sheltered him from persecution. Dionysius of Alexandria ranked him with 'the more illustrious bishops' of his time²: so does Eusebius.³ Basil, his successor in the see of Caesarea, appeals to him for support.⁴ And he was one of that influential band of 'Origenists of the right' in Asia and Syria, who succeeded in ousting Paul of Samosata from the bishopric of Antioch,⁵ and so stemmed the tide of adoptianist Monarchianism. Both as theologian,⁶ therefore, and as ruler, Firmilian carried weight. His letter—the seventy-fifth among Cyprian's epistles⁷—contains his answer to the appeal of the Africans. Firmilian supports Cyprian in favour of rebaptism,⁸ and he touches on several other subjects of interest: the papal claims, of which he makes short work⁹; annual synods¹⁰; ecstatic females and exorcism¹¹; the fixed and the *ex tempore* portions of the liturgy¹²; persecution¹³; the quasi-supremacy of Jerusalem¹⁴; and the unity of Christendom subsisting under wide diversity of outward practice.¹⁵

The merits of the controversy demand a brief notice before we leave it.

And, first, as to the protagonists: it is hard to better the judgement of Jeremy Taylor, †1667, in *The Liberty of Prophesying*. 'St. Cyprian', he says, 'did right in a wrong cause . . . and Stephen did ill in a good cause.'¹⁶ Certainly, Cyprian manifested faults of temper; but, in so far as he stood out for 'liberty, without loss of the right of communion, for each party to hold to his several opinion',¹⁷ he showed a large-hearted and statesmanlike 'charity',¹⁸ which

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxvii.

² Eus. *H. E.* vii. v, § 1; *Letters*, 45 (ed. Feltoe).

³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxvi, vii. xxviii, § 1.

⁴ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 74 (*Op.* iv. 64; *P. G.* xxxii. 208 B).

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, §§ 3–5.

⁶ He is an Eastern witness to the doctrine of original sin, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 149.

⁷ *Ep.* lxxv (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 810–27).

⁸ *Ibid.*, §§ 3, 4 (*ibid.* iii. ii. 811 sq.).

⁹ *Ep.* lxxv, §§ 6, 24, 25 (*ibid.* iii. ii. 813 sq., 825 sq.), and Document No. 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 4 (*ib.* iii. ii. 813).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 10 (*ib.* iii. ii. 817 sq.).

¹² *Ibid.*, § 10 (*ib.* 818).

¹³ Under Maximin the Thracian, 235–†8; § 10 (*ibid.* iii. ii. 816 sq.).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, § 6 (*ib.* iii. ii. 813).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, § 6 (*ib.* iii. ii. 813); cf. Socr. *H. E.* v. xxii, and Aug. *Ep.* liv, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 124 F; *P. L.* xxxiii. 201).

¹⁶ Jeremy Taylor, *The Liberty of Prophesying*, ii, § 23.

¹⁷ 'Salvo iure communionis diversa sentire,' Aug. *De Bapt.* vi, § 10 (*Op.* ix. 165 F; *P. L.* xliii. 202).

¹⁸ 'Caritas,' Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, ii, § 40 (*Op.* ix. 430; *P. L.* xliii. 490).

in spite of differences over a fundamental question, would have left Stephen as free to solve it in the right way as were Cyprian and his friends to solve it in the wrong. Stephen, on the other hand, had the better cause. He stood for a principle of comprehension, not for 'an exclusive orthodoxy'.¹ It was not till the pontificate of Paul IV, 1555-†9, that the Roman Church began the later tradition of exclusiveness²; and entered upon the policy, largely successful, as Cyprian foresaw,³ of attracting mankind by means of it.

Secondly, as to the principles at stake: they only came out clearly as a consequence of the controversy.

In regard to the validity of baptism by schismatics, Ignatius had asserted the unlawfulness of its administration apart from the bishop,⁴ though without entering into the question whether such an irregular act would necessarily be invalid. Cyprian affirmed its invalidity upon the, at first sight, reasonable ground that only those who belong to the Church can admit to the Church.⁵ But this opinion failed to maintain itself. Not that decisions of Councils which affirmed it were reversed by any Conciliar decisions to the contrary. It simply died down, because it failed to secure acceptance.

In regard to the validity of baptism administered by heretics, it might seem, no less reasonably, that only those who had 'the one faith' could give or receive 'the one baptism'.⁶ It was a difficult point; but so Tertullian argued,⁷ and Cyprian here followed his 'master',⁸ with the support, on the whole, of Africa, Asia, and Alexandria. The grace depends upon the faith⁹; and neither a heretic, nor any one else, can give what he does not possess.¹⁰ The opposition, headed by Pope Stephen, found the solution by having regard to the institution¹¹ rather than to

¹ L. von Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i. 393.

² Ibid. i. 213; R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iv. 379 sq.; and J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, vi. 79, 84, 112 sqq. (ed. 1898).

³ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 24 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 797).

⁴ Ignatius, *Ad Smyrnaeos*, viii, § 2, and Document No. 19.

⁵ *Ep.* lxix, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 756).

⁶ *Eph.* iv. 7.

⁷ Tert. *De baptismo*, c. xv; with which cf. *Ep.* lxxi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 771 sq.), and Document No. 151.

⁸ Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, c. liii (*Op.* ii. 892; *P. L.* xxiii. 663 A).

⁹ *Ep.* lxxiii, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 781), and Document No. 152.

¹⁰ *Epp.* lxix, § 11, lxx, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 759, 768).

¹¹ i. e. the 'opus operatum', a phrase carrying a true (as well as, before *Conc. Trid.* Sess. vii, can. 8 (de Sacramentis), a false) sense, viz. that 'the sacraments . . . be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise', Art. xxvi; cf. my *Thirty-nine Articles*, ii. 210.

the person. The sacrament was God's, and the human organ through whom it was administered could not affect it. So argues Cyprian's contemporary, the African bishop, and author of *De Rebaptismate*¹; and this view underlay the decision of the Council of Arles, 314, to the effect that 'if a man came over from heresy, he should be asked to repeat his Creed; and, if it were found that he was baptised in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, then he should simply be admitted by the laying on of the hand in order that he may receive the Holy Spirit. If, however, on being questioned, he should not confess this Trinity, then he should be baptized.'²

The East, however, only partially accepted the principle. Thus the Council of Nicaea, on hearing that some of the followers of Paul of Samosata 'had taken refuge with the Catholic Church', required that they should be baptized *de novo*.³ They used the right 'form', 'In the name, &c.', according to Athanasius, but had not a 'sound faith'.⁴ Accordingly, they were held by the Council 'not to have conferred a valid baptism'.⁵ So Cyril of Jerusalem says that 'heretics are rebaptized, because their former baptism was not baptism'.⁶ Athanasius insists that it is not enough to recite the names only; there must also be the right intention⁷; and that baptism by Arians and others who have not the true faith is vain.⁸ So rebaptism of heretics is the practice of the East to-day; and the re-ordination of heretics is, if not their practice, at least a 'liberty' they 'keep in reserve'.⁹

The West, more external, was more liberal; and it was left for Augustine—liberty is not all on the side of Alexandrianism—to develop the instinct of Pope Stephen into a great theological principle. It is the principle of the objectivity of the sacraments. 'We have not to consider', he argued, 'who gives but what he gives; who receives, but what he receives; who has, but what

¹ *De Rebaptismate*, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. iii. 82).

² Co. of Arles [A. D. 314], c. 8; Mansi, II. 472 A, B; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. 285, and Document No. 201.

³ Co. of Nicaea, c. 19; W. Bright, *Canons*², xliv. 76 sq.

⁴ Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* II, § 43 (*Op.* II. 404; *P. G.* xxvi. 237 B).

⁵ W. Bright, *Canons*², 77.

⁶ Cyril of Jer. *Procatechesis*, § 7 (*Op.* I. 6; *P. G.* xxxiii. 345 B); similarly Basil rules out the baptism of Encratites; *Ep.* cxcix, § 47 (*Op.* IV. 296 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 732 A).

⁷ Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* II, § 42 (*Op.* II. 403; *P. G.* xxvi. 237 A).

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 43 (*Op.* II. 404; *P. G.* xxvi. 237 B).

⁹ J. Wordsworth, *Ordination Problems*, 13.

he has'.¹ And for this reason: that while the act of baptizing is of the minister, the grace of baptism is of Christ,² and neither of the human baptizer nor of the human recipient.³ As Optatus⁴ and Ambrose⁵ had argued before him, Augustine insisted that the minister is simply a minister: for, as St. Thomas Aquinas was to put it after him, Christ is 'the principal agent'⁶ in all the sacraments—'Himself the Baptiser and Himself the Celebrant, Confirmer, Absolver, Ordainer'.⁷ Neither the faults, therefore, of the minister, whether wrong faith, i.e. heresy,⁸ or wrong intention, nor the sins, i.e. 'the unworthiness', of the minister, 'hinder the effect of the sacrament.'⁹ They can only do so on the theory common to Cyprian, the Donatists,¹⁰ Wycliffe,¹¹ and all Puritans since, that 'the minister is of the substance of the sacrament'.¹² This is the false 'sacerdotalism' that puts the minister between

¹ 'In ista quaestione de Baptismo non esse cogitandum quis det sed quid det; aut quis accipiat sed quid accipiat; aut quis habeat, sed quid habeat,' Aug. *De baptismo*, iv, § 16 (*Op.* ix. 130 F; *P. L.* xliii. 164), and Document No. 215.

² 'Baptizavit ergo Paulus tanquam minister, non tanquam ipsa potestas; baptizavit autem Dominus tanquam potestas,' Aug. *In Ioann. Tract.* v, § 7 (*Op.* iii. ii. 323 B; *P. L.* xxxv. 1417).

³ 'Cum baptisma verbis evangelicis datur, qualibet ea perversitate intelligat ille per quem datur, vel ille cui datur, ipsum per se sanctum est propter illum cuius est,' *ibid.* iv, § 18 (*Op.* ix. 132 F; *P. L.* xliii. 166), and Document No. 215; and, for a similar treatment of Baptism and Orders together, see Aug. *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, ii, § 28 (*Op.* ix. 44; *P. L.* xliii. 70).

⁴ e. g. 'Agnoscite [sc. you Donatists], quia non lavat homo, sed Deus. Quamdiu dicitis: "Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat?" Videte Dominum esse datorem . . . Dei est mundare, non hominis. . . . Ipse est ergo qui dat: ipsius est, quod datur,' Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum*, v, § 4 (*Op.* 84; *P. L.* xi. 1053 sq.).

⁵ 'Non mundavit Damasus, non mundavit Petrus, non mundavit Ambrosius, non mundavit Gregorius; nostra enim servitia, sed tua sunt sacramenta. Non enim humanae opis est divina conferre: sed tuum, Domine, munus et Patris est,' Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, i, § 18 (*Op.* ii. i. 603 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 708 B); cf. *De mysteriis*, § 27 (*Op.* ii. i. 332; *P. L.* xvi. 397 B).

⁶ *Summa Theol.* iii. lxiv. 1.

⁷ W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 155.

⁸ 'Quamobrem si evangelicis verbis "In nomine," etc., Marcion baptismum consecrabat, integrum erat sacramentum, quamvis eius fides . . . non esset integra,' Aug. *De baptismo*, iii, § 20 (*Op.* ix. 115 F; *P. L.* xliii. 147 sq.).

⁹ Art. xxvi.

¹⁰ Aug. *Contra Cresconium* [c. A. D. 406], ii, § 40 (*Op.* ix. 430 F; *P. L.* xliii. 490).

¹¹ The following proposition, connected with Wycliffe's theory that 'Dominion is founded in grace', was condemned at the Co. of London, 1382, and at the Co. of Constance, 1415: 'Si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali, non ordinat, conficit, nec baptizat,' Mansi, xxvi. 696 A, xxvii. 1207 E; and see Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, No. 480.

¹² Thomas Cartwright *ap.* Hooker, *E. P.* v. lxii, § 14.

the soul and God. Catholics owe it to St. Augustine that they are clear of it : for it was he who established the opposite principle which is that of the true sacerdotalism, viz. that ' the Church or her ministers are not instead of, but the instruments of, Christ '.¹ The validity of baptism depends, in short, upon ' the Master of the household ' ' whose the sacrament is ',² and not upon His ' stewards ' who are merely instruments of its bestowal ; and the same is true of the other sacraments, as, e.g. Ordination. So far as the faith of the recipient was concerned, Augustine³ developed the distinction between the validity of the sacrament and its efficacy, i.e. the benefit we derive from it. He held that true baptism is found with schismatics, but in the church alone is it found in a way that is efficacious for salvation,⁴ and while holding that heretical baptism is valid, he held also that its grace remained in abeyance till the heretic abjured his errors and joined the Church.⁵ But the baptism was true baptism all along ; and had it been administered by one unworthy, a man, he would say, may often be in doubt of his own conscience ; but of one thing he cannot but be certain, viz. of the mercy of Christ.⁶ [What then we have to bear in mind is neither who gives but what he gives : nor who receives but what he receives.]

§ 8. Enough of this controversy. The death of Pope Stephen, 2 August 257, relieved the tension, and Africa and Rome were reconciled under Pope Sixtus II,⁷ 257-†8, just before the renewal of the Decian persecution by Valerian.⁸

¹ E. P. Pusey, ' The entire absolution of the penitent ' in *Famous Sermons* (ed. D. Maclean), p. 259.

² ' Sacerdos . . . quamvis ipse non sit verax quod dat tamen verum est si non det suum sed Dei,' Aug. *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii, § 69 (*Op.* ix. 237 G ; *P. L.* xliii. 281).

³ ' Nec interest, cum de sacramenti integritate et sanctitate tractat, quid credat et qua fide imbutus sit ille qui accipit sacramentum. Interest quidem plurimum ad salutis viam, sed ad sacramenti quaestionem nihil interest,' Aug. *De Bapt.* iii, § 19 (*Op.* ix. 114 E ; *P. L.* xliii. 146).

⁴ ' Una . . . ecclesia . . . nec in qua sola unus baptismus habetur, sed in qua sola unus baptismus salubriter habetur,' Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, i, § 34 (*Op.* ix. 406 B ; *P. L.* xliii. 464).

⁵ Aug. *De Baptismo*, i, § 18 (*Op.* ix. 89 B, C ; *P. L.* xliii. 119), and Document No. 214.

⁶ Aug. *Contra Litt. Petil.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ix. 208 G ; *P. L.* xliii. 249).

⁷ Dio. Al. *ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. v, §§ 3-6 ; *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 49 sq. ; and ' Sixto bono et pacifico sacerdote ', Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*, § 14 (*C.S.E.L.* iii. i, p. cv).

⁸ On the persecution by Valerian see *Eus. H. E.* vii. x-xii ; E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 60-6 ; ib. *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, 101 sqq. ; and B. Aubé, *L'Église et l'État*, cc. vi, vii.

Valerian, who had been Censor¹ under Decius, occupied the throne 253-60. For more than half his reign he favoured the Christians²; and 'his entire house', says Dionysius of Alexandria, 'was a church of God'.³ But the empire was harassed by barbarian invaders; and the Emperor, urged by his minister Macrianus, thought to restore its unity by destroying the Church. Macrianus had his 'own reasons for antipathy to the Church. Not only was he an agnostic who disliked its teaching on the Providence of God and a judgement to come⁴; but he dabbled in magic,⁵ and would therefore incline to persecution because of the hostility of magicians to Christian exorcists⁶ as to a class who interfered with their trade. Macrianus then persuaded the Emperor to make an end of the Church. Decius had aimed at securing apostasy, and had sought to re-establish religious unity by forcing Christians to become pagans again. Valerian struck not at the Christian religion but at the Christian Church.⁷ He aimed at its hierarchy, its worship and its property.

The edicts by which he set out to accomplish these aims are two. The first was issued early in August 257. Its text is not extant; but its contents are ascertainable from two different sources which are in close agreement. These are the questions put to Cyprian, 30 August, when, in answer to a summons, he appeared before Aspasius Paternus, proconsul of Africa; and the sentence passed upon Dionysius of Alexandria by Aemilian, the prefect of Egypt. From these sources it is clear that the edict affected only persons in Holy Orders. Thus it ordered the removal of bishops from their sees and confined them within given districts. Cyprian was required, 14 September, to betake himself to Curubis, a town on the coast of Africa some fifty miles east of Carthage⁸; and Dionysius to keep to Kephro in Libya.⁹ It also forbade

¹ Gibbon, c. x (i. 247, 253: ed. Bury).

² Ibid., c. xvi (ibid. ii. 114).

³ Eus. *H. E.* vii. x, § 4; *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 71 sq.

⁴ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. x, § 6; *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 74.

⁵ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. x, § 4; *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 72.

⁶ Bingham, *Ant.* iii. iv, §§ 1-5; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 344.

⁷ P. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, 101.

⁸ *Acta proconsularia*, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i, p. cx); see also the *Acta* reprinted in O. von Gebhardt, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 124 sqq.; R. Knopf, *Märtyrerakten*, 75 sqq.; E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 63 sqq.; and tr. in *L. F.* iii, pp. xix sqq., and A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*, 161 sqq., and Document No. 157.

⁹ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. xi, §§ 10, 11; *Letters*, ed. Feltoe, p. 31, and Document No. 164.

assemblies for worship, and all access to the cemeteries,¹ where for the most part worship was conducted. Under this second provision nine bishops of Numidia were condemned to the mines at Sigus, which lay a few miles to the south-east of Cirta ; and with them other Christians who had probably infringed the edict by attending their ministrations. Cyprian sent succour to these by a sub-deacon and three acolytes ; and from their letters of thanks it is that we know of these incidents in the persecution.² The first enactment reads like an attempt to crush the Church without bloodshed. It probably took little effect ; and hence Valerian proceeded to a second, in a ' rescript ' of July 258, ' addressed to the Senate ' and accompanied by instructions for provincial governors. The ' rescript ' is summarized in the last but one of Cyprian's letters ; and it touches not only bishops, priests, and deacons, like the edict of the previous year, but certain of the laity also. ' It directs ', says Cyprian, ' that bishops, priests and deacons should forthwith be punished ; that senators and men of rank and Roman knights should lose their dignity and be deprived of their property, and if, when deprived of their possessions, they should still continue to be Christians, then they should lose their heads also ; that matrons should be deprived of their property and banished ; that whosoever of the employés on the imperial estates [a large body of men, throughout the empire] had either before confessed, or should now confess, should forfeit their property, and be sent in chains, as conscripts, to Caesar's farms '.³ The effect of these provisions was nicely calculated. Not only would the Church be deprived of her leaders, whether clergy or men of position among the laity ; but, by the confiscations, Christians would be robbed of their facilities for worship in the privately-owned cemeteries, while the State would find its exhausted coffers proportionately enriched. Confiscation was a mere accessory of banishment under Decius. With Valerian it was the principal thing.⁴

Martyrdoms followed hard upon this enactment ; and, as if anticipating its attack on the burial-places of Christians, the Roman church took the precaution of moving the bodies of Peter and Paul from their tombs at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way

¹ *Acta proc.*, § 1 ; Eus. *H. E.* vii. xi, § 10.

² Cyprian, *Epp.* lxxvi-lxxix (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 827-39).

³ *Ep.* lxxx, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 839 sq.), and Document No. 158.

⁴ P. Allard, *Le Christianisme*, &c., 108.

to a place of safety known as 'Ad Catacumbas' on the Appian Way. This was on June 29; and hence the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul observed on that day, and the story that the two Apostles were martyred not merely, as we know to have been the case, about the same time, but actually and together on the same day.¹ The precaution taken to preserve their relics was only just in time, for early in August the storm broke. On 6 August 258 Pope Sixtus II was martyred while teaching from his episcopal chair in the Cemetery of Praetextatus on the Appian Way. Four of his seven deacons perished with him.² Within a day or two Agapetus and Felicissimus, two more of the number, met their death³; and, seventh and last, on 6 August, St. Lawrence.⁴ He was roasted alive on a gridiron. With the worship thus conducted by the Pope and his seven deacons in the cemeteries is connected the martyrdom of Tarsicius the acolyte.⁵ He was bearing the Blessed Sacrament⁶ from one of the catacombs by the Appian Way to Christians within the city, when he was stopped by a band of soldiers. They wanted to see what it was that he had concealed beneath his cloak. Tarsicius refused to show, and was beaten to death. "He chose", said the epitaph which Damasus cut over his grave, some hundred and twenty years later, "rather to lay down his life under the blows than to betray that heavenly Body to mad dogs".⁷ Next year the persecution reached Africa; and on 14 September St. Cyprian was beheaded, by order of the proconsul Galerius Maximus, at Carthage.⁸ In Numidia the proprætor Veturius Veturianus put to death two bishops, Agapius and Secundinus, with two women, Tertulla and Antonia,⁹ at Cirta,¹⁰ 30 April 259,¹¹ and, on 6 May, at the great military colony of Lambæsis, James, a Deacon, and Marian, a Reader,¹² who had been stirred by their example. Passing to Spain, we find that Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, with his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, was burnt alive in the

¹ L. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i, pp. civ-cvii; Benson, 485.

² *Ep.* lxxx, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 840), and Document No. 158.

³ B. Aubé, *L'Église et l'État*, 369.

⁴ Th. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera*, 234 sqq.; A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*, 193 sq.; Aubé, 369, 373 sq.

⁵ Aubé, 379; Mason, 195.

⁶ Probably in a linen bag: see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁵, 352.

⁷ Mason, 195; for the epitaph, Damasus, *Carmen*, xviii (*P. L.* xiii. 392).

⁸ *Acta proconsularia*, §§ 3-6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. iii. pp. cxii-cxiv); Aubé, 387 sqq.; and Document No. 159.

⁹ Ruinart, 269, 272; Mason, 190.

¹⁰ Now Constantine, in Algiers.

¹¹ Aubé, 405.

¹² Ruinart, 268-74; Mason, 184 sqq.; Aubé, 405.

amphitheatre, 21 January 259.¹ Of martyrdoms in Gaul there are traces, but little authentic information.² In the East the popular sympathies had, for some time, been flowing in favour of the Christians³; and martyrdoms therefore, under the edicts of Valerian, proved fewer there than in the West. It was not only Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who survived the persecution, but other prelates of distinction, such as Helenus of Tarsus, Theoctistus of Caesarea in Palestine, Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neocaesarea in Pontus; and maligners made the most of the escape of Dionysius to charge him with putting the care of his flock second to his personal safety.⁴ Martyrs in the East were such as invited their fate. Thus at Caesarea in Palestine, Priscus Malchus and Alexander challenged the tribunal and were condemned to the wild beasts. With them suffered a Marcionite woman,⁵ though we do not know that she suffered by her own rashness. Cyril, a young *energumen*, perished by rushing upon his doom at Caesarea in Cappadocia.⁶ Nicephorus at Antioch took the place of an apostate because unforgiving priest, by name Sappricius, and was put to death, without more ado, for owning himself a Christian⁷; Leo, an aged ascetic at Patara in Lycia, for throwing down and trampling under foot the lights and tapers of the Temple of Fortune, was haled before the proconsul and thrown from the top of a rock⁸; and after the defeat and capture of Valerian by the Persians, October 260, Marinus, a soldier at Caesarea in Palestine, declared himself a Christian and was put to death.⁹

The persecution ceased with the imprisonment of its author Valerian. His colleague and son Gallienus, 260–†8, was one of those worthless Emperors¹⁰ who often proved the best friends of the Church. Prompted, perhaps, by his wife Salonina, and faced by the distracted condition of the Empire, he put out the first edict of toleration in a Rescript of 261. Addressing himself to Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, and other bishops, ‘I have

¹ Ruinart, 264–8; Mason, 195 sqq.; Aubé, 408 sqq.

² Aubé, 412.

³ Aubé, 421 sq.

⁴ Dio. Al. *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. xi, §§ 1, 2, and *Letters* (ed. Feltoe), 21.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xii; Mason, 198 sqq.; Aubé, 423.

⁶ Ruinart, 289 sq.; Mason, 198 sq.; Aubé, 423.

⁷ Ruinart, 282–8; Mason, 201 sq.; Aubé, 423 sq.; W. Bright, *The Seven Sayings from the Cross*, 23.

⁸ Ruinart, 565–8; Mason, 200 sq.; Aubé, 423 sq.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xv; Knopf, 78 sq.; Mason, 203; Aubé, 432 sqq.

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. x (i. 273 sq. : ed. Bury).

ordered', he writes, 'the bounty of my gift to be declared through all the world, that they may depart from the places of religious worship. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my Rescript, that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do, has already for a long time been conceded by me.'¹ Gallienus thus recognized the organization of the Church, its 'property, and its right to exist. These were recognized again by his capable but violent successor Aurelian,² 268-†75, when called upon to adjudicate in the case of Paul, bishop of Antioch, in 272.³ Two years later, however, Aurelian put out what Lactantius describes as 'a bloody edict',⁴ 274; but he died before it could be carried into effect.⁵ It was now all but proved an impossible task to crush the Church; and for forty years, 261-303, from the rescript of Gallienus to the edicts of Diocletian,⁶ Christianity, though not technically, as it was between the proclamations of Gallienus and Aurelian, a *religio licita*, was yet left in peace.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xiii, § 2, and Document No. 167.

² Gibbon, c. xi (i. 192: ed. Bury).

³ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 19.

⁴ Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 179).

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 20.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* viii. ii, §§ 4, 5.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INTERVAL OF PEACE, *c.* 260–300

BETWEEN the persecution under Valerian and that which was inaugurated by Diocletian there was a second period of peace for a generation. But we know little about the affairs of the Church during the interval. There went on apace, § 1, the expansion of Christianity; as, for example, through the missionary activity of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Then Christian theology found fresh development owing, § 2, to the discussion between the two Dionysii and, § 3, to the controversy over the case of Paul of Samosata. Finally, § 4, Manichaeism made its way, toward the end of this epoch, from Persia into the Roman Empire; and so there entered the field, in rivalry to Christianity, a creed which bade fair to become one of the great religions of the world.

§ 1. The spread of Christianity¹ can best be estimated if we compare its expansion at the beginning, with its range at the close, of the third century.

At its beginning Christian missions within the Empire had taken root in all its chief divisions; for, when the Paschal Question had reached its second stage, *c.* 190–200, in the controversy between Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, we find Christendom consisting of a federation of churches extending from Lyons in the West to Edessa—the modern Urfa—in the East.² The mention of Edessa carries us beyond the Empire; for at this time the kingdom of Osrhoene, of which Edessa was the capital, was not a part of the Empire but a vassal state. Christianity, it seems, had made a start there,³ before 150, among the Jews. It was first preached in Edessa by a Jew from Palestine, Addai by name. Aggai succeeded him; and then, *c.* 200, Hystasp. In his day the church of Edessa prospered; and gained Bardaisân,⁴ a distinguished writer and of noble birth, but could not keep him. He and his followers left

¹ A. Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity*, bk. iv, c. iv, 'Results' (ii. 452 sqq.).

² Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiii, §§ 2, 3; Harnack, ii. 467.

³ For this summary of the rise of Christianity in Edessa, see F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 33 sqq.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, c. viii.

the church, and continued, as a sect, till the fifth century. But early in the third the old order of State and Church disappeared in Osrhoene. The kingdom of Edessa was brought under the dominion of the Romans by Septimius Severus, 193-†211, and incorporated with the Empire, 216, by Caracalla.¹ Meanwhile, the Church of Edessa was renewed by a mission which derived its authority and its Orders to Palût, the new bishop, from Serapion, bishop of Antioch, c. 192-†209. Thus the first two of the four stages, typical elsewhere of Syriac-speaking Christianity, were accomplished in Edessa. First came an original Christianity, detached in spirit, as in tongue, from the Greek-speaking Christians of the Roman Empire. Next, episcopal succession, starting in Edessa from Palût. Then followed, as a rule, a period dominated either by nationalism or by the difficulty of keeping pace with Greek theology; and, finally, disruption. To the two latter stages we shall recur in a later chapter. Meanwhile, it is clear that Christianity, at the opening of the third century, had occupied, at least, the centres of civilization in the Empire from West to East; and had planted a vigorous colony on its eastern border.

At its close, four classes of territory² are discernible within the Empire: two in which Christians were numerous and formed either 'one half of the population' or a formidable minority; and two in which Christians were making way, whether weak, for the present, in numbers and influence or, as yet, very few. Thus to the first class belong the southern and western parts of Asia Minor and Thrace; to the second, Italy south of the Rubicon, Macedonia and Greece, Syria, northern Egypt, the African provinces, south-western Spain or Hispania Baetica, to which Illiberis (Elvira) belonged, where a Council³ was held, c. 300, of nineteen bishops, seven of whom came from Baetica, and finally southern Gaul. To the third class may be reckoned Italy from the Alps to the Rubicon, where we find a bishop of Ravenna for the first time, c. 200, and of Milan, c. 240; Pannonia, or the region bounded on the north and east by the Danube, and on the south by the Save; Moesia, roughly conterminous with what is now Serbia and Bulgaria; and Palestine with the neighbouring Arabia and the Greek cities on the coast of Phoenicia. The fourth class consists

¹ Gibbon, c. viii (i. 207 sq. : ed. Bury).

² Harnack, ii. 457 sqq.

³ Mansi, ii. 1 sqq. ; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 212 sqq. ; and Document No. 170.

of northern Gaul and Britain, where, however, there was a martyr, St. Alban,¹ in 304, while three British bishops attended the Council of Arles² in 314. In most of these regions Christianity had spread by the vitality native to a living faith; but in Pontus by the agency of Gregory Thaumaturgus,³ bishop of Neo-Caesarea,⁴ 240-†? 65. We are told by his biographer, Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, that, on arrival in Pontus, he found only seventeen Christians in his diocese.⁵ He started with a great reputation, as 'grand seigneur'⁶ and as scholar,⁷ for he was a pupil of Origen, 233-8.⁸ He combined the rôle of scholar and missionary, like Niceta, bishop of Remesiana and author of the *Te Deum*. In missionary policy he took the line, afterwards recommended by Gregory the Great through Mellitus to Augustine,⁹ of adapting heathen customs to the service of the Church,¹⁰ and the best testimony to his success survives in his surname of the Wonder-worker; for, though Eusebius is silent about his miracles, Basil¹¹ and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, who, a century later, represent the traditions of the neighbourhood, handed on from Gregory's time through their grandmother Macrina, are full of them.

Thus Christendom, within the Roman world, c. 300, was growing, but not at a uniform rate. It included but a small fraction, yet a fraction of every class in the Empire; while,

¹ A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 3 sqq.; W. Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*³, 9.

² Mansi, ii. 476 E.

³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxx, vii. xiv, xxviii; Jerome, *De vir. Illustr.* c. lxxv (*Op.* ii. 905; *P. L.* xxii, 675-8); Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iv. 315 sqq.; *D. C. B.* i. 730-7.

⁴ Now Niksar.

⁵ Greg. Nyss. *Vita S. Greg. Thaum.* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 953 D); so, too, Basil, *De Spiritu sancto*, § 74 (*Op.* iv. 62; *P. G.* xxxii. 205 B).

⁶ Greg. Nyss. *Vita* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 900 A).

⁷ For his works see (1) *In Origenem Oratio Panegyrica*, 238 (*P. G.* x. 1049-1104), tr. in *Origen the Teacher* ('Early Christian Classics', S.P.C.K., 1907); (2) his *Expositio Fidei*, a brief but clear exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, composed c. 260-70 (*P. G.* x. 983-8, and A. Hahn, *Symbole*³, § 185); (3) his *Epistola Canonica*, 254 (*P. G.* x. 1019-48, and M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 253-64), important as one of the earliest treatises on Christian casuistry; and (4) his *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten* (*P. G.* x. 987-1018). Cf. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, i. 322, n. 1, and Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 171 sq.; and Translations in *A.-N. C. L.*, vol. xx.

⁸ For his relations with Origen, note (a) Gregory's account of the circumstances that led to his introduction to Origen at Caesarea, in *Panegyrica*, § 5 (*P. G.* x. 1064 sqq.), and (b) Origen's letter to Gregory in *Philocalia*, c. xiii (ed. J. A. Robinson, 64-7, and tr. G. Lewis, 57-60, or *Origen the teacher*).

⁹ Bede, *H. E.* i. 30.

¹⁰ Greg. Nyss. *Vita*, § 27 (*Op.* iii, 574; *P. G.* xlvi. 953 c).

¹¹ e. g. Basil, *De Spiritu sancto*, § 74 (*Op.* iv. 62; *P. G.* xxxii. 205 c).

ethnographically, it was found in the territories of four languages, Latin, Greek, Aramaic, and Coptic. It was thus, already, an international religion.

But it also passed beyond the frontiers; for, c. 300, we find it, with adherents gained through Syro-Greek agencies, in Persia and Armenia, and, through Hellenist agencies, in Arabia, where, c. 240, Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, had been recovered from Monarchianism by a visit from Origen.¹ The church in Parthia² and, after 226, in Persia³ owed its faith to missionaries from Edessa; for on either side of the frontier between the empires of Rome and Persia men spoke, in common, the Syrian tongue⁴: yet John, a bishop from Persia,⁵ was present at the Greek-speaking Council of Nicaea. There were Armenian Christians when Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria †265, wrote to them, under Meruzanes their bishop, on the subject of penance.⁶ They may have owed their faith to two quarters. From the West, i.e. from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, came Greek-speaking clergy and catechists; and from the South came missionaries of the Syrian tongue who penetrated Armenia from Edessa and Nisibis. The Christianization of the kingdom had thus begun by a process of infiltration when its sovereign, Tiridates III, 286⁷–†317, found it politic to adopt the religion of the Romans, and sent to Leontius,⁸ archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, for Gregory the Illuminator,⁹ c. 302, to be his agent in the conversion of his country.¹⁰ We reserve the story of the founding of the 'national Church'¹¹ of Armenia for a later chapter, and pass on next to the theology of the period.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xx, § 2, xxxiii, §§ 1–3.

² In 226 'the formidable power of the Parthians, which spread from India to the frontiers of Syria, was . . . subverted by Ardeshir, or Artaxerxes [226–†41], the founder of a new dynasty which, under the name of Sassanidae, governed Persia till the invasion of the Arabs'. A 'great revolution, whose fatal influence was soon experienced by the Romans', Gibbon, c. viii (i. 196: ed. Bury).

³ For the traditions of its origin, and a criticism of them, see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire perse*, c. i (Lecoffre: Paris, 1904).

⁴ L. Duchesne, *The Churches separated from Rome*, 14 sq.

⁵ See his signature among the 'nomina episcoporum', No. 83, in C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima*, i. i. 54.

⁶ Dio. *Al. ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlvi, § 2.

⁷ 'In the third year of Diocletian's reign [17 November 284–1 May 305] Tiridates was invested with the kingdom of Armenia,' Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 366: ed. Bury).

⁸ *D. C. B.* iii. 687.

⁹ *D. C. B.* ii. 737–9.

¹⁰ J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Antioch*, 74–8.

¹¹ L. Duchesne, *The Churches separated from Rome*, 18.

§ 2. Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria,¹ 247-†65, at a time when his namesake Dionysius was bishop of Rome,² 259-†68.

Born, rather before A.D. 200,³ of heathen parents, Dionysius was led to Christianity by his own studies,⁴ and became a pupil of Origen.⁵ In 232 he was made Head of the Catechetical School in succession to Heraclas,⁶ and apparently continued to hold that office for a while after succeeding him again⁷ as bishop of Alexandria, 247-†65. Dionysius was thus contemporary with Cyprian, and some ten or fifteen years younger than his master, Origen. By common consent he was greatly venerated, being styled 'the Great' by Eusebius⁸ and Basil,⁹ 'a doctor of the Catholic Church' by Athanasius,¹⁰ and 'a man of canonical authority' by Basil.¹¹ He was, in fact, a man of great distinction, both as philosopher and as critic.

As philosopher Dionysius, in his *De Natura*,¹² written probably just before his elevation to the episcopate, attacks the atomism¹³ of Epicurus, 342-†270 B.C.; and, in developing against it the argument from design, insists that 'Providence is concerned not only for utility but for beauty'.¹⁴ Here he puts the argument at its strongest; for 'when the materialist has exhausted himself in efforts to explain utility in Nature, it would appear to be the peculiar office of beauty to rise up suddenly as a confounding and baffling extra'.¹⁵ Dionysius is thus one of the first to call attention to the 'aesthetic aspect of the argument from design', the aspect 'to which the Fathers, with their evidently intense appreciation of Nature, chiefly appeal'.¹⁶

As critic the gifts of Dionysius appear in what remains of his

¹ C. L. Feltoe, *The Letters of Dio. Al.* (Cambridge, 1904), tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xx. 157-266; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iv. 242-88.

² Tillemont, iv. 341-4.

³ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxvii, § 2.

⁴ Ibid. vii. vii, § 3.

⁵ Ibid. vi. xxix, § 4.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xxix, § 4.

⁷ Ibid. vi. xxxv.

⁸ Ibid. vii. prooem.

⁹ Basil, *Ep.* clxxxviii (*Op.* iv. 269; *P. G.* xxxii. 668 B).

¹⁰ Ath. *De sententia Dionysii*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 194; *P. G.* xxv. 488 B).

¹¹ Basil, *Ep.* clxxxviii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 268; *P. G.* xxxii. 664 c).

¹² Text in Feltoe, 127-64; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xx. 171-87.

¹³ Feltoe, 132, l. 6-133, l. 5; for the atomism of Epicurus see E. Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, 444 sqq.

¹⁴ Ibid. 150, ll. 1 sq.

¹⁵ J. B. Mozley, *University Sermons*⁸, 125 (ed. 1895).

¹⁶ J. R. Illingworth, *Personality*, 255-7 (ed. 1894); and for the Fathers' appreciation of Nature, cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xvi, § 12, where he explains why the Spirit is described under the figure of water (John vii. 38 sq.), because water is responsible for the variety and beauty of nature (*Op.* i. 249; *P. G.* xxxiii. 933), or Basil, *Ep.* xiv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 93 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 276 sq.), tr. in J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, c. viii.

*De promissionibus*¹—a treatise written, c. 253–7, to deal with the chiliasm of Nepos, bishop of Arsinoë, otherwise Crocodilopolis, in middle Egypt. Nepos had written a *Refutation of the Allegorists*, a title which suggests that, instead of Origen's fanciful *exegesis*, he desired a more literal interpretation. In particular, 'he taught', according to Eusebius, 'that the promises made to the saints in the Scripture will be fulfilled in a Jewish sense, and maintained that there will be a thousand years of carnal enjoyments upon this earth, and so thinking to support his hypothesis from the *Revelation* of John he wrote his *Refutation of the Allegorists*'.² Dionysius had already taken pains to rid Arsinoë of millenarianism by personally presiding there over a three days' discussion of the subject, after the death of Nepos. He succeeded in the effort; for Coracion, who had now become 'the author and mover of this teaching', renounced it before the conference broke up.³ Dionysius, however, thought it opportune to sum up the results of the discussion, and he embodied them in his *De promissionibus*. In the first book he gave his own views about the fulfilment of God's promises. In the second, from which extracts have been preserved by Eusebius,⁴ he commented on the authority of *The Apocalypse*. First, he dealt with the position of those who, like the *Alogi* of Epiphanius,⁵ rejected its Johannine authorship, and assigned it to Cerinthus. This Judaizing Gnostic had held materializing notions of the return of Christ to reign on earth.⁶ A literal interpretation of *The Apocalypse* might be held to favour such notions. They therefore assigned it to Cerinthus.⁷ But Dionysius held, in reply, that the literal interpretation was untenable: while as to the authorship, he ascribed it, indeed, to some inspired person named John, but could not agree that he is the Apostle of that name who wrote the Gospel and the Catholic Epistle.⁸ There is a 'difference in character'⁹ between 'the two writers, as is shown in the free use of his name by the one and the constant suppression of it by the other'.¹⁰ There is a difference

¹ Text in Feltoe, 105–26; tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xx. 161–70.

² Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxiv, §§ 1, 2. ³ Ibid., §§ 6–9; Feltoe, 113, l. 5.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxiv, xxv.

⁵ Epiph. *Haer.* li, § 3 (*Op.* i. 423; *P. G.* xli. 892 A).

⁶ Caius and Dionysius, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. xxviii, §§ 2, 4, 5.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxv, § 2; Feltoe, 115, ll. 2–4.

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxv, § 7; Feltoe, 117, ll. 3–9.

⁹ Ibid., § 8; Feltoe, 117, l. 9.

¹⁰ Ibid., §§ 8–11; Feltoe, 118, l. 1–119, l. 12.

in 'the ideas and expressions employed by them'.¹ And there is a difference in style²: 'ungrammatical forms of speech and syntax' are absent in the one, and prevalent in the other. Well has it been said there 'is no other piece of pure criticism in the early Fathers to compare . . . for style and manner'³ with this specimen of the critical powers of Dionysius. Of its effect in delaying the recognition of the *Apocalypse* as canonical, we have already spoken.⁴

But whatever the distinction of Dionysius as philosopher and critic, his main interests were those of the pastor and ruler. He was taken prisoner, but escaped,⁵ in the persecution under Decius, 250-1. In the persecution, 257-8, under Valerian, he was banished to Kephro⁶; and then to Colluthion, in the Mareotis, 'a still more savage and Libya-like place'⁷; but he returned,⁸ March 262, upon the toleration proclaimed by Gallienus. In the controversies that arose out of the persecutions, he intervened with wise and moderating effect: for in the case of the lapsed, he allowed reconciliation, on repentance⁹; in regard to Novatian, he showed himself 'a pattern of controversial sweetness'¹⁰; and in the matter of the Rebaptism of Heretics, while accepting them himself with no more than laying-on of hands,¹¹ he would not have the liberty of those churches threatened which required them to be 'baptized'.¹² He defended himself with spirit against the accusations of cowardice and neglect of duty brought against him by a bishop, Germanus, because of his flight¹³; and in response to a special invitation that he would attend the Council of Antioch, 264, in order to deal with the case of Paul of Samosata, he gave his views by letter and excused himself, on the ground of age and infirmity, from going in person.¹⁴ He died in the following year,¹⁵ 265: 'a model . . . of all episcopal excellences',¹⁶

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxv, § 17; Feltoe, 121, l. 5, and Document No. 165.

² Ibid., § 24; Feltoe, 124, l. 3.

³ B. F. Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*⁵ 367, n. 1.

⁴ *Supra* c. x.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xl; Feltoe, 23-7.

⁶ Ibid. vii. xi, § 5; Feltoe, 29, l. 12.

⁷ Ibid. vii. xi, § 14; Feltoe, 33, l. 12.

⁸ Ibid. vii. xxi, § 1.

⁹ Ibid. vi. xlii, § 6 (Feltoe, 18, l. 10-19, l. 4), and xlii, §§ 2-6 (Feltoe, 19-21).

¹⁰ Benson, *Cyprian*, 142; Eus. *H. E.* vi. xlv; Feltoe, 38-9, and Document No. 161.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 4; Feltoe, 53 sq.

¹² Ibid., § 5; Feltoe, 54 sq.

¹³ Eus. *H. E.* vi. xl, and vii. xi, §§ 1-19; Feltoe, 21-36.

¹⁴ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxvii, § 2.

¹⁵ Ibid. vii. xxviii, § 3.

¹⁶ W. Bright, *The Roman See*, &c., 54; cf. G. Salmon, *Introduction to N. T.*², 230.

for he combined a conciliatory temper with definite convictions, earnest piety with good sense, humour¹ with judgement, the gifts of a teacher and student with those of a wise ruler.² In his own generation men turned to him for advice and guidance from all sides; and in those that came after, Catholic and Arian were equally anxious to take shelter under his name.

The correspondence of Dionysius with his namesake³ provided occasion for these rival claims.

First, as to its external history. The authorities for it, besides Eusebius, are the anti-Arian writers of the fourth century: Athanasius, in the *De sententia Dionysii*⁴ [? 352] and the *De decretis Nicaenae Synodi*⁵ [351-5], and Basil in his ninth epistle⁶ and the *De Spiritu Sancto*⁷ [c. 375]. The controversy originated owing to the spread of Sabellianism, after the death of Sabellius, throughout his native district of the Libyan Pentapolis, i.e. the five cities of Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemais, and Sozusa in what is now Tripoli. In 257 Dionysius had already called the attention of Sixtus II, 257-†8, to this new development⁸; but the heresy gained such a hold in the neighbourhood that bishops were infected, and 'the Son of God was scarcely any longer preached in the churches'.⁹ Dionysius felt bound to intervene: 'he himself had the care of those churches'.¹⁰ In a letter of 260 he set himself to 'expound from the Gospels the human nature of the Saviour'.¹¹ His opponents laid complaint against him before Dionysius of Rome on five points.¹² (1) He had separated the Father from the Son.¹³ (2) He had denied the eternity of the Son and, by con-

¹ In support of the argument that design in nature is clear from its concern not only for the useful but for the beautiful, he says, 'thus the hair is a kind of protection and covering for the whole head, and the beard is a seemly ornament for the philosopher', Feltoe, 150, ll. 1-3. In those days every man shaved, except philosophers. Cf. Julian, and the proverb, 'Growing a beard does not make a philosopher', which is the earlier equivalent of 'The cowl does not make the monk'.

² e.g. the letter to Basilides, on the proper hour for bringing the fast before Easter to a close, Feltoe, 91-105, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 223-32.

³ Feltoe, 168-98; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xx. 189-96.

⁴ *Ath. Op.* i. 191-207 (*P. G.* xxv. 479-522); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iv. 176-87.

⁵ §§ 25, 26 (*Op.* i. 180-3; *P. G.* xxv. 459-66); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iv. 166-9.

⁶ § 2 (*Op.* iv. 90; *P. G.* xxxii. 267-70); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* viii. 122.

⁷ § 72 (*Op.* iv. 60-1; *P. G.* xxxii. 201-4); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* viii. 45.

⁸ *Eus. H. E.* vii. vi; Feltoe, 51.

⁹ *Ath. De sent. Dion.*, § 5 (*Op.* i. 194; *P. G.* xxv. 485 c); Feltoe, 166, n. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Feltoe, 166, n. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Feltoe, 166, n. 5.

¹² Feltoe, 166 sq.

¹³ *Ath. De sent. Dion.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 200; *P. G.* xxv. 504 c).

sequence, the eternal paternity of the Father.¹ (3) He had named the Father without the Son, and the Son without the Father.² (4) He had virtually rejected the term *ὁμοούσιος* ('of one substance [essence] with') as descriptive of the Son in relation to the Father.³ (5) He had spoken of the Son as a creature of the Father, and had used misleading illustrations of their relation, e.g. that the Son was 'not by nature proper, but foreign in essence, to the Father', who stood to Him 'as a husbandman to his vine' or 'as a shipbuilder to his boat'.⁴ These charges, if true, were serious; and Dionysius of Rome felt that he had no choice but to convene his Synod in order to examine, and advise upon, them. The Synod of Rome condemned the expressions complained of; and the Roman bishop wrote two letters concerning them. The first was addressed, in the name of the Synod, to the Church of Alexandria, not mentioning its bishop by name but correcting his views. This is the extant *Epistola Dionysii Romani adversus Sabellianos*.⁵ The other was a private letter, addressed to Dionysius himself, and asking for an explanation. This the bishop of Alexandria readily gave, in four books entitled his *Elenchus et Apologia*.⁶ This *Refutation* appears to have satisfied contemporary opinion, and was of high repute in the next generation. The Arians appealed to it. Athanasius defended its orthodoxy against them: whence its preservation, in part. But Basil was more critical.⁷ By his day the main controversy with Arianism was over. And he was under no obligation, like Athanasius, of loyalty towards a distinguished predecessor.

Two aspects of the controversy between the Dionysii are of permanent interest: the first, ecclesiastical, for it bears on the claims of the Roman see⁸; the second, theological, for it marks a stage in the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity.

To take, first, its bearing on the position of the Roman see:

¹ Ath. *De sent. Dion.*, § 14 (*Op.* i. 199; *P. G.* xxv. 501 B).

² Ibid., § 16 (*Op.* i. 200; *P. G.* xxv. 504 C).

³ Ibid., § 18 (*Op.* i. 201; *P. G.* xxv. 505 B).

⁴ Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* i. 193; *P. G.* xxv. 485 A). Cf. 'I am the vine and my father is the husbandman', John xv, 1.

⁵ Preserved, in part, in Ath. *De decretis*, § 26 (*Op.* i. 181-3; *P. G.* xxv. 461-6); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 373-7; Feltoe, 176-82, and Document No. 168.

⁶ The fragments are collected in Feltoe, 182-98.

⁷ Basil, *Ep.* ix [A. D. 361], § 2 (*Op.* iv. 90; *P. G.* xxxii. 267-70); Feltoe, 175.

⁸ On this aspect of the matter see A. Robertson, *Athanasius* (*N. and P.-N. F.* iv), pp. lxxvi, 175; W. Bright, *The Roman See*, 53-5; E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 1262.

The facts are, briefly, three. When the opponents of Dionysius of Alexandria wanted aid against him, they had recourse not to a synod of local bishops, but to the Roman see. The Roman bishop took up the case, and asked for an explanation. The explanation was promptly given. The question is, therefore, whether the letter of Dionysius of Rome was simply the request of one co-trustee to another for an explanation of his colleague's action in a matter concerning their common trust? Or, whether it was coupled with an assumption of jurisdiction parallel to that involved in the letter of the bishop of Alexandria to the bishops of Libya? The answer turns upon considerations such as the following. First, the fragment of the letter of Dionysius of Rome tells us nothing of the form of intervention, nor is there any positive evidence in either document for any assumption of jurisdiction. Secondly, Dionysius of Alexandria replied, indeed, to the written inquiries of his namesake; but the fragments of his answer show that he wrote from a position of independence, nor is there anything in the narrative of Athanasius which implies that the Alexandrian bishop recognized, or that the Roman bishop claimed, authoritative jurisdiction in this case, as belonging to the Roman see.¹ Thirdly, in dealing with previous 'popes' of Rome the 'pope' of Alexandria had 'entreated'² Stephen and had asked Sixtus for his 'opinion'.³ But his 'entreaties' were characteristic of his good manners and conciliatory temper; and it was the 'advice'³ of a 'brother'³ that he wanted to have.

Nevertheless, the reference of the matter to Rome both illustrates the characteristics, and advanced the authority of the Roman church. The letter of Dionysius of Rome, in its indifference to theological reasoning and in its close adherence to the rule of faith as the authoritative solution of all questions of doctrine, marks the genius of his church as contrasted with that of the church of Alexandria; and this is the more noteworthy in that its author was 'the only theologian, in the first three centuries, among the occupants of'⁴ the Roman see. In this there is a striking family likeness⁵ between the letter of Dionysius to the Alexandrians and those of Leo to Flavian⁶

¹ Cf. *D. C. B.* i. 851.

² *Eus. H. E.* vii. v, § 5; Feltoe, 50, l. 10.

³ *Eus. H. E.* vii. ix, § 2; Feltoe, 56 sq.

⁴ W. Bright, *Roman See*, 53 sq.

⁵ Cf. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iii. 94.

⁶ *Lectis dilectionis tue* of 13 June 449; Leo, *Ep.* xxviii (*Op.* i. 801-38; *P. L.* liv. 755-82); Jaffé, *Regesta*, No. 423.

before the fourth General Council, 451, and of Agatho¹ to the Byzantine Emperors before the sixth, 680. Further, the recourse of the Alexandrians to the Roman bishop was not lost upon his successors or upon those who sought his aid. Julius I, in his letter to the Eusebians at Antioch, 340, had it clearly in mind when claiming a peculiar prerogative for his see over the affairs of ‘the church of the Alexandrians’²; and it was equally in the mind of their patriarch Cyril when, in the case of Nestorius, he also wrote, about April 430, of there being a ‘custom’³ in favour of reference to the Roman see. It was too good a precedent for Rome, and those who sought her assistance, not to turn it to account.

We pass now to the theological interest⁴ of the correspondence between the two Dionysii; and we have to consider, first, the arguments advanced by the two protagonists; next, the points on which they were at variance; and finally, how their misunderstandings came about.

Dionysius of Rome appears to have dealt,⁵ in the first part of his letter, with the teaching of the Sabellians. He then goes on, in its second portion now preserved by Athanasius, to deal with the way in which his colleague had met Sabellianism. He writes, though a Western, in good Greek; and takes exception to two points. First, he says, ‘some of your’ Alexandrian ‘catechists and teachers’⁶ are virtually tritheists: for, in answer to Sabellius, who ‘blasphemously says that the Son is the Father and the Father the Son, they in some sort preach three Gods; for they divide the sacred Monad into three subsistences foreign to each other and utterly separate’.⁷ This expression is stronger than any which Dionysius of Alexandria is known to have used; but it may represent the drift of his teaching either as repeated by his inferior clergy or as reported by opponents. At any rate, continues the Roman bishop, it is open to objection. It ignores three things of importance: the essential ‘unity’ there is between

¹ *Consideranti mihi* of 27 March 680; Mansi, xi. 234–86; *P. L.* lxxxvii. 1161–1214; Jaffé, No. 2109; Hefele (Engl. tr.), v. 142–5.

² *Ath. Apol. c. Ar.*, § 35 (*Op.* i. 121; *P. G.* xxv. 308 A).

³ Cyril of Al. *Ep.* xi, § 1 (*Op.* x. 36; *P. G.* lxxxvii. 80 B).

⁴ J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 377–86; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Introduction to the History of Chr. Doctrine*, 113–18.

⁵ Feltoe, 168 sqq.

⁶ *Ibid.* 177, ll. 5, 6.

⁷ *Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ξένas ἀλλήλων, παντάπασι κεχωρισμένas διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα*, *Ibid.* 178, ll. 3–5.

'the God of the universe' and 'the Divine Word'; the 'repose' and 'abiding in God' of the Holy Ghost¹; and 'the gathering up and bringing together' of the Word and the Spirit into the Father, 'in one as in a summit'.² It is, in fact, a reversion to the Marcionite notion of three 'sources'³ or 'first-principles' in the Godhead, instead of one; and a denial therefore of the Divine Monarchy. Secondly, Alexandrian teachers think of the Son as a product or 'work'⁴ of the Father. They use figures to describe the relation of Father and Son which have a materialistic⁵ tinge, like that of the shipwright and his boat. They deny the eternity of the Word as in the phrase 'He came to be Son, and so once He was not'.⁶ And they overlook the fact that the Scriptures speak of the Son as 'begotten' but never as having 'come into being'.⁷ Dionysius is fair enough in pointing out the materializing tendency of some of his colleague's comparisons; but for the rest is somewhat lacking in penetration. Alexandrians distinguished between the Immanent Word, the Personal Word, and the Word Incarnate⁸; and, as it is uncertain in which of these senses Dionysius of Alexandria had spoken of the Word, it is not clear that he had denied His eternity. Of such subtle distinctions, it may be, his critic was unaware; and he concludes, *more Romano*, by deprecating the attempt to find a logical harmony between the Triad and the Monarchy: better fall back upon the plain statements of the Creed.⁹

The arguments of Dionysius of Alexandria, in reply, can best be followed as he defends himself against the five charges laid to his door.

As to the charge (1) of separating Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—a charge which Dionysius of Rome took up—he denies it. The Names are inseparable. One cannot mention 'Father' without implying its correlative 'Son'; nor 'Spirit' without

¹ 'Here he states the doctrine afterwards known as that of the *Περίχώρησις*, circumincessio or co-inherence of the Divine Three with each other, the test at once against Arianism and Tritheism', J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*⁷, ii. 72; cf. W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 190.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 5-10.

³ *Τρεῖς ἀρχάς*, Feltoe, 178, l. 11. This is a later development of Marcionism: God, the Creator and the Evil Spirit were the three first principles of the Marcionites, according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 304; *P. G.* xli. 697 D), and cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. xiii, §§ 3, 4. ⁴ *ποίημα*, Feltoe, 179, l. 5.

⁵ *Χειροποίητον τροπὸν τινά*, *ibid.* 179, ll. 10, 11.

⁶ *Εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν υἱός, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*, *ibid.* 179, l. 11.

⁷ *Γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ γεγονέναι*, *ibid.* 181, l. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.* 169, n. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.* 182, ll. 3, 4.

involving His Source and His Channel.¹ It may be noted in passing, if we have here a view of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, it is that which Dionysius owes to his master, Origen.² But the context seems to show that Dionysius is thinking rather of the Temporal,³ than of the Eternal, Mission of the Holy Spirit.

As to (2) the eternity of the Son, Dionysius is equally emphatic. Starting from the well-known illustration, Alexandrian in origin,⁴ of the source of light and its ray, he affirms that God was always Father⁵ and therefore Christ was always Son; just as, if the sun in the heavens were eternal, the daylight would also be eternal.⁶ The Son, in short, is to the Father as 'light from light'⁷: a phrase, perhaps, already incorporated into the Creeds of various churches.⁸

The accusation of (3) naming the Father without the Son and the Son without the Father is already refuted by the answer to (1); but that of (4) virtually rejecting *ὁμοούσιος*⁹ is not so easily disposed of. Dionysius acknowledges that, as he did not find the term in Scripture,¹⁰ he had not used it. But he maintained that he had employed figures which suggested a similar kinship between Father and Son, e.g. that of parent and child who are 'of one kin'.¹¹ He failed to perceive that such figures reach only to the generic, and not to the essential oneness of the Godhead; and, further, even in the *Elenchus* it appears that *ὁμοούσιος* is not used.

The fifth charge is that of (5) overstating the Filial Subordina-

¹ Feltoe, 191, 192, ll. 1-5.

² H. B. Swete, *History of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 65.

³ Τοῦ πέμποντος [*sc.* the Father] and τοῦ φέροντος [*sc.* the Son], Feltoe, 192, l. 10.

⁴ Wisd. vii. 26; Heb. i. 3; Feltoe, 186, l. 11.

⁵ Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἦν Πατήρ, *ibid.* 186, l. 4. So Alexander, at the first rise of Arianism, *ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* i. iv, § 26, and Athanasius, *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 330; *P. G.* xxvi. 41 B).

⁶ Feltoe, 187, ll. 4, 5.

⁷ Φῶς ἐκ φωτός, *ibid.* 187, l. 14.

⁸ As in the baptismal creed of his church which Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, produced at the Council of Nicaea, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* i. viii. 38. It may well go back to c. 260 or earlier.

⁹ Feltoe, 187 sq.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 189, ll. 1, 2. The non-Scriptural character of *ὁμοούσιος* became a standing objection to it. Athanasius replied that, in face of Arian evasiveness, the bishops who imposed *ὁμοούσιον* at Nicaea, had 'to collect the sense of the Scriptures', *De decretis*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 177; *P. G.* xxv. 452 B). Cf. 'Nec haec novitas vitanda est, cum non sit profana; utpote a Scripturarum sensu non discordans', St. Thomas Aq. *Summa*, I^a, qu. xxix, art. 3, ad. 1, and 'The sense of Scripture is Scripture', D. Waterland, *Works*³, iii. 652 (Oxford, 1856); H. P. Liddon, *B. L.* 42.

¹¹ ὁμογενῆ, Feltoe, 189, l. 5.

tion. If the *ordo* in question be that of thought, then the doctrine of the Subordination of the Son means simply that in thinking of the Godhead we must always begin with the Father. The better term for it would be the *Principatus Patris*¹; for it is not only a Catholic doctrine but one which, in asserting that Son and Spirit, though equal to, are derived from,² and, to that extent, dependent upon the Father, prevents the doctrine of the Trinity from running off into tritheism. But if the *ordo* be one of time or rank, then to suggest that the Son in this sense is subordinate to the Father is heresy. It must be admitted that the language employed by Dionysius, in order to counter Sabellianism by affirming the distinctness of the Son from the Father, overstated His subordination and came near to representing Him as separate from, because on a lower level than, the Father. For—and this was the charge—Dionysius had spoken of him by a term so misleading as a ‘work’³ of the Father’s hand, and by comparisons so risky as that to the relation between a husbandman and his vine, or between a shipwright and his boat. In reply, Dionysius admits that he had used such rather ‘unsuitable’ figures, somewhat ‘casually’.⁴ But he points to others which he had used as more satisfactory. These are seed, root and plant which are ‘of one nature’⁵; or source and stream⁶; or Thought immanent in the Mind and Thought expressed in Speech.⁷ He further complains that his critics took the worse and left the better. ‘They pelt me, from a safe distance [viz. from Rome] with those two bits of expressions [the vine and the boat], as with stones’⁸; or as his apologist, Athanasius, puts it, they would not take his utterances as a whole.⁹ Finally, in regard to ‘work’,¹⁰ Dionysius points out that ‘author’¹¹ is used in quite a number of different ways, both in ordinary conversation and in Scripture.¹² He himself had only used it in close connexion with ‘Father’¹³; and

¹ So J. H. Newman, *Theological and Historical Tracts* [ed. 1899], 174.

² John v. 26 expresses both the Son’s equality [‘have life in himself’] with and His derivation from [‘given to the Son to have’, &c.] the Father. To be self-existent is the prerogative of Godhead as distinct from that precariousness of existence which is the mark of creatures; but to have that prerogative by gift from the Father is the mark of the Son. He ‘has life in Himself’, but not, like the Father, *of Himself*, as well.

³ *ποίημα*, Feltoe, 179, l. 5, 195, l. 1.

⁴ Ibid. 188, l. 4, and Document No. 166.

⁵ *ὁμοφύεις*, ibid. 189, l. 14.

⁶ Ibid. 189, l. 15.

⁷ Ibid. 191, ll. 3, 4.

⁸ Ibid. 190, ll. 5, 6.

⁹ Ath. *De sent. Dion.*, § 14 (*Op.* i. 199; *P. G.* xxv. 501 A).

¹⁰ *ποίημα*.

¹¹ *ποιητής*.

¹² Feltoe, 195, ll. 1-8.

¹³ Ibid. 193 sq.

this was enough to show that by 'product' or 'work' he always meant 'beget' and not 'create'.¹ Certainly, he had spoken of the Son as a 'work', but never as a 'creature',² of the Father.

We may leave it so: the language of Dionysius, in the last two of the five points inculcated, was certainly indiscreet. There remained two criticisms of it, by Dionysius of Rome himself, for his brother of Alexandria to dispose of, if he could.

Sabellius had maintained an 'expansion'³ of the Monad into a Triad. In combating this theory Dionysius of Alexandria laid such stress on the distinctness of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as to lead his colleague of the West to charge him with having ignored the Unity.⁴ In reply the Alexandrian bishop consents to use both 'expand' and 'gather up' in the right sense: if, that is, 'we so expand the Monad into the Triad as not to divide it, then, conversely, we must so gather together the Triad as not', like Sabellius, 'to subtract from it'.⁵ Dionysius here submitted a plea in his own favour which his brother of Rome would probably acknowledge as fair enough, when he understood it.

But they were not so easily reconciled over the use of the word *hypostasis*. In the earlier stages of its history, *hypostasis*, as meaning 'that which stands beneath', had been used of (1) a sediment, like the lees of wine⁶; of (2) a foundation, as in 'the house [temple] and the foundation thereof'⁷; thence, of (3) support, e.g. the 'standing' which is lacking under 'deep mire'⁸; so, of (4) that which gives support, e.g. 'goods',⁹ much as we speak of a man of 'substance'; consequently, of (5) the result of having support, viz. confidence¹⁰; and, finally, of (6) that which gives reality to a thing, viz. its 'substance' or 'essence', as when it is said 'faith is the assurance ['substance'—R.V. marg.] of things hoped for, the evidence for things not seen',¹¹ or, in the statement of the same writer that, what the clear figure expressed on the wax is to the dark original on the matrix of the die or the seal, that the Son is to the Father, viz. the impress of

¹ Feltoe, 181, ll. 4, 5.

² *ποίημα*, but not *κτίσμα*, the term which the Arians applied to the Son as in the letter of Arius to Alexander, *ap. Ath. De synodis*, § 16 (*Op. ii.* 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A).

³ *πλατύνεται*, *Ath. Orat. c. Ar. iv.*, § 25 (*Op. ii.* 504; *P. G.* xxvi. 505 c).

⁴ Feltoe, 178, ll. 7-10.

⁵ *Ibid.* 193, ll. 2-4.

⁶ Socrates, *H. E.* iii. vii, § 19.

⁷ Ezek. xliii. 11 [LXX].

⁸ Ps. lxxviii [=our lxix] 2 [LXX].

⁹ Deut. xi. 6.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17; Heb. iii. 14.

¹¹ Heb. xi. 1.

His 'essence' or 'the very image of His "substance"' ¹: where, if *hypostasis* be translated 'essence' or 'substance', we have the ancient philosophical ² and the older theological use of the term. ³ To this use Dionysius of Rome was accustomed. Accordingly, when Dionysius of Alexandria, by way of emphasizing as against Sabellianism the distinctions within the Godhead, spoke of *three hypostases*, the Roman bishop held 'this is to set up three powers, three separate subsistences, and godheads three'. ⁴ To which Dionysius of Alexandria as frankly replied that, 'if, by virtue of the *hypostases* being three, we are to be told "This is tritheism", then three they remain: or else, there is no Trinity'. ⁵ It looks as if all that was at stake were the supposed consequences of the expression *three hypostases*: whereas the two prelates were really at cross purposes about the term itself. To Dionysius of Alexandria, as to his master, Origen, who had been the first to use the phrase *three hypostases*, ⁶ it meant something approximating to ⁷ the later 'three Persons': to Dionysius of Rome it meant not three 'subsistences', but 'three substances'. ⁸ They were nearer to each other than they thought, in doctrine; but they were kept aloof by a difference in terminology.

How, then, came this difference about? and whence the confusion?

One element in the misunderstanding was due to the fact that *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, in Greek, were still liable to confusion. ⁹ *Οὐσία*, properly meaning 'existence', might stand for 'particular existence', a concrete 'this' or 'that', as it generally had done since Aristotle ¹⁰ had thus fixed the usage of the word; or it might

¹ Heb. i. 3.

² Wisd. xvi. 21.

³ B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, ad loc.

⁴ Feltoe, 177, ll. 3–5.

⁵ Ibid. 196, ll. 1–3.

⁶ Origen, *In Ioann.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 61; *P. G.* xiv. 128 A); C. Bigg, *Christian Platonists* ², 203, n. 1.

⁷ But not quite: see J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Hist. Chr. Doctrine*, 236.

⁸ For this use of 'Subsistence' for *ὑπόστασις*, and 'Substance' for *Οὐσία*, see Hooker, *E. P.* v. li, § 1.

⁹ In Origen's time 'the terminology indeed is still fluctuating and uncertain; but the later usage is already all but established. The word for Person in Origen is commonly *Hypostasis*; that for the Divine Nature is less determinate but is frequently *Ousia*. The two expressions were current in the philosophy of the time, and mean precisely the same thing. . . . The theological distinction between the two terms is purely arbitrary,' Bigg ², 202–4. On the two terms, see *ibid.* 203, nn. 1, 2; B.-Baker, 235–8; and T. B. Strong on 'The history of the term "Substance",' in *J. T. S.* ii. 224–35, iii. 22–40.

¹⁰ *τὸδε τι*, Aristotle, *Sophist. Elench.* vii, § 2.

also stand for 'existence' in general, i.e. the 'essence' common to individuals of the same class. This was the Platonist¹ use of οὐσία : and Dionysius of Alexandria, influenced by the traditions of Platonism dominant there,² used οὐσία in the sense of 'substance' or 'essence'. ὑπόστασις, as a philosophical term, is later. It meant that which underlay a thing and made it what it was, whether by giving it 'being', in which case it is equivalent to οὐσία in the generic, or second sense above, and is so used occasionally by Dionysius³ and in the Nicene anathema⁴; or by making it 'a being', in which case it came near to mean 'person', as with Dionysius of Alexandria who employs it in this sense as of a complete self-contained existence. Origen had so used it in the phrase *three hypostases*; and one obvious reason why Dionysius would ordinarily use it in the sense of Person and speak of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, would be that no other phrase so definitely excluded any taint of Sabellianism. For the same reason the use of ὑπόστασις in the sense of Person, and of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις in the sense of three Persons, became, at first, an Arian⁵ and then a semi-Arian⁶ phrase : until finally it was purged of these associations, and survived as an Eastern, until it issued out as a Catholic, expression. But a phrase with such a purgatory still to work off might well have alarmed Dionysius of Rome : as, indeed, it did.

The confusion was worse confounded and the alarm intensified by the customary Latin equivalents of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις respectively. Οὐσία, which should have been translated by *essentia*,⁷ was actually translated by *substantia*.⁸ This rendering had two disadvantages : the suggestion of materialism, and the adoption of *substantia* as a rendering for οὐσία when it should more properly have represented ὑπόστασις. This left for ὑπόστασις only the rendering *Persona*. *Persona* was well enough for

¹ As in Plotinus : see *J. T. S.* iii. 29, 35.

² E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, 28.

³ e. g. Τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὅλων τὸν Θεόν, where the thought is that God it is who gives the universe 'being', Feltoe, 184, l. 16.

⁴ Ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, Socrates, *H. E.* i. viii, § 45.

⁵ Letter of Arius to Alexander *ap. Ath. De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 B).

⁶ Τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνία ἓν, as the Dedication Creed of Antioch, 341, has it, *ap. ibid.*, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 588; *P. G.* xxvi. 724 B).

⁷ Cicero, †B. C. 43, tried to establish *essentia*, and Seneca, †A. D. 65, and Quintilian, †118, after him, but without effect : see Bigg², 203, n. 2, who refers to Seneca, *Ep.* lviii, § 6, and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, ii, § 14, iii, § 6.

⁸ On the history and meaning of *substantia* see Bethune-Baker, 231-3.

Dionysius of Rome; for, in Latin, *persona* meant 'party',¹ as to a law-suit.² But, as with him *substantia* was appropriated for the translation of *οὐσία*, he would have expected for *ὑπόστασις* the term *πρόσωπον*; which, however, meant—at any rate since Sabellius had adopted it—not 'person' but 'rôle'; not 'party', but 'part', as in a play.³ Thus Dionysius of Rome expected his colleague to speak of *τρία πρόσωπα*, which to Dionysius of Alexandria would spell Sabellianism. Dionysius of Alexandria, therefore, employed instead *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*, and this to Dionysius of Rome sounded out and out tritheism.

Hence the deadlock. It remained a deadlock between East and West for just a hundred years; till, at the Council of Alexandria,⁴ 362, Athanasius, who himself had used *ὑπόστασις* now in the Western⁵ and now in the Eastern⁶ sense, went into 'the mind' of either side and found them really 'in agreement'.⁷ It remained for the Cappadocian Fathers—Basil⁸ and the two Gregories⁹—to settle the theological use of the terms in the formula *Μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*—Three Persons in one Substance—where *οὐσία* represents that 'essence' which in the Godhead is 'common' to all Three and so preservative of the Trinity against polytheism, while *ὑπόστασις* connotes that which in each Person is 'distinctive' and so a safeguard of the Unity against Judaism or any other form of unitarianism.

§ 3. Paul, bishop of Antioch, c. 260-72, was contemporary with Dionysius; and there is this much of connexion between them that, whereas Dionysius was an Origenist of the left and put out the last embers of modalist Monarchianism, Paul was

¹ e. g. 'Itaque illud Cassianum "Cui bono fuerit" in his personis valeat,' Cicero, *Pro Milone*, § 12.

² On the history and meaning of *persona* see B.-Baker, 233; Bigg², 204, n. 1.

³ For *πρόσωπον* see B.-Baker, 234.

⁴ Ath. *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, §§ 5, 6 (*Op.* ii. 617; *P. G.* xxvi. 800 sq.).

⁵ e. g. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 65 (*Op.* ii. 487; *P. G.* xxvi. 461 A), and *Ad Afros*, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 714; *P. G.* xxvi. 1036 B). That this sense, = *οὐσία* or *substantia*, was the Western sense, see Jerome, *Ep.* xv, § 4 (*Op.* i. 40 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 357). He thought 'tres hypostases' heretical.

⁶ e. g. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iv, § 25 (*Op.* ii. 504; *P. G.* xxvi. 505 C), and *In illud* 'Omnia, &c.' [Luke x. 22], § 6 (*Op.* i. 86; *P. G.* xxv. 220 A), where he has *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*.

⁷ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 35 (*Op.* i. 410; *P. G.* xxxv. 1125 B).

⁸ Basil, *Epp.* xxxviii, § 3, cexiv, § 4 (*Op.* iii. 116 C, 322 E; *P. G.* xxxii. 328 B, 789 A); Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Catech.*, § 1 (ed. J. H. Srawley, pp. 6 sq.); and H. P. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*,¹¹ 33, note d.

⁹ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 35 (*Op.* i. 410; *P. G.* xxxv. 1125 B).

the last of the adoptianist Monarchians and was put down by Firmilian and Gregory and other Origenists of the right.

Paul¹ was a native of Samosata, the royal city of Syria, where he may have become known to Zenobia,² queen of Palmyra.

His episcopate synchronizes, at its opening, with the first successes of her husband, Odaenathus, against the Persians³; and, at its close, with her overthrow by Aurelian.⁴ Palmyra was a centre of commerce, and, as such, its policy would be to remain neutral⁵ as between East and West. This was possible, so long as the Parthian realm lasted. But when, upon its decline, the East fell into the hands of the new and aggressive Persian monarchy of the Sassanidae, 226-632, then Odaenathus had to choose between Rome and Persia. He sided with the Romans, and beat back Sapor I across the Euphrates, 260, and before Ctesiphon, 262-4. On his assassination, Zenobia maintained the old independence for some five years, 267-72. Her rule, however, which extended into Asia, Syria, and Egypt, was found 'inconsistent with the unity of the Empire'; and came to an end with the capture of Palmyra, 272, its revolt and destruction by Aurelian, 273, and Zenobia's captivity in Rome. But so long as her independence lasted, Paul was secure. Zenobia remained his patroness,⁶ and this goes some way to redeem him from charges against his morals. Besides his bishopric, he held high civil office, under her authority, as *Procurator Ducenarius*,⁷ at Antioch. We are told in the letter of the Synod that deposed him how he played the part of the secular official. He had a great retinue, and was always in a rush of business.⁸ In church, he set up for himself a tribunal and a throne with a *secretum* like a civil magistrate; and like them, he would slap his thigh, and stamp on the tribunal with his feet. When he preached he had himself applauded⁹ by professional *claqueurs*, as in the theatre, who

¹ Tillemont, iv. 289-303; *D. C. B.* iv. 250-4.

² Gibbon, c. xi (i. 302, ed. Bury).

³ Ibid. (i. 303).

⁴ Ibid. (i. 308).

⁵ Ibid. c. x, n. 163 (i. 272).

⁶ *Ath. Hist. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 305; *P. G.* xxv. 777 B).

⁷ *Ep. Synod. ap. Eus. H. E.* vii. xxx, § 8. The title was due to the holder receiving a salary of two hundred sesterces or about £1,600 a year, Gibbon, c. xvi, n. 127 (ii. 114, ed. Bury).

⁸ *Eus. H. E.* vii. xxx, § 8.

⁹ For applause at sermons, see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, xiv. iv, § 27. The Fathers objected to it as heathenish, dangerous to the preacher, and bad for the people, for it led them to substitute 'leaves' for 'fruit', e. g. Chrysostom, *De Lazaro*, vii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 790 B. c; *P. G.* xlvii. 1045); Jerome, *Ep.* lii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 263; *P. L.* xxii. 534); and Augustine, *Sermo*, lxi, § 13 (*Op.* v. i. 356 F, G; *P. L.* xxxviii. 414).

waved their handkerchiefs. He put down the psalms to our Lord, and on Easter Day had a trained choir of ladies to sing psalms in honour of himself.¹ Yet nothing could dislodge him; neither his worldly life, nor his overbearing temper²; neither the scandal he gave by his indiscretions with women,³ nor his growing ill-repute for heresy. Two synods,⁴ presided over by Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,⁵ and held at Antioch between 264-8, proved abortive. In the winter of 268-9 Firmilian was on his way to a third, when he died at Tarsus.⁶ The synod was held at Antioch,⁷ 269, under the presidency of Helenus, bishop of Tarsus.⁸ The bishops, to the number of seventy,⁹ excommunicated Paul, after the presbyter Malchion, a logician by training and Head of a school of rhetoric at Antioch, had exposed his sophisms.¹⁰ 'Let him write letters of communion to Artemas',¹¹ they suggested; and the Council made known its decisions in a Synodal Letter, some fragments of which remain¹² and are, with fragments of Paul's writings¹³ and of the discussion with Malchion,¹⁴ our primary authorities¹⁵ for the teaching of Paul. But they could not turn him out of the house belonging to the see till after the fall of Zenobia and an appeal to the Emperor Aurelian.

The story of Paul, doctrine apart, is of interest in more connexions than one. Paul is the first instance on record of the secular type of cleric, soon to become only too common among the occupants of the greater sees—Eusebius of Nicomedia, Damasus of Rome, Nectarius of Constantinople, Theophilus of Alexandria (to go no further than the opening of the fifth century)—and

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 10.

² Ibid., § 9.

³ Ibid., §§ 12-14.

⁴ Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 195-206; for the three, of 264-9.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 4.

⁶ Ibid., § 5.

⁷ Ibid. xxix, § 1; Mansi, i. 1089-1104.

⁸ Ibid. xxx, § 2.

⁹ Ath. *De Synodis*, § 43 (*Op.* ii. 605; *P. G.* xxvi. 769 A).

¹⁰ *H. E.* vii. xxix, § 2. Malchion, being only a presbyter, was not a constitutive member of the Synod, being there only to conduct the discussion at the request of the bishops; much as Athanasius, while deacon, took part at Nicaea, or Florentius—an 'ecclesiastically-minded' layman—'drew out' Eutyches at C.P. 448; Mansi, vi. 733 A.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxx, § 17. For 'letters of communion' see Bingham, *Ant.* ii. iv, § 5.

¹² M. J. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 303-13.

¹³ Ibid. 329.

¹⁴ Ibid. 300-2.

¹⁵ For a collection and discussion of these see H. J. Lawlor, in *J. T. S.* xix. 20-45, and tr. Document No. 169; the secondary authorities are Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxvii-xxx; Ath. *De Synodis*, §§ 26, 43, 45 (*Op.* ii. 591, 604, 606; *P. G.* xxvi. 729 c, 768 c, 771 c); Hilary, *De Synodis*, §§ 81, 86 (*Op.* ii. 509, 513; *P. L.* x. 534, 538 sq.); Basil, *Ep.* lii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 145; *P. G.* xxxii. 393 A); and Epiph. *Haer.* lxv (*Op.* ii. 607-17; *P. G.* xlii. 11-30).

afterwards to be found in the long line of statesmen-bishops, men who were paid by the Church to serve the State. Paul's case, therefore, is testimony to the growing wealth and secularity of tone among the clergy, possible even before the days of persecution were over.¹ His, again, is one of the first cases² in which we hear of female companions for the clergy: his Antiochenes, with their quickness for nicknames,³ dubbed them 'subintroduced'.⁴ With Paul's case, again, is to be connected the first application to an Emperor to settle a church dispute. The appeal had no concern with doctrine or ceremony; but was one of property. Paul had 'refused', after his condemnation by the Synod, 'to leave the church-house'; and Aurelian ordered 'the house to be given up to those with whom the bishops of Italy and Rome held intercourse'.⁵ In so deciding, Aurelian acknowledged 'the existence, the property and the privileges of the Church'; and also her 'internal policy [polity]'.⁶ His test is that of recognition by the bishops of the religion in Italy and Rome, not communion with the bishop of Rome only, for papalism was unknown in Aurelian's day.⁷ 'He considered the bishops of Italy as the most impartial and respectable judges among the Christians': and reference to them, with the Roman bishop at their head, would further 'the policy of Aurelian: who was desirous of restoring and cementing the dependence of the provinces on the capital.'⁸

The doctrine of Paul⁹ is the last word of ante-Nicene Monarchianism, dynamic and adoptianist; and Paul is the ablest representative of it.

His system is Monarchian, because it insists strongly on the unity of God¹⁰ and states that there is in God but one Person.¹¹ It is dynamic, because, while distinguishing in God a Word and a Wisdom, it regards them as having no proper subsistence but

¹ Cf. Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 240 sq.).

² There is a case also in Cyprian, *Ep.* iv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 473).

³ e. g. 'Christian', Acts xi. 26, and the nicknames they invented for Julian.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxx, § 12. On *subintroductae* see *Co. Nic.*, c. 3; W. Bright, *Canons*², 10 sqq., and Bingham, *Antiquities*, VI. ii, § 13, XVII. v, § 25.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxx, § 19, and Document No. 184.

⁶ Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 116, ed. Bury).

⁷ E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 1265.

⁸ Gibbon, *ut sup.*

⁹ For an account of it, see J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, i. 400-4; and H. J. Lawlor in *J. T. S.* xix. 41-3, and *Fragments*, i-xviii, on pp. 21-41, for the text to which the references following are given.

¹⁰ Fr. ix, where Paul quotes Deut. vi. 4; John xiv. 10 sq.

¹¹ Fr. x. 1.

as simple attributes.¹ Then, while admitting that the Word is begotten of God² from all eternity³ so as to be in a sense Son, it goes on to add that the Word remains impersonal,⁴ as does human reason or speech,⁵ and that this impersonal divine Word, after acting upon Moses and the prophets, at length came to dwell, in an exceptional degree, as a divine power in Jesus Christ.⁶ Further, the system is adoptianist because it represents Jesus as a mere man,⁷ 'from below'.⁸ He was born of a virgin,⁹ indeed, and 'inspired from above',¹⁰ and was 'united'¹¹ with the Word. But this union was merely *ab extra*¹²; and, at the best, was of the nature of an indwelling, 'as in a temple'¹³: a mere conjunction,¹⁴ which does not make Jesus personally God,¹⁵ nor give to the Word personality¹⁶ as of 'a being subsisting in a body',¹⁷ but leaves it simply a divine attribute imparted to the son of Mary 'by education and association'¹⁸ and dwelling in him 'not essentially, but as a quality'.¹⁹

Thanks, however, to this unique 'indwelling'²⁰ Jesus is without a peer.²¹ 'Anointed by the Holy Spirit'²²—whether Paul meant at his conception or at his baptism is not quite clear²³—'Jesus was called Christ'²⁴; and his life was 'a continuous progress towards higher things'.²⁵ He quickly attained to moral excellence²⁶; for his love of God never failed and his will was one with the will of God.²⁷ As a reward, he received the power of doing miracles²⁸; and then, triumphing over sin both in himself and in us,²⁹ he redeemed and saved us,³⁰ and rendered his union with God indissoluble.³¹ For the sufferings that he endured he received 'the Name that is above every name'³²; and is so divine³³ that

¹ Μη . . . ἐνυπόστατον, Fr. ix. 1 = Epiph. *Haer.* lxxv, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 607; *P. G.* xlii. 13 A). ² Fr. i. ³ Fr. ii, line 4.
⁴ ἀνυπόστατος, *ibid.*, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 611; *P. L.* xlii. 20 B).
⁵ Fr. ix. 1. ⁶ Fr. ii. ⁷ Fr. ii. and x. 3.
⁸ κάτωθεν (contrast ἄνωθεν, John iii. 31), Fr. x. 3; or ἐντεῦθεν, Fr. ii, l. 4 (cf. John xviii. 36). ⁹ Fr. i. ¹⁰ Fr. x. 3.
¹¹ συνῆλθεν, Fr. i, συνῆπτο, Fr. iii, συγγεγενῆσθαι, Fr. iv.
¹² ἔξωθεν, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 311, l. 17.
¹³ Ὡς ἐν ναφῶ, Fr. ii, l. 11.
¹⁴ συνάφεια, Fr. i and vi (*J. T. S.* xix. 30). ¹⁵ Fr. ii, ll. 12, 13.
¹⁶ Paul appears to have 'dated the proper existence of the Logos from the Incarnation, from its entry into Jesus', *J. T. S.* xix. 36.
¹⁷ Fr. vi (*J. T. S.* xix. 30). ¹⁸ *Ibid.* ¹⁹ Fr. iv.
²⁰ Fr. v, l. 4; 2 Cor. vi. 16. ²¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 4, 5 ²² Acts iv. 27, x. 38.
²³ *J. T. S.* xix. 42: 'probably . . . in the very act of conception'.
²⁴ Fr. xi. ²⁵ Fr. xiii; cf. Luke ii. 52.
²⁶ Fr. xiii; lit. 'by establishing virtue'. ²⁷ *Ibid.*
²⁸ Fr. xi, xiii. ²⁹ Fr. xiii. ³⁰ Fr. xi. ³¹ Fr. xiii.
³² *Ibid.*; cf. Phil. ii. 9. ³³ Fr. vii. 1.

we may speak of him as 'God born of a virgin, and God manifest at Nazareth'.¹ We may even speak of his pre-existence.² But Paul 'did not acknowledge the divinity of Christ in any sense which would permit worship to be rendered to him'.³

The system of Paul has several points of interest. First, it is frankly adoptianist. There are only two ways of thinking about Jesus: either as God who became man or as a man who became God. Paul openly adopted the latter view; and thus anticipates the modern humanitarian or, more accurately,⁴ psilanthropist view. 'He said that after the incarnation, He was by advance made God, from being made by nature a mere man.' Yet, secondly, there is something morally fine and noble about the system of Paul, because of the value which he attached to personal effort and the power of the will. Jesus, as Paul would, no doubt, be fond of saying, was not God by nature: he is more than that; he became God by virtue. Thirdly, the system of Paul, theologically considered, exhibits affinities with other forms of unitarianism (or, more accurately,⁵ Socinianism), whether Sabellian or Arian; Paul, however, differed from Sabellius in that, according to the latter, the Godhead passed over in its entirety into the Incarnate, so that Sabellianism was pantheistic, whereas Paul retained the Divine Transcendence and taught that only a Divine attribute, the Word, so transferred itself. He also differed from Arius in that, whereas Arius asserted the pre-existence of the Son as the highest of the creatures,⁶ Paul spoke of Him as a mere man. But ultimately Paul and Arius agree in making Him a creature; and, what the one means by 'mere man',⁷ the other in effect affirms by representing Him as separate from the incommunicable Divine Essence. An unitarian doctrine of a solely transcendent and, therefore, solitary God is then the point on which, in theology, Paul and Arius agree. Fourthly, in Christology, the agreement is closer. Paul's doctrine that, in Christ, the Word took the place of 'the inward part of

¹ Fr. ix. 4, and *J. T. S.* xix. 36.

² Fr. ix. 4.

³ *J. T. S.* xix. 34; and cf. *Eus. H. E.* vii. xxx, § 10.

⁴ Catholics believe that our Lord is 'very man', but they do not believe that He is 'mere man'. 'Humanitarian' is a question-begging epithet.

⁵ Catholics believe 'in one God', but they do not believe that He is a 'unit'. 'Unitarian' is also a question-begging epithet.

⁶ Κτίσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, *Ath. De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A).

⁷ Φιλὸν ἀνθρώπου, acc. to the *Macrostich*, § 4; *ibid.*, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 590; *P. G.* xxvi. 729 c).

our nature',¹ so that our Lord was simply 'God in flesh',² i.e. in a material envelope became the official Christology of the party from Arius to the Anomoeans: while, Christologically again, the system of Paul shows phrase after phrase³ in common with Nestorius, and was, in fact, the first rough draft of Nestorianism. Fifthly, Paul was historically a precursor of Arius: for Lucian, †311, the pupil of Paul, was a teacher of Arius and of several Arian leaders⁴ whose bond of union was that they were 'fellow Lucianists'.⁵ Among them was Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia II, whose pupil was⁶ Aetius, †370, and his pupil, in turn, was Eunomius, †393: so that the influence of Paul lasted on nearly to the end of the fourth century; while in so far as Paul in his own day simply carried on the traditional teaching of the School of Antioch, his Christology took a fresh lease of life with the Antiochene teachers Diodore, †394, Theodore, †428, and Nestorius, †c. 450.

But for all its subsequent influence, the system of Paul was too daring to escape condemnation from his contemporaries. He was deposed, as we have seen, by the Origenist 'right', who were bishops in Asia Minor and Syria, at the Synod of Antioch, 269. But they did not secure his condemnation without bringing, or allowing Paul to bring, into discredit the word *ὁμοούσιος* which Origen himself had been the first to use of the Son, in its later or Nicene sense, in order to show that He was no mere man but very God. The fact that the term was brought into discredit at Antioch, 269, 'is as certain as any fact in Church history'⁷; and it was brought up by the Semi-Arians, at the Council of Ancyra, 358, as an argument against the acceptance of the Nicene term.⁸ Unfortunately, the minutes of the Synod are lost: and so, for the actual way in which the term was discredited, we are dependent upon the statements of Athanasius, Hilary, and Basil. In the opinion of most scholars they do not agree⁹: Athanasius

¹ 'Ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, Fr. v.

² 'Ἀντὶ ψυχῆς Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί, as in the creed of Eudoxius, bishop of C.P., 360-†70, A. Hahn, *Symbolæ*³, § 191.

³ e.g. ἐνοίκησις, Fr. v; συνέλευσις, Fr. i; συνάφεια, J. T. S. xix. 30.

⁴ For a list of the pupils of Lucian see Tillemont, vi. 253; A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxviii; H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*, 31, n. 3: all from Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 14 (*P. G.* lxxv. 476 sq.).

⁵ So Arius addresses Eusebius of Nicomedia in Theodoret, *H. E.* i. v, § 4.

⁶ Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxxv. 505 B).

⁷ A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxxi.

⁸ Ath. *De Synodis*, § 43 (*Op.* ii. 604; *P. G.* xxvi. 768 c).

⁹ So A. Robertson, *Ath.* xxxi sq.; H. M. Gwatkin, *Arianism*², 47, n. 2;

and Basil make Paul the objector to it, and represent him as successfully imputing it to his opponents in a materializing sense as if, says Athanasius, it implied an essence prior to Father and Son,¹ or as if, says Basil, the Father and Christ were two specimens of the same class, i.e. God, like two coins made of the same bronze and so 'of one substance' with each other.² To repudiate this 'imputation', dependent, it will be observed, on the use of *Oὐσία* in the Platonist sense of *εἶδος* or *species*, Paul's judges withdrew the word.³ Hilary, on the other hand, makes Paul to have used it himself⁴; if so, to express the idea, as it would seem, that the Father and the Son were one single *οὐσία* in the Aristotelian sense of person, or *ὑπόστασις*; and we know that to deny the existence of the Word as other than impersonal was a point in the system of Paul. The doubt illustrates the still undetermined sense both of *Oὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*. But if Paul thus employed *ὁμοούσιος* to support his unitarian doctrine of God and so to clear the ground for his humanitarian doctrine of Christ,⁵ the Council might again have seen best to withdraw it. At any rate, the suspicion thus cast upon *ὁμοούσιος*, however he accomplished it, turned out to be as important as any other contribution made by Paul to the doctrinal developments of later times.

§ 4. Manichaeism⁶ was being propagated about the time that Paul was condemned. Within a generation, it made its appear-

and J. F. B.-Baker, *Chr. Doctr.* 111 sq.; but J. Tixeront, *Hist. of Dogmas*, i. 404, and H. L. Lawlor in *J.T.S.* xix. 32, interprets Athanasius and Basil in accordance with Hilary: see Fr. vii (*ibid.* 30).

¹ *Εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς Θεός, οὐκοῦν ὁμοούσιός ἐστι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη τρεῖς οὐσίας εἶναι μίαν μὲν προηγουμένην, τὰς δὲ δύο ἐξ ἐκείνης*, *Ath. De Synodis*, § 45 (*Op.* ii. 606; *P. G.* xxvi. 772 c).

² Basil, *Ep.* lii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 145; *P. G.* xxxii. 393 A).

³ 'He [Paul] urged that if Father and Son were of one substance [*sc.* to start with, instead of Christ starting as man and becoming God, *Ath. ut sup.*], there was some common substance in which they partook, and which consequently was distinct from and prior to the Divine Persons themselves—a wretched sophism: which, of course, could not deceive Firmilian and Gregory, but which, being adapted to perplex weak minds, might decide them on withdrawing the word,' J. H. Newman, *Arians*⁵, 192.

⁴ 'Per hanc unius essentiae nuncupationem solitarium atque unicum sibi Patrem et Filium [Paulus] praedicabat,' Hilary, *De Synodis*, § 81 (*Op.* ii. 509; *P. L.* x. 534 B).

⁵ Socinianism, in later times, combined an unitarian doctrine of God with the notion of a gradual elevation of Christ, determined by his own moral development, K. R. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrine*, § 266; and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*², 158.

⁶ On Manichaeism see Tillemont, iv. 367-411; App. to *St. Augustine's Confessions* (*L. F.* i. 314-46); R. C. Trench, *Hulsean Lectures*⁵, 21 (ed.

ance in the Empire, and was denounced by an edict of Diocletian addressed to Julian, proconsul of Africa, and dated 31 March 296¹ as ‘a sect lately originating in Persia’.² This alone would be enough to invite hostility, for anything Persian was then an object of fear to the Roman government.

The authorities for Manichaeism³ are of two kinds, Eastern and Western. The Oriental are the more important, whether Christian or Mohammedan. Babylon was the birth-place, and remained the centre, of the movement till the tenth century, and the Mohammedan historians of the tenth to the twelfth centuries are the better informed and the more trustworthy, as they had no polemical purpose. But they are out of reach for all but Orientalists; and, for those who are concerned, as are most Christians, with Manichaeism as it came into contact with the Empire, the Western authorities are sufficient. These are (1) Eusebius; whose account,⁴ however, is of trifling value, except as to the time at which Manichaeism made its appearance in the Empire. (2) The *Acta disputationis Archelai cum Manete*.⁵ This work professes to report two debates that took place between the founder of Manichaeism and Archelaus, bishop of Carchar in Mesopotamia. The debates were held in the presence of learned arbiters, who gave their verdict in favour of the bishop. He, however, like all the other personages of the dialogue except Manes, is probably a fictitious character; and the *Acta* really represent such literary opposition of Christianity to Manichaeism as began to take shape in the first half of the fourth century. The author was a certain Hegemonius.⁶ His work, as we now have it, is a Latin version, c. 400, of the Greek (others say, Syriac) original of c. 300–50.

1880); J. B. Mozley, *Lectures on the Old Testament*, No. xi; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 140–8; J. F. B.-Baker, *Chr. Doctrine*, 93–5; J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* i. 404–11; *D. C. B.* iii. 792–801.

¹ For this date see Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv. 35; G. Goyau, *Chronologie*, 358; P. Allard, *La persécution de Dioclétien*, i. 92; L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* i. 410, n. 2; others, 308, e. g. A. J. Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, 275.

² ‘Nuperrime veluti nova inopinata prodigia in hunc mundum de Persica, adversaria nobis, gente progressa,’ *Cod. Greg.* xiv. iv, § 4, *ap.* G. Haenel, *Corpus iuris anteiustiniani*, fasc. ii, p. 46, ‘De maleficis et Manichaeis’. It is also given in J. C. L. Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 228.

³ Cf. J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogmas*, i. 404, n. 1; A. Harnack, *Hist. Dogma*, iii. 317–19.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxxi.

⁵ Text in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² v. 36–206; tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xx. 272–419; see Bardenheuer, *Patrology*, 268 sq.

⁶ So we are told by Heraclian, bishop of Chalcedon, 500–†18, *ap.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, *Cod.* lxxxv (*Op.* iii. 65 B; *P. G.* ciii. 288 B).

The Greek is extant in a few fragments. But the *Acta* as we have them, are of value. They incorporate much older material, including Manichæan originals which the author quotes; and his description of the Manichæan system is the source of nearly all the Christian accounts, specially of that in (3) Epiphanius.¹ More is to be learned from (4) Titus, bishop of Bostra, c. 362-70, well-known for his relations with Julian,² 361-†3. He wrote four books, *Adversus Manichæos*,³ which are of value because of their numerous quotations from Manichæan writings. Most—and particularly for Manichæism in the West—from (5) the anti-Manichæan writings⁴ of St. Augustine, who for nine years, 373-82, lay under its spell, and knew it from the inside.

Manes was born, c. 215, at Mardinu, south of Ctesiphon, whither his father had moved from Ecbatana, now Hamadan. Originally an idolater, the father had joined the sect of the Mugthasila, i.e. 'ablutioners' or 'baptists'. They laid special stress on abstinence from flesh, wine, and women; and Manes was brought up in this sect. At the coronation, March 242, of Sapor I, 241-†72, he came forward as the founder of a new religion in Babylon; and afterwards preached for years in Turkestan, India, and China. But at last, owing to the hostility of the Magi, or official priesthood of Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Persian Empire, he was seized by order of the king, Bahram I, 272-†3, and beheaded at Gundisapur.

Manichæism was a form of dualism, and the merit of dualism must never be overlooked. It recognizes that evil is evil. That is of no small moment, when the tendency is to minimize or to ignore it; and for this reason dualism won the respect of the philosopher James Mill,⁵ †1836. Manichæism, then, held that there are from eternity, two opposing principles, Light and Darkness: that Light is Good, and Darkness is Evil. But it made no distinction between moral and physical evil. Hence it looked upon religion as knowledge, chiefly 'the knowledge of nature and its elements', and on 'redemption' as consisting 'exclusively in a physical deliverance of the fractions of Light

¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxvi (*Op.* ii. 617-709; *P. G.* xlii. 29-172).

² Julian, *Ep.* lii (*Op.* ii. 559; Teubner).

³ Titus Bostrensis, *Adv. Manichæos* (*P. G.* xviii. 1069-1264); Bardenhewer, 270.

⁴ Aug. *Op.* viii (*P. L.* xlii); Bardenhewer, 482 sq.

⁵ J. B. Mozley, *Lectures on the O. T.*³, 261; and *The autobiography of J. S. Mill*, 39.

from Darkness'.¹ The agents of such deliverance were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, and Manes himself. Manes was the last and greatest of this line of prophets—nay, the very Paraclete, by whose instrumentality the separation of Light from Darkness is finally accomplished. His method of accomplishing it was a rigorous abstinence from all sensuous enjoyment, by the help of the three 'seals'. The *signaculum oris* forbade any use of flesh or wine. The *signaculum manus* reduced to a minimum all occupation with things external. The *signaculum sinus* prohibited sexual intercourse, and so forbade marriage. To the discipline prescribed by these three 'seals', the 'perfect' Manichæan added constant fasts—in all, about a quarter of a year—with ablutions and prayers four times a day. Such a regulated life, however, was possible only for the 'Elect'. A lower standard, therefore, was recognized for the 'Hearers', who had simply to keep the ten commandments of Manes. The 'Elect' at death, entered the paradise of Light at once, the 'Hearers' only after long purification. But in neither case was there salvation for the body: when, at last, all the elements of Light had been recovered from it, the body was abandoned to outer Darkness whence it came. These two classes of the Manichæan 'Faithful' corresponded pretty well to monks and seculars; save that the Manichæan 'Elect' were themselves Redeemers of the rest. And there was a further resemblance between Manichæans and the Christian Church. They had a hierarchy as well: travelling missionaries, deacons, presbyters, seventy-two bishops, twelve apostles, with a thirteenth representing Manes as head of all. Worship consisted simply of prayers and hymns: no temples, altars, or images. And they had but one great Feast, which they kept in March, in honour of the founder's death. It was that of the Pulpit, raised on five steps and richly apparelled, and so offered for the veneration of the faithful.²

Manichæism is an anticipation of protestantism in its idolatry of the pulpit, its anti-sacramentalism, its view of the body as the prison-house of the soul, and of religion as exclusively spiritual. It would, of course, be difficult to prove an historical connexion sufficient to account for these similar features of the two religions.

¹ A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iii. 323.

² Augustine, *Contra epist. Manichæi*, § 9 (*Op.* viii. 156 c, d; *P. L.* xlii. 178 sq.).

But Manichaeism had historical connexions which, for all its fantastic appearance, give it great importance.

First, like Gnosticism, its precursor, it was not a Christian heresy but a heathen system¹ which adopted Christian language in an 'illusory'² sense. The Manichaean spoke, for example, of the 'redemption' and 'restoration' of mankind as 'the mask of a radically physical conception'. So men do now: and Manichaeism therefore is 'not un instructive for those who see the physical order not seldom exalted above the moral, and religious phrases calmly misused in this or that non-religious sense'.³

Secondly, it has been a very long-lived error; and lasted far on into the Middle Ages, both in East and West. Repressed by Emperors, pagan and Christian, from Diocletian to Theodosius⁴ in the fourth century; denounced in the fifth by bishops and Popes—Niceta⁵ in Serbia, Augustine⁶ in Africa, Leo⁷ in Rome—it reappeared among the Albigenses of the thirteenth century, and was put down in the last Crusade.⁸ But it recurs now in those divers lines of thought which deny, in effect, that matter has been sanctified by the Incarnation and say that, being in itself evil, it cannot be the means of sacramental grace.

Thirdly, in spite of this conflict with Catholic Christianity on a fundamental point, viz. that matter is the vehicle of Spirit and 'Spirit the final cause of matter',⁹ Manichaeism came within an ace of rivalling Christianity as one of the great religions of the world. As a rule, 'Oriental religions' were 'stationary'. Where they had grown up, there they remained as traditionary systems, and they manifested no inclination for adventure or conquest.' But Manichaeism, though only 'the ancient theistic dualism' of 'Zoroaster', 'had this notable peculiarity that it was a proselytizing religion. In this respect, it had parted com-

¹ 'An Hellenising Christianity,' says Socrates, *H. E.* i. xxii, § 1.

² W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 140, n. 1.

³ Ibid. 143; and R. C. Trench, *Hulsean Lectures*⁵, 21.

⁴ *Quis quis Manichaeorum* of 31 March 382 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 9); and Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 152, ed. Bury).

⁵ Niceta of Remesiana, *De Symbolo*, § 10 (ed. A. E. Burn, 48).

⁶ Manichaeism receives fuller treatment, in connexion with Augustine, *infra*.

⁷ Leo the Great, *Ep.* vii, § 1, and *Sermo*, xvi, § 4 (*Op.* 624 and 50; *P. L.* liv. 620 sq., and 178 o).

⁸ Gibbon, c. liv (vi. 124, ed. Bury); R. C. Trench, *Mediaeval Church History*, Lecture xv.

⁹ J. R. Illingworth, *The Divine Immanence*, 15, 130; *The Christian Character*, 164.

pany with the parent stock. It was Magianism, not staying at home and content with its ancestral domains, but wandering about over the whole world, like a knight-errant in the cause of truth and in quest of disciples'.¹

Fourthly, it has a personal interest. Next to St. Paul, the greatest of all converts was St. Augustine; and for nine years he became a disciple of Manichaeism. It allured him, and many others, because it professed to give demonstration,² and so to dispense with faith. In particular, it offered knowledge of the physical universe; and this, Christianity has never professed to give.³ So the Manichaean would look down upon the Christian with scorn,⁴ as unscientific. But after he had escaped from its toils Augustine did good service, alike to science and to faith, by insisting that the 'supreme need was to know God' and that "trust" was a reasonable principle'.⁵

¹ J. B. Mozley, *Lectures on O. T.*³ 261.

² e. g. on 'unde malum', Aug. *Conf.* iii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 92 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 688); and on 'initium, medium et finem', Aug. *De actis cum Felice*, i, § 9 (*Op.* viii. 477 A; *P. L.* xlii. 525).

³ Thus 'Scripture is . . . profitable . . . for instruction which is in righteousness' (2 Tim. iii. 16), and the Creeds ignore philosophy.

⁴ Aug. *Contra Faustum*, xxii, § 25 (*Op.* viii. 377 sq.; *P. L.* xlii. 417); Mozley, *Lect. on O. T.*³, 269.

⁵ Aug. *De utilitate credendi*, § 2 (*Op.* viii, 45 sq.; *P. L.* xlii. 66); and *De fide rerum quae non videntur*, § 4 (*Op.* vi. 143; *P. L.* xl. 173), and Document No. 213. 'Faith', in Scripture, is opposed not to 'reason' but to 'sight', 2 Cor. v. 7.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAST PERSECUTION, 303-13

THE sequel to forty years of peace was the last and greatest persecution.¹ We have to trace, in § 1, its causes : how far was Diocletian, by whose name it is known, personally responsible for it ; in § 2 its course from the first of his edicts, 24 February 303, to the edict of Milan, March 313 ; and, then, its consequences to the inner life of the Church. It led, first, to schism, in, § 3, Meletianism and, § 4, Donatism ; and, further, to, § 5, synods. They were needed, as under Decius, to deal with the question of the lapsed and other questions arising out of the persecution. The chief authorities are (1) Eusebius, in the eighth and ninth books of his *Ecclesiastical History* together with *The Martyrs of Palestine* usually inserted between them ; and (2) the African, Lactantius.² He was a convert to Christianity, and a pupil of Arnobius.³ But he excelled his master in eloquence.⁴ The humanists, following Jerome, styled him the Christian Cicero⁵ ; and he must have won distinction in Africa as an orator, for Diocletian made him professor of Latin Rhetoric at his new capital of Nicomedia. There we find him when the persecution was raging. It compelled him to quit his office ; but not until he had seen enough to enable him to write, c. 314, from personal experience, an account of the persecution in his *De mortibus persecutorum*.⁶ The pamphlet is written with a purpose, to show that the God of the Christians has vindicated Himself, as may be seen from the bad end to which most of their enemies came ; but ' due allowance being

¹ On the persecution under Diocletian see P. Allard, *La persécution de Dioclétien* (2 vols., Paris, 1890) ; P. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, c. iv (Paris, 1897) ; A. J. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian* (Cambridge, 1876).

² For whom see Bardenhewer, 203-8.

³ Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, c. lxxx (*Op.* ii. 919 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 687 B).

⁴ ' Vir omnium suo tempore eloquentissimus,' Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 319 (*Op.* viii ; *P. L.* xxvii. 669).

⁵ ' Fluvius eloquentiae Tullianae,' Jerome, *Ep.* lviii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 326 ; *P. L.* xxii. 585).

⁶ Text in Lactantius, *Op.* ii (*P. L.* vii. 190-276, and *C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 171-238) ; tr. A.-N. C. L. xxii. 164-211 ; extracts in E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 67 sqq. Out of fifty-two chapters, the persecution, begun under Diocletian, occupies cc. vii-lit.

made for the tendency ' thus revealed ' the *De mortibus* is a very important contemporary source '.¹

§ 1. It is not easy to be sure of the causes which led to the rupture of what may be called the second ' Long Peace '.

This peace lasted for forty years, from the Rescript of Gallienus, 261, to the first Edict of Diocletian, 303. Eighteen of these forty years ran into the reign of Diocletian, who became Emperor 17 September 284 and abdicated 1 May 305. There was thus a considerable epoch of peace before the outbreak of the persecution that goes by his name. The Church was not morally the better for the peace. ' On account of the abundant freedom ', says Eusebius, ' we fell into laxity and sloth ' ²; and this summary statement is borne out by several details of fact. Relieved by the imperial favour from the necessity of taking part in the sacrifices, Christians occupied high place in the administrative and the financial departments of government. Thus Philoromus was a Justice at Alexandria ³; and, in Phrygia, Adauctus was an official of the Treasury.⁴ In municipal life local magnates who were Christians served as *Flamen* ⁵ or *Duovir* ⁶; and this was tolerated by the Church either at the price of a not too irksome penance or, in the East, without more ado. Thus in a small town of Phrygia, all of whose inhabitants were Christian, the mayor, the chief-constable, and the town-councillors were Christians to a man ⁷: while at Heraclea, in Thrace, one of the citizens found no difficulty in serving both as deacon and as member of the municipal council.⁸ Security such as this could hardly leave the standard of morals and discipline among Christians at its former level; and in the legislation of the Council of Illiberis,⁹ c. 300, which was held before the persecution, we can trace not merely the inroads of paganism against which the Church had always

¹ Bury's Gibbon, i. 448; so, too, P. Allard, *P. D.* i. xxxix sqq.; A. J. Mason, *P. D.* 64 sq.

² Eus. *H. E.* viii. i, § 7; Gibbon, c. xvi (i. 116 sq., ed. Bury).

³ Eus. *H. E.* viii. ix, § 7.

⁴ Ibid. viii. xi, § 2.

⁵ ' *Flamines qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinuerint sacrificiis, placuit in finem eis praestare communionem, acta tamen legitima paenitentia,*' Conc. Illib., c. 3 (Mansi, ii. 6 B; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 222). Cf. can. 55 (Mansi, ii. 15 A).

⁶ Conc. Ill., c. 56 (Mansi, ii. 15 A).

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* viii. xi, § 1.

⁸ *Passio S. Philippi*, §§ 7, 10, ap. Th. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera*, 447, 450.

⁹ Mansi, ii. 5-19; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ² iv. 255-74; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 212-64. Illiberis, later Elbira, is situated in the south of Spain, near Granada.

to be on its guard, but also disorders peculiar to periods of prosperity. Mixed marriages between Christian and heathen,¹ divorce,² cruelty to slaves,³ ownership of slaves for purposes of self-indulgence,⁴ usury,⁵ delation,⁶ slander,⁷ neglect of Christian worship,⁸ attendance at heathen ceremonies,⁹ gambling,¹⁰ and sorcery¹¹ are among the things forbidden to Christians by the Council; while infidelity among consecrated virgins¹² and scandalous¹³ and worldly¹⁴ living among clerics are also singled out for reprobation. These offences may have been exceptional; for otherwise they would not have been selected for punishment. But there they were, and the Council, in directing attention to them, bears out in detail the summary statement of Eusebius that the Church had acquiesced in lower standards during the peace. Such acquiescence is largely accounted for by her being prosperous and in favour. Large congregations led to the replacement of the ancient oratories by large churches,¹⁵ as at Rome¹⁶ and at Carthage¹⁷; they were already beginning to be decorated, though the Council of Illiberis disapproved of the practice,¹⁸ with painting and colour. There was a 'lofty' cathedral at Nicomedia,¹⁹ the new capital of Diocletian.²⁰ At Court, the highest positions about his person were held by Christian chamberlains—Dorotheus,²¹ Gorgonius,²² and Peter²³—who were on terms of intimacy with him; and both his wife, Prisca, and his

¹ cc. 15-17.² cc. 8-10.³ c. 5.⁴ c. 67.⁵ c. 20.⁶ c. 73.⁷ 'Hi qui inventi fuerint libellos famosos in ecclesia ponere anathematizentur,' c. 52. This is evidence for the existence of buildings specially devoted to worship.⁸ cc. 21, 45.⁹ cc. 57, 59.¹⁰ c. 79.¹¹ c. 6.¹² c. 13.¹³ c. 18.¹⁴ c. 19, and Document No. 170.¹⁵ Eus. *H. E.* viii. i, § 5.¹⁶ Of the twenty-five 'titular' churches which existed in Rome at the end of the fifth century several date from before the last persecution. None of the twenty-five are found in the four central 'regions' which formed the heart of the City and of paganism; and their distribution thus seems to reflect the arrangements of a time when paganism was dominant: see L. Duchesne, 'Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge—II "Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies"', *ap. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Mai 1887, p. 231.¹⁷ e.g. the Basilica novorum, Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 25 (*Op.* ix. 568 A; *P. L.* xliii. 638).¹⁸ Conc. Illib., c. 36; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 240¹⁹ 'Fanum illud editissimum Lactantius,' *De mort. pers.* xii, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 187).²⁰ On Diocletian's 'infinita quaedam cupiditas aedificandi' see *ibid.*, c. vii, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 181), and Document No. 178.²¹ Eus. *H. E.* viii. i, § 4.²² *Ibid.*²³ *Ibid.* viii. vi, §§ 2-4.

daughter, Valeria, were Christians too.¹ What then led him—‘the strongest and the wisest ruler that Rome had seen for three centuries’²—to consent to persecution; and that, after twenty years of peace and within two years of his intended³ abdication?

The old theory that the persecution was simply the culmination of his entire policy,⁴ i.e. that, having settled political affairs, he next turned his attention to the religious situation, need not now be discussed.⁵ It is probably a mistake: it had never been the intention of Diocletian to attack the Church: it is certain that the initiative came from Galerius. But there is this much of truth in connecting the persecution with the tetrarchy⁶: in ‘giving himself colleagues’⁷ Diocletian had given away some of his independence; and, in making that sacrifice for the unity of the Empire, he could not but have been conscious of a rival unity, secured without effort—the unity of the Church. The Church was an *imperium in imperio*⁸; and the old Emperor may have been induced, on that ground, to make one more effort to stamp it out.

A second theory is that Diocletian was induced to persecute by Galerius, ‘the younger and the stronger man.’⁹ But this is hardly what we should expect from so great and wise an Emperor, unless old age broke down his powers of resistance. Yet perhaps old age, coupled with the ‘depressing influence’ of his impending ‘malady’, turned the scale in favour of persecution. ‘These concurrent motives’ may even have ‘induced him . . . to consent with . . . reluctance to the final committal of the imperial authority in a contest in which the complete submission of the opposite party could only be expected by those who were altogether ignorant of its strength’.¹⁰

A third theory, supplementing the second, is that there was a plot among the Christians of the Palace to divert the succession

¹ Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* xv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 188).

² A. C. McGiffert, *Eusebius in N. and P.-N. F.* i. 398.

³ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 387, ed. Bury); Mason, *P. D.* 22 sq.

⁴ O. Hunziker, *Zur Regierung und Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Diocletianus* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 153. He follows J. A. W. Neander, †1850.

⁵ See the discussion in Mason, *P. D.* 71 sqq.

⁶ For the dates which set up the tetrarchy—17 September 284, Diocletian Augustus; 1 April 286, Maximian Augustus; 1 March 293, two Caesars—Galerius, who married Diocletian’s daughter, Valeria, and Constantius, who married Theodora, the daughter of Maximian, having divorced his first wife, Helena, the mother of Constantine, in order to do so.

⁷ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 352, ed. Bury).

⁸ For ‘the great power of the Church as a corporation’ see Mason, *P. D.* 86sq.

⁹ Mason, *P. D.* 57. ¹⁰ H. H. Milman, *History of Christianity*, ii. 213.

from Galerius, and that the latter took advantage of its discovery to turn his wavering chief against them.¹ Only with such a purpose would the Christian servants of Diocletian—who had so long enjoyed his favour—have been likely to take part in it. But once such a plot was afoot, it could be nursed by Galerius in the long visit which he paid to Nicomedia² in the winter of 302-3; and, when sufficient proof was forthcoming, its exposure would lead naturally to the course which things actually took. A council of high officials was called in to consult³: among them the Neo-Platonist, Hierocles, president of Bithynia,⁴ who had already entered the field with an appeal ‘to the Christians’⁵ in his *Philaletes*⁶ or *The Truth-lover*. The advice of the oracle of Apollo, near Miletus, was taken.⁷ And Diocletian at last gave in.⁸ The severity with which he treated his own Christian dependents⁹ is in striking contrast to his reservation that, in general, no blood was to be shed.¹⁰ It seems to commend the theory that the final resolve was taken in consequence of a plot in which Christians of the palace were concerned.

• § 2. In the course of the persecution we may distinguish three

¹ McGiffert, *Eusebius in N. and P.-N. F.* i. 398 sq.

² Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* x, § 6, xi, §§ 3, 4; Allard, *P. D.* i. 148.

³ Lact. *De mort. pers.* xi, § 6.

⁴ Ibid. xvi, § 4.

⁵ ‘Non contra . . . sed ad Christianos,’ Lact. *De divinis institutionibus*, v. ii, § 13 (*C. S. E. L.* xix. 406).

⁶ Ibid. v. iii, § 22 (*ib.* xix. 410); and for an account of this work, written from the Neo-Platonist standpoint, see *ibid.* v. ii, iii; Allard, *P. D.* i. 217-21; Mason, *P. D.* 58-62. Of the same school was Porphyry, 232-†304 (*Eus. H. E.* vi. xix, § 2), with whom it was that Neo-Platonism (Allard, *P. D.* i. 74) first came into direct conflict with Christianity. His attack was made, c. 290-300, in his fifteen books, *Contra Christianos*, now extant only in fragments. It was extremely able. He did not, like Celsus, seek to asperse the character of our Lord, but treated Him with great respect; and then went on to show that His disciples had misrepresented Him when they gave out that He was an opponent of the gods; and, further, that, in various ways the Scriptures are inconsistent and unworthy of credit. Augustine well characterizes this type of anti-Christian polemic when he says of Porphyry and his friends that they were ‘vani Christi laudatores et Christianae religionis obliqui obtrectatores’ (*De consensu Evangelistarum*, i, § 23 [*Op.* iii. ii. 10 G; *P. L.* xxxiv. 1052]). But they were dangerous adversaries, and hence Theodoret speaks of Porphyry as ‘our implacable enemy’, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*. lib. x (*Op.* iv. 954; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 1065 A). ‘Indeed it was Porphyry who first made Neo-Platonism anti-Christian,’ W. E. H. Lecky, *European Morals*, i. 330: for the best account of Porphyry, see C. Bigg, *Neo-platonism*, c. xxii.

⁷ Lact. *De mort. pers.* xi, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 186).

⁸ Ibid., § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 186), and Document No. 179.

⁹ *Eus. H. E.* viii. vi, §§ 1-5; Lact. *M. P.* xv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 188).

¹⁰ ‘Rem sine sanguine transigi iuberet,’ Lact. *M. P.* xi, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 186).

stages. It was, at first, (a) universal. This was the Diocletian persecution proper, for it continued from the first edict of Diocletian to his abdication, i.e. from 303-5. Then followed (b) an eastern phase under Galerius and Maximin, 305-11, which was brought to a close by the first grudging edict of toleration, 30 April 311, put out by Galerius from his death-bed. The third and (c) last phase was a brief renewal of the persecution in the East by Maximin, 311-13.

(a) Diocletian's persecution opened rather more than two years before the abdication of its author. Nor is it misnamed. Diocletian 'did give, with whatever unwillingness, the first impulse'.¹ He 'acquired the real responsibility for the persecution'.² Eight or ten years before a universal persecution was proclaimed some premonitions of the coming attack appeared. Thus, 295, in Africa, under Maximian, two Christian soldiers, Maximilian,³ a young conscript, and Marcellus,⁴ a centurion, were put to death for what was really 'insubordination',⁵ the former at Teveste in Numidia⁶ and the latter at Tingis in Mauretania.⁷ Similar, though more pardonable, insubordination on the part of a Christian soldier named Dasius⁸ led to his death at Dorostorum, now Silistria in Bulgaria. A little later Galerius, perhaps taking advantage of such breaches of discipline, persuaded Diocletian to 'purify'⁹ the army by ordering that all soldiers should offer sacrifice; and, again at Dorostorum, two soldiers named Nicander and Marcian,¹⁰ and a veteran named Julius,¹¹ refused to comply and were put to death. But nothing indicative of a general persecution occurred until after the conferences of Diocletian and Galerius at Nicomedia in the winter of 302-3. Then suddenly, on 23 February 303, under the eyes of the two

¹ W. Bright, *The age of the Fathers*, i. 2.

² The phrase which Dr. Bright used in lecture. From this point onwards, I am much indebted to what I learned from him in 1890-2.

³ For the *Acta Maximiliani* see Ruinart, 340-2; Knopf, 79-8; Mason, tr. in *Historic Martyrs*, 206-9; and cf. Allard, *P. D.* i. 99 sqq.; Mason, *P. D.* 44 sqq.

⁴ For the *Acta Marcelli* see Ruinart, 342-4; Knopf, 82-4; Mason, *H. M.* 209-10; and cf. Allard, *P. D.* i. 133-7; Mason, *P. D.* 45 sq.

⁵ Mason, *P. D.* 46. ⁶ Now Tebessa in Algiers. ⁷ Now Tangier.

⁸ For the *Martyrium Dasii* see Knopf, 86-90; Mason, *H. M.* 347-9.

⁹ For this phrase cf. Eus. *H. E.* viii. iv, § 3, where it is used only of a local commander, Veturius, who appears to have acted on his own responsibility; Mason, *P. D.* 41 sq.

¹⁰ For their *Acta* see Ruinart, 571-3; Mason, *H. M.* 211-16.

¹¹ For the *Acta Iulii* see Ruinart, 569 sq.; Mason, *H. M.* 216-19.

rulers, an attack was made on the cathedral there, and it was razed to the ground by the Praetorian Guard.¹

• Next day appeared the first of the four edicts. It (1) forbade meetings for worship²; (2) 'commanded the churches to be levelled with the ground and (3) the Scriptures to be destroyed with fire'; and (4) ordered that Christians of official position should be deprived both of rank and of citizenship while 'they of Caesar's household, if they held to their profession of Christianity, should be deprived of freedom'. We do not possess the text of the enactment; but 'such', says Eusebius, in summarizing its contents, 'was the first edict against us'.³ Comparing the edict with similar legislation in earlier reigns, we note that it was old in so far as by its first clause it prohibited assemblies for worship,⁴ but new in that by its second it took notice of Christian Churches.⁵ The third clause requiring that the Scriptures were to be given up and burnt was new; and it was a shrewd move. 'The earlier persecutors had sought to deprive the Church of its teachers; • Diocletian endeavoured to destroy the writings which were the unfailing source of its faith.'⁶ The third clause also struck at • Christian worship. Nor were its unforeseen effects unimportant. It led to the offence of the *traditor*, i.e. to the giving up of the ↓ Scriptures and so to the schism of the Donatists lest, as they said, they should be guilty of complicity in the offence by remaining in communion with the Church where its bishops had surrendered the Scriptures to the agents of Diocletian. And it led to more careful discrimination, on the part of the bishops and other custodians of the books of the churches, between the canonical and other Scriptures⁷; so that this third clause in the edict marks an important stage in the delimiting of the canon of the New Testament. As to the fourth and final clause, which, if we rightly interpret it, deprived Christian officials of their rank and of their

¹ Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* xii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 186 sq.), and Document No. 180.

² Eus. *H. E.* ix. x, § 8.

³ Eus. *H. E.* viii. ii, §§ 4 and 5, and Document No. 185; and cf. Lact. *M. P.* xiii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 187). If we had the preambles of the edicts, we should know more of the motives which inspired the persecution.

⁴ The edict of Valerian was explicit upon this point, as we gather from Dio. *Al. ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. xi, §§ 4, 10, 11.

⁵ Mason, *P. D.* 105 sq.

⁶ B. F. Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵ 411.

⁷ The edict probably contained 'an accurate description of the books to be surrendered', Westcott, *Canon of N. T.*⁵ 413; whence, as in the request of the magistrate Felix to Paul, bishop of Cirta (Constantine), in Numidia, 'Proferte scripturas legis', *Gesta apud Zenophilum* [A. D. 320], relating to persecution of A. D. 303, *ap. Aug. Op.* ix, app. 29 D (*P. L.* xliii. 794).

citizenship, and servants of the Court and of officials of their liberty,¹ this was to repeal the rescript of Gallienus² and to go back, for a precedent, to the rescript of his father, Valerian³; but with mitigations. Diocletian makes no attack, as did Valerian, on the clergy or on ladies⁴; and he carefully abstains from bloodshed. Nevertheless, the net result of the edict as a whole was serious enough. Worship was forbidden, and instruction at worship rendered difficult by the loss of the Scriptures. The churches were destroyed. And membership in the Church carried with it civil degradation. The edict was torn down by a gentleman of Nicomedia,⁵ whom some have sought to identify with St. George of England.⁶ He was burnt for high treason.⁷ Then a fire broke out in the Palace, and the slaves of Diocletian were put to the torture in the hope of securing evidence; but without result. A fortnight passed, and there was a second fire. Galerius, in simulated alarm, hurried away from Nicomedia.⁸ But he had accomplished his task, and had the satisfaction of seeing his father-in-law convinced that it was the work of the Christians: for Diocletian now forced his wife and daughter to abjure the Faith,⁹ and put to death his Christian chamberlains.¹⁰ There were risings, too, in Syria and Melitene.¹¹ They might easily find support from the now Christian nation of Armenia¹²; and, suspecting Christian complicity, Diocletian put out a second edict, probably in March 303, that the clergy were to be imprisoned.¹³ So far as this was an attack on the clergy, it repeats the programme of Valerian; but with the modification still characteristic of Diocletian. He substituted, for death,¹⁴ the penalty of

¹ *Τοὺς δὲ ἐν οἰκείαις* = acc. to Mason, 'private persons', as opposed to 'officials' (*τιμῆς*), *P. D.* 344; but 'servants', i.e. 'freedmen born or freedmen', seems better: see *Eus. H. E.* viii. ii, § 4, and *A. C.* McGiffert, *ad loc.* ² *Eus. H. E.* vii. xii, § 2, and Document No. 167.

³ As described in Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxx, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 839 sq.).

⁴ Perhaps, because of his wife and daughter.

⁵ 'Quidam,' says Lactantius, *M. P.* xiii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 187): Eusebius speaks of him as a man of some social standing, *Eus. H. E.* viii. v.

⁶ For whom see Bury's *Gibbon*, i. 568 sq., app. 22; for the identification, Mason, *P. D.* 117, n. 1. ⁷ *Lact. M. P.* xiii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 187).

⁸ *Ibid.* xiv (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 187 sq.).

⁹ *Ibid.* xv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 188).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 188); *Eus. H. E.* viii. vi, §§ 1-5.

¹¹ *Eus. H. E.* viii. vi, § 8.

¹² Mason, *P. D.* 124-31.

¹³ *Eus. H. E.* viii. ii, § 5; *Lact. M. P.* xv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 188); Mason, *P. D.* 133, and Document No. 185.

¹⁴ 'Incontinenti animadvertantur' was Valerian's order, Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxx, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. ii. 839); and Document No. 185.

imprisonment ; and still there was to be no bloodshed. Diocletian knew that indiscriminate slaughter would rouse fanaticism¹ ; and that this was where Decius and Valerian had failed. He knew also of the veneration paid to the relics of the martyrs,² and how it was a source of more conversions, more martyrdoms, and more fanaticism. So he still stopped short of the shedding of blood. What he wanted was not martyrs but hostages ; and these he secured by imprisoning the clergy.

These edicts were communicated to Maximian and Constantius,³ the Augustus and the Caesar of the West, and there suffered in Gaul and Britain, under Constantius, no one⁴ except St. Alban⁵ ; for the Caesar confined himself to destroying churches⁶ and did not even touch books. In Italy and Africa, under Maximian, the forty-nine martyrs of Abitina⁷ in Proconsular Africa perished, after trial on 12 February 304, for assembling to worship in contravention of the first clause of the first edict. They included the priest Saturninus and his four children : one of whom was Felix, a Reader, and his little boy Hilarian. The worship, of course, was the Eucharist⁸ ; and the Scriptures, of which it was an offence to be in possession, were those now represented by the Epistle and Gospel. For possession of such Scriptures and refusal to give them up, in accordance with the third clause of the first Edict, there perished also, on 30 August 303, Felix, bishop of Tibiuca,⁹ not far from Carthage. ' I have books,' he answered with ' pious obstinacy ',¹⁰ ' but I am not going to give them up '.¹¹

¹ ' Illos libenter mori solere,' said Diocletian of the Christians, Lact. *M. P.* xi, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 185). ² Eus. *H. E.* viii. vi, § 7.

³ Lact. *M. P.* xv, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 189).

⁴ ' Vexabatur ergo universa terra . . . praeter Gallias,' Lact. *M. P.* xvi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 189).

⁵ There is ' no reason to doubt ' his story, according to W. Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*³, 9 ; and there is a local tradition at St. Alban's which can be traced up to A. D. 429, i. e. to within 125 years of the event, A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils, &c.*, i. 6, note a.

⁶ Lact. *M. P.* xv, § 7 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 189). The statement of Eus. *H. E.* viii. xiii, § 12 is mistaken.

⁷ For the *Acta SS. Saturnini, &c.*, by a Donatist fellow-citizen of Abitina, see *P. L.* viii. 688 sqq., and Document No. 172 ; Mason, *H. M.* 406-15 ; and cf. Allard, *P. D.* i. 172-74, and L. Duchesne, ' Le dossier du Donatisme ', *ap. Mélanges d'archéologie*, x, p. 628, No. 3. Ruinart's version suppresses part.

⁸ They were charged at Carthage, before Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, as ' Christiani qui contra interdictum Imperatorum et Caesarum collectam et dominicum celebrassent ', *Acta*, c. v ; Ruinart, 416.

⁹ For his *Acta* see Ruinart, 390 sq. ; Knopf, 84-6 ; Mason, *H. M.* 404-6 ; *P. D.* 172-4 ; and cf. Allard, *P. D.* i. 208-11.

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 126, ed. Bury).

¹¹ ' Habeo, sed non dabo,' *Acta*, § 4.

His refusal contrasts with the charge of betraying the Scriptures alleged, though falsely,¹ against his namesake, Felix of Aptunga, or Autumna, in Proconsular Africa, whence the schism of the Donatists. In Spain, which seems to have gone with Italy and Africa at this time and so to have been not under the mild Constantius but under the bloodthirsty Maximian, the Church gave her testimony by the martyrdom at Valencia on 22 January 304 of St. Vincent,² the deacon of Caesaraugusta (now Saragossa), and the confessorship of Hosius,³ bishop of Corduba (now Cordova).

In the East, under Diocletian and his Caesar, Galerius, some Christians suffered under the first two edicts.

Thus in the Danubian provinces, where Galerius exercised authority, Philip,⁴ bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, and his deacon, Hermes, were brought up for trial, 6 January 304, under the second edict. The President, Bassus, was a merciful man, acting under pressure. His wife was a Christian: she must often have received the Eucharist from the prisoner, her bishop.⁵ The trial began on the Epiphany,⁶ and this is the first occasion on which mention is made of the Feast. The dialogue is inspiring and free from the aggressiveness of some of the martyrs, for Philip was a gentleman, as well as a bishop. He and his deacon were imprisoned for ten months: and at last, on 22 October, were burnt⁷ by a fiercer judge and under the fourth edict. For hiding the Scriptures⁸ in 303 and so offending against the second provision of the first edict, there perished, in the spring of 304, at Thessalonica, three sisters, Agape, Chionia, Irene, and their companions⁹;

¹ *Gesta purgationis Felicis* [A. D. 314], ap. Aug. *Op.* ix, app. 21 B (*P. L.* xliii. 784).

² For the *Passio S. Vincentii* see Ruinart, 400-6; Mason, *H. M.* 380-3; *P. D.* 151-2. The *Passion* of St. Vincent is not contemporary, but was composed within a century of his death, and was read on his feast-day in the churches of Africa; cf. Aug. *Sermo*, cclxxiv *ad fin.* (*Op.* v. 1110 c; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1253); and it agrees, for the most part, with the hymn of Prudentius, 348-†c. 405, a native of Saragossa, *Peristephanon*, v (*Op.* ii. 984-1025; *P. L.* lx. 378-411), and Ruinart, 406-11: see Allard, *P. D.* i. 236, n. 2, and transl. in F. S. J. Thackeray, *Translations from Prudentius*, 126-9.

³ So the letter of Hosius to the Emperor Constantius, grandson of Maximian, in 355; preserved in Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 44 (*Op.* i. 292; *P. G.* xxv. 744 D).

⁴ For his *Passio* see Ruinart, 440-8; Mason, *P. D.* 176-81; *H. M.* 332-41.

⁵ *Passio*, § 8 (Ruinart, 444).

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 2 (Ruinart, 440).

⁷ *Passio*, § 13 (Ruinart, 447); Allard, *P. D.* i. 312-20.

⁸ Irene had kept them instead of surrendering them, *Acta*, § 7 (Knopf, 94).

⁹ Ruinart, 424-7; Knopf, 91-7; Mason, *H. M.* 341-6; Allard, *P. D.* i. 278-84.

Irene being first condemned to a punishment worse than death¹ before she was burnt at the stake, 1 April.²

In Asia, Syria, and Egypt, regions which Diocletian kept under his immediate control, there were some executions for treason, as of Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus, 11 October 303 [? 4],³ in the amphitheatre at Anazarbus in Cilicia. Their *acta*⁴ are fuller than any of the time, for the Christians bribed an official of the court, with 'two hundred pence',⁵ to make a transcript; and so the record has come down to us complete. But for their case, the first year of the persecution was marked, in the eastern 'dioceses', by 'legality and moderation'⁶; even Galerius intervening at Antioch, 17 November 303, to rescue a deacon, Romanus, from the flames⁷ on the ground that the edicts, though the second condemned the clergy to imprisonment, stopped short of bloodshed.

A third edict, of 21 December 303, was connected with Diocletian's *Vicennalia*,⁸ on 20 November of that year. It extended the amnesty, usual on such occasions, to clerics provided that they would sacrifice⁹; and torture was to be employed, as an act of mercy, in order to persuade them to take advantage of it. Many complied,¹⁰ but others stood firm and remained in prison; among whom were Hosius, bishop of Cordova, and Donatus, to whom Lactantius dedicated the *De mortibus*,¹¹ and who was 'six years in prison'¹² and 'nine times submitted to the torture'.¹³ Little relief, however, can have followed from the amnesty; for shortly before its publication Diocletian had a mental collapse, and on 18 December 303 broke away from Rome to Ravenna¹⁴ before the celebrations were complete. The reins now fell into less sagacious but more violent hands.

On 30 April 304 Maximian put out the fourth edict, in the

¹ 'In lupanari nudam statui,' *Acta*, § 5 (Knopf, 96).

² *Acta*, § 7 (Knopf, 97).

³ For the date see Mason, *P. D.* 189, n. 2.

⁴ Ruinart, 451-76; Mason, *P. D.* 189-204; *H. M.* 259-82; Allard, *P. D.* i. 294-311.

⁵ *Acta*, prooem. (Ruinart, 451).

⁶ Mason, *P. D.* 189.

⁷ *Eus. Mart. Pal.* ii, §§ 2, 3; Mason, *P. D.* 188 sq.

⁸ Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 376, ed. Bury).

⁹ *Eus. H. E.* viii. ii, § 5; cf. vi, § 10; Mason, *P. D.* 206 sq.; Allard, *P. D.* i. 243.

¹⁰ *Eus. H. E.* viii. iii, § 1.

¹¹ *Lact. M. P.* i, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 171).

¹² *Ibid.* xxxv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 214).

¹³ *Ibid.* xvi, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 189).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xvii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 191).

name of himself and his co-Augustus who remained 'politically dead' all that year, and only recovered early in 305.¹ The laity were now to sacrifice or suffer for it.² This was to embark on a general persecution, and to reverse all the methods of Diocletian. He had relied on four measures for crushing out the corporate life of the Church, viz. the suppression of worship, of the churches, of the Scriptures, and of the clergy. And he had 'anxiously avoided all that could rouse fanatic zeal. The first result of the fourth Edict was to rouse it'³: as may be seen from the cases of Euplius,⁴ a deacon who was beheaded, 12 August 304, at Catania in Sicily, and of Eulalia, a veritable little fury, who was burnt at the stake at Emerita (now Merida) in Spain, 10 December 304. Unless the hymn of Prudentius⁵ belies her behaviour, Eulalia challenged martyrdom: she spat at the judge, flung down the altar, and trampled upon the incense⁶; and it was fanatic zeal, such as hers, that the Council of Elvira condemned by decreeing that 'if any one shall have destroyed idols and been slain on the spot . . . he be not included among the martyrs'.⁷ Such zeal, however, was of little avail; and Maximian and Galerius, who now had things their own way, revenged it by a deadly assault on Christian virginity, at the suggestion, it would seem, of Theotecnus. He was a renegade⁸ from Christianity to Neoplatonism, who became governor of Galatia and afterwards *Curator* at Antioch.⁹ He made the first experiments in this horrible device. Among its victims were Tecusa¹⁰ at Ancyra, Theodora¹¹ at Alexandria, Agnes¹² in Rome, and, as we have seen, Irene at Thessalonica.

¹ Lact. *M. P.* xvii, § 8 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 191).

² Eus. *Mart. Pal.* iii, § 1, and Document No. 186.

³ Mason, *P. D.* 222.

⁴ *Acta* in Ruinart, 437-8; Knopf, 97-9; Mason, *P. D.* 223-5; *H. M.* 372-4; and Allard, *P. D.* i. 407-10.

⁵ For this hymn see Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, iii (*Op.* ii. 941-61; *P. L.* lx. 340-57); Ruinart, 480-2; Mason, *P. D.* 225-7; *H. M.* 383-5; Thackeray, *Translations from Prudentius*, 120-5.

⁶ Verse 26 (Ruinart, 481).

⁷ *Conc. Illib.*, c. lx (Mansi, ii. 15 D); and Document No. 170.

⁸ *Passio S. Theodoti*, § 4 (Ruinart, 373-86); Mason, *P. D.* 355; *H. M.* 234.

⁹ Eus. *H. E.* ix. ii, § 2.

¹⁰ *Passio S. Theodoti*, § 13 (Ruinart, 377); Mason, *P. D.* 361; *H. M.* 236.

¹¹ *Acta SS. Didymi et Theodora*, § 4 (Ruinart, 430); Mason, *P. D.* 233; *H. M.* 329 sq. Didymus rescued her: the story was dramatized by P. Corneille, †1684.

¹² Ruinart, 486-7, and Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, xiv. 25 (*Op.* ii. 1213-24; *P. L.* lx. 580-90); Mason, *H. M.* 369 sq.; Allard, *P. D.* i. 385-97.

Early in 305 Diocletian had sufficiently recovered his mental balance to return to affairs of state ; and on 1 May 305, in accordance with plan, Diocletian and Maximian abdicated.¹ They were succeeded, as was intended by the arrangements which were to perpetuate the tetrarchy and a peaceful succession, by their Caesars. Thus there were again two Augusti, Constantius in the West and Galerius in the East. Diocletian, it seems, had intended that Constantine, son of Constantius, should succeed his father as Caesar. But he was inclining towards Christianity, and Galerius managed to keep him out.² Instead, he persuaded Diocletian to accept as the two Caesars, Maximin Daza, the 'semi-barbarous'³ nephew of Galerius, with authority over Syria and Egypt ; and Severus, a convivial fellow⁴ but 'devoted to . . . his benefactor'⁵ rather than to his constitutional chief, Constantius. He was given authority over Italy and Africa.⁶ 'Three-fourths of the monarchy,'⁷ therefore, were now, as it seemed, to be controlled by Galerius, 'the first and principal author of the persecution'.⁸

- (b) And hence the persecution under Galerius and his nephew Maximin, 305-11.

In the East it raged with great severity, which culminated in the year 308. It is true that, in the spring of that year, there was a relaxation : mutilation⁹ being substituted for death. But in the autumn there appeared the Fifth Edict. Inspired by Maximin and the *odium theologicum* of his adviser, the apostate Theotecnus, it ordered that in all cities the altars were to be re-erected ; all, even infants at the breast, were to be forced to make their communion in the sacrifices ; and the meat in the markets was to be sprinkled with lustral water.¹⁰ The edict inaugurated that veritable reign of terror which is depicted for us by Eusebius in the latter part of his *Martyrs of Palestine*. Among them

¹ Lactantius, *M. P.* xix (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 194 sq.) ; Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 385 sqq., ed. Bury).

² Ibid. xviii, §§ 10, 11 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 193 sq.).

³ Ibid., § 13 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 194).

⁴ Ibid., § 12 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 194).

⁵ Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 396, ed. Bury).

⁶ With which, at this time, went Spain. Spain was not then in the dominions of Constantius, nor of Constantine till his victory over Maxentius, 312, Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 19 (i. 399, ed. Bury).

⁷ Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 396 ed. Bury).

⁸ Ibid., c. xvi (ii. 131, ed. Bury).

⁹ Eus. *Mart. Pal.* viii, § 1 ; Mason, *P. D.* 281. It was possibly a result of the Congress of Carnuntum, November 307.

¹⁰ Eus. *Mart. Pal.* ix, § 2 ; Mason, *P. D.* 284 sq., and Document No. 187.

perished his friend Pamphilus,¹ a presbyter of Caesarea, †16 February 309, and eleven companions.² Pamphilus had been in prison since the autumn of 307, and wrote from his prison, with the help of Eusebius, the *Apology for Origen*, which the latter completed and published after the martyr's death.³ Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, had been beheaded about the time that Pamphilus had been cast into prison: his *Acta*⁴ are of special interest, for they show that Phileas, no less than his judge, was a scholar and a gentleman,⁵ and that bishop and governor recognized each other as cultivated men. Peter, bishop of Alexandria, 300-†311 and 'a splendid model of a bishop', met his death 25 November 311.⁶ He had warned his people, at the outbreak of the persecution, against communicating with Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis,⁷ to whom Phileas also, while in prison, had addressed a remonstrance for ignoring 'the great bishop Peter'.⁸ Both these documents have come down to us, and so too has the *Epistola canonica*⁹ of Peter. It is an epitome of a short treatise on penance, published just before Easter, 306; and in its fourteen canons, Peter lays down the conditions on which those who had fallen in the persecution may be readmitted to communion. A third victim of distinction was Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia, who perished in 311.¹⁰ In his dialogue, *De libero arbitrio*, directed against Gnostic dualism and determinism, he denies the eternity of matter as the principle of evil; and contends that evil is due to the free-will of rational creatures.¹¹ He was also instrumental in vindicating tradition against the

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxxii, § 25.

² Eus. *Mart. Pal.* xi.

³ In six books, only the first of which has been preserved, in a Latin translation by Rufinus, q.v. in Origen, *Op.* vii (*P. G.* xvii. 541-616), and (incomplete) in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iii. 485-512, iv. 339-92.

⁴ Ruinart, 519-21; Knopf, 102-6; Mason, *P. D.* 290-4; *H. M.* 319-23; Allard, *P. D.* ii. 103-9.

⁵ So, too, Eus. *H. E.* viii. x, § 1, and the Letter of Phileas to his flock there given in §§ 2-10; cf. Allard, *P. D.* ii. 54-6; *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 440-3.

⁶ Eus. *H. E.* vii. xxxii, § 31, viii. xiii, § 7, ix. vi, § 2; Allard, *P. D.* ii. 189; and *D. C. B.* iv. 331-4, by W. Bright. His works are tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 267-332.

⁷ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 94; *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 323, and Document No. 175.

⁸ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 92; *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 444, and Document No. 173.

⁹ *Ibid.*⁷ iv. 21-51; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 292-322; Allard, *P. D.* v. 32-5.

¹⁰ 'Ad extremum novissimae persecutionis,' Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 83 (*Op.* ii. 923; *P. L.* xxiii. 691 A). The fragments of Methodius are found in *P. G.* xviii. 9-408; *Schriften*, i, ed. G. N. Bonwetsch (Erlangen, 1891); tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 120-38; cf. Bardenhewer, 175-8. Eusebius does not mention him: he was too hostile to Origen to be noticed by a 'liberal'.

¹¹ *P. G.* xviii. 239-66; *Schriften*, i. 1-62.

idiosyncrasies of Origenism; and it was he, as much as any theologian of the time, who thus gave to the theology of the Nicene age its saner standpoint.¹

In the West, during the supremacy of Galerius, things went more happily for the Church: indeed it was there that this supremacy was undermined. So long as Constantius ruled in the West, Christians in his territories were free from persecution. Upon his death, 25 July 306, at York,² events combined not only to check the ambitions of Galerius in the West, but also to break down the persecution which he and his nephew were carrying on in the East. Thus Galerius had, first, to accept the elevation of Constantine, 274-†337, beyond the Alps; he was recognized as Caesar, with only a titular Augustus in Severus, the nominee of Galerius.³ Next Galerius had to accept 'the loss of Italy and Africa'⁴ by the revolt of Maxentius,⁵ 27 October 306. This brought to an end 'a short but violent persecution'⁶ in those countries; and Maxentius stood out, with his father Maximian, who now reassumed the diadem, as the champion both of Rome, so long neglected in favour of Nicomedia, and Milan, and also of the Christians on whose gratitude he depended.⁷ Maximian and Maxentius defeated Severus at Ravenna; and, February 307, he was allowed to open his veins and die at Rome.⁸

To avenge the death of his co-Augustus, Galerius invaded Italy⁹ April 307. But he was out-generalled by Maximian,¹⁰ and had then to appeal to Diocletian at the Congress of Carnuntum (now Hainburg, on the Danube, just east of Vienna) in November. But for the elevation of Licinius, 11 November 307, the Congress produced little permanent effect; and soon there were, in abolition of the Tetrarchy, six Augusti,¹¹ 308. In the East Galerius ruled over Thrace and Asia; Maximian over Syria and Egypt; Licinius over Illyricum. In the West authority was divided between Maximian, the old colleague of Diocletian, his son

¹ A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxvii. ² Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 399, ed. Bury).

³ Lactantius, *M. P.* xxiv, xxv (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 200 sq.); Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 399); Mason, *P. D.* 250.

⁴ Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 397).

⁵ *Ibid.* (i. 401 sqq.).

⁶ Gibbon, c. xvi (i. 129).

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* viii. xiv, § 1.

⁸ Lact. *M. P.*, c. xxvi (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 201-3); Mason, *P. D.* 252 sq.

⁹ *Ibid.* xxvii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 204); Mason, *P. D.* 254.

¹⁰ Gibbon, c. xiv and n. 29 (i. 405, ed. Bury).

¹¹ Lact. *M. P.* xxix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 206); Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 408, ed. Bury).

Maxentius,¹ and Constantine, who had become son-in-law to Maximian by marriage with his daughter, Fausta,² †326.

Such was the political situation in the year of the Fifth Edict and the reign of terror in the East: the interest of the sequel is to see how, after (1) a short period during which the balance of power was maintained, 308-10, there followed (2) a second, during which rivalries were again set free by the deaths of the two older Augusti, 310-11, and then (3) a third, when the six were at last reduced to two, 311-13, who did not persecute. Thus in February 310 Maximian, after quarrelling with his son³ and then with his son-in-law, was captured by Constantine at Marseilles, and there allowed to commit suicide.⁴ In May 311 Galerius was seized with the awful disease⁵ which has punished some of the worst persecutors of history—Antiochus Epiphanes,⁶ †164 B.C., Herod Agrippa I,⁷ †A.D. 44, Hunneric, King of the Vandals⁸ in Africa, †484, and Philip II, King of Spain,⁹ †1598. He put out from his death-bed at Sardica,¹⁰ now Sophia in Bulgaria, the 'first grudging edict of toleration'¹¹, 30 April 311, which brought the second stage of the persecution to a close. It enacted 'that Christians may exist again, and may set up their meetings' for worship: so that Christianity was once more a *religio licita*, with a claim to rank among 'the institutions of the ancients'.¹² It was a surrender at discretion, intended to propitiate the Christians and to secure their loyalty to the Empire. Galerius died on 5 May; and there were now four Augusti. In the East Maximin succeeded to his Asiatic,¹³ and Licinius to his European, dominions; and in the West, while Constantine ruled in Gaul and Britain,¹⁴ Maxentius, not recognized by the other three,¹⁵

¹ Maxentius was, at first, left out; but, in April 308, he asserted himself, against Maximian, as sole Augustus, Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 38 (i. 409, ed. Bury).

² Lact. *M. P.*, c. xxvii, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 204).

³ Lact. *M. P.*, c. xxviii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 205); Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 408 sq.).

⁴ Lact. *M. P.*, cc. xxix, xxx (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 205-8). ●

⁵ Ibid., c. xxxiii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 210-12); Eus. *H. E.* viii. xvi, § 4.

⁶ 2 Macc. ix. 9.

⁷ Acts xii. 23.

⁸ Victor Vitensis, *De persecutione Vandalica*, v, § 21 (*Op.* 49; *P. L.* lviii. 258 c).

⁹ Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 44 (i. 411).

¹⁰ Ibid., n. 45 (i. 411).

¹¹ H. M. Gwatkin, *Selections*³, p. xx.

¹² Lact. *M. P.* xxxiv, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 213); Eus. *H. E.* viii. xvii, § 9, and Document No. 181.

¹³ Lact. *M. P.* xxxiv, §§ 2, 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 212 sq.); Eus. *H. E.* viii. xvii, §§ 6, 8, and the note of A. C. McGiffert *ad loc.* (*N. and P.-N. F.* i. 339).

¹⁴ Lact. *M. P.* xxxvi, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 214); Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 411).

¹⁵ Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 412).

¹⁶ Ibid., c. xiv, n. 46 (i. 412).

maintained what was therefore regarded as a 'tyranny' in Italy, Africa, and Spain,¹ 306-†12.

(c) Maximin, free from all control and with territories enlarged, was now bent upon renewing the persecution in the East,² till events compelled his overthrow.

To take, first, his persecution.

Maximin was obliged at first to administer the toleration bequeathed to the Church by Galerius and supported by Constantine and Licinius. But he did so with a bad grace; and merely gave his Prefect Sabinus verbal instructions³ to relax the pressure and let the new policy be known to his subordinates. The letter in which Sabinus circulated these instructions is preserved for us by Eusebius.⁴ It was received with relief. The magistrates were glad to get rid of an odious duty; and the Christians began to return home in considerable numbers.⁵ So things went on for about six months,⁶ May to October 311.

But on the death of Galerius Maximin became master of the whole East, and so felt secure enough to take back his unwilling concessions. He began by forbidding Christians to 'meet for worship in the cemeteries'⁷; and then proceeded to work up a public opinion hostile to the Church by means of petitions, placards, and pamphlets. The petitions were such as he caused to be presented to himself, on a progress which he made during the last months of 311; from various towns⁸—Tyre,⁹ Antioch,¹⁰ Nicomedia,¹¹ and Aricanda¹²: he answered them by rescripts permitting the local authorities to prohibit Christianity. The placards consisted of false depositions,¹³ raking up the old charges against Christian morals. The pamphlets were such as the forged *Acta Pilati*.¹⁴ They reflected on the moral character of

¹ Gibbon, c. xiv and n. 50 (i. 413).

² Eus. *H. E.* ix; Lact. *M. P.* xxxvi-xlix (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 214-34); Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 133-5).

³ Eus. *H. E.* ix. i, § 2.

⁴ Ibid., §§ 4-6; Mason, *P. D.* 310 sq., and Document No. 189.

⁵ Ibid., §§ 7-11.

⁶ Ibid., ii, § 1.

⁷ Eus. *H. E.* ix. ii, § 1.

⁸ Ibid. ii, § 2, iv, § 1; Lact. *M. P.* xxxvi, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 214 sq.).

⁹ For the rescript in answer to the petition of Tyre cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. vii, §§ 3-14.

¹⁰ 'Theotecnus was the author of all this in Antioch,' Eus. *H. E.* ix. ii, § 2.

¹¹ Eus. *H. E.* ix. ix, §§ 17-19.

¹² Aricanda was a city of Lycia. For the text of its petition, cf. E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 87, and Document No. 176; P. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, 143.

¹³ Eus. *H. E.* ix. v, § 2.

¹⁴ Eus. *H. E.* ix. v, § 1.

our Lord¹; and were made text-books for use in elementary schools, so that the youth of the Empire might be trained up to look upon the Founder of Christianity with contempt and disgust. Maximin's was thus a theological persecution, suggested at points by the renegade Theotecnus, and taken as his model, fifty years later, by the apostate Julian. It was accompanied, as was Julian's attack upon Christianity, by measures for the resuscitation of Paganism. The Emperor and his advisers could hardly impart to it Christian morals; but they endeavoured to endow it with a corporate Church-life. Quick to see where they were weak and Christ was strong,² Maximin and his theologians tried to set up a pagan hierarchy—bishops exercising territorial jurisdiction, with parish priests and daily services—and the Emperor armed them with coercive jurisdiction against the Church.³ Julian repeated the experiment; but, unlike his, the persecution of Maximin culminated in bloodshed. It was the blood, in particular, of the chief bishops and theologians still left to the Church, for it was a theological persecution throughout. Besides Peter of Alexandria and Methodius of Olympus already mentioned, there fell Silvanus, bishop of Emesa, now Homs, in Syria who, after an episcopate of forty years, was thrown to the wild beasts, 312, in extreme old age⁴; Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia,⁵ where Maximin had now taken up his abode; and Lucian,⁶ a native of Samosata, presbyter of Antioch and founder of its exegetical school. Lucian was a pupil of Paul and the teacher of Arius. He was the immediate author of at least the Arian Christology: for he taught that 'God sent into this world His Wisdom clothed in flesh'.⁷ He was scholar, as well as theologian, for he made a critical revision of the Septuagint in a recension widely used in the fourth century 'from Antioch to Constantinople',⁸ manuscripts

¹ So Lucian, in his apology, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 6.

² Paganism had no organization, and was destitute of any elements of cohesion; cf. Mason, *P. D.* 51, 319 sq.

³ Eus. *H. E.* viii. xiv, § 9, ix. iv, § 2; Lact. *M. P.* xxxvi, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 215), and Document No. 188.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* ix. vi, § 1, viii. xiii, § 4.

⁵ Ibid. viii. xiii, § 1; and a fragment of a letter of Lucian in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 5.

⁶ Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, c. lxxvii (*Op.* ii. 917; *P. L.* xxiii. 685). Fragments in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 5-10; cf. A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxviii; Bardenheuer, 165 sq.; H. B. Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Greek*, 81.

⁷ 'Deus . . . Sapientiam suam misit in hunc mundum, carne vestitam,' Rufinus's translation of Eus. *H. E.* ix. vi, *ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 6; and cf. the Christology of Paul, *supra* c. xvii, § 3.

⁸ Jerome, *Praef. in Paralip.* (*Op.* ix; *P. L.* xxviii. 1325 A).

of which are extant to this day.¹ He improved upon the Christology of his master Paul : for whereas Paul conceived of the Word, which united itself with Jesus, as Impersonal,² Lucian seems to have recognized the personality of the Word before the Incarnation. Whatever his shortcomings in orthodoxy, he made up for them by martyrdom, and so won the great prestige which attended his name and gave credit to his pupils, for all their Arianizing, in the fourth century.³ For Maximin sent for him, to defend the Faith before him, as one of its most accomplished teachers ; and Lucian was beheaded at Nicomedia 7 January 312. But in attempting to make the Christian province of Lesser Armenia renounce its faith, Maximin fell foul of Armenia proper. The Armenians were a Christian nation ; and Maximin suffered a defeat at their hands.⁴ It was not, perhaps, serious ; but it overtook him just at the moment when the Emperors of the West were concerning themselves with his proceedings, and the day of reckoning was at hand.

The overthrow of Maximin followed upon their discovery of his relations with the ' tyrant ' Maxentius. Italy, Africa, and Spain had for some time been groaning under the ' tyranny ' ⁵ of Maxentius. He was ' cruel, rapacious, and profligate ' ⁶ ; and ' Rome ', says Gibbon, ' which had so long regretted the absence, lamented . . . the presence, of her sovereign '.⁷ Maxentius, however, was the last to be aware of this ; and, in spite of his unpopularity, laid claim to ' the whole monarchy of the West '. Constantine, therefore, had no choice but to invade Italy. He crossed the Alps, probably by the pass of the Mont Genève,⁸ the usual route of the Romans between the Rhone and Turin,⁹ September 312 ; and, after a brief campaign very different in its issues from those of Severus and Galerius, the last two invaders of Italy, he defeated and slew Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, 27 October 312.¹⁰ Finding that Maxentius had

¹ Swete, *op. cit.* 82-5.

² *supra*, c. xvii, § 3.

³ His pupils ' formed a compact and enthusiastic brotherhood ', A. Robertson, *Ath.* xxviii, who wrote to each other as ' Fellow-Lucianists ', cf. *supra*, c. xvii, § 3.

⁴ Eus. *H. E.* ix. viii, §§ 2, 4 ; Mason, *P. D.* 325.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* viii. xiv, §§ 1-6.

⁶ Sophronia, the Christian wife of a senator, stabbed herself to escape Maxentius, *ibid.*, § 17.

⁷ Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 413 sq.).

⁸ Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 66 (i. 417).

⁹ W. A. B. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, 163.

¹⁰ Lact. *M. P.* xlv, §§ 1-9 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 223 sq.) ; Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 421 sq.).

been in league with Maximin,¹ he returned northward, as victor, to meet Licinius at Milan. Here the two princes cemented their alliance by the marriage of Licinius to Constantia, the sister of Constantine²; and then they put out together the Edict of Milan, March 313. Primarily, it was aimed at Maximin,³ who immediately took the initiative in advancing against his rivals.⁴ In a second rescript to his Prefect Sabinus, he made a bid for Christian support by ordering the suspension of the persecution⁵; but he was defeated by Licinius at Adrianople, 30 April 313.⁶ Maximin fled a hundred and sixty miles to Nicomedia in twenty-four hours⁷; and, when safe in Cappadocia, vented his fury on the soothsayers who had promised him victory.⁸ He then put out a final edict of toleration, June 313, in which 'he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors who had misunderstood his intentions'.⁹ But the troops of Licinius followed hard in pursuit; and, hurrying through the defiles of the Taurus, Maximin continued his flight to Tarsus, where he died of *delirium tremens*¹⁰ August 313. With him 'the last and most implacable of the enemies'¹¹ of the Church perished; and about the same time¹² Diocletian himself, who had inaugurated the persecution, died in his palace at Salona.

It remains to consider the Edict of Milan.¹³ It was the work of the two Augusti, Constantine and Licinius, and consists of two parts. The first part¹⁴ looks to the future and deals with liberty. Two years before, Galerius, from his death-bed, had granted 'conditional liberty to a single faith'¹⁵; but the Edict of Milan bestows it, 'unconditioned', upon all alike. 'We judge it . . . consonant to right reason that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians or to whatever other religion his mind direct him. . . . Accordingly . . . the open

¹ Lact. *M. P.* xlv, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 224).

² Ibid. xlv, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 225).

³ Mason, *P. D.* 332.

⁴ Lact. *M. P.* xlv, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 225); Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 425).

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* ix. ix, §§ 13-22.

⁶ Lact. *M. P.* xlvi, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 227).

⁷ Ibid. xlvii, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 228).

⁸ Eus. *H. E.* ix. x, § 6.

⁹ Ibid., §§ 7-11.

¹⁰ Lact. *M. P.* xlix (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 233 sq.).

¹¹ Gibbon, c. xvi (ii. 135).

¹² Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv. 610, n. 20; Allard, *P. D.* ii. 238, n. 2.

¹³ Text in Lact. *M. P.* xlviii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 228-33); Eus. *H. E.* x. v, §§ 2-14; cf. Mason, *P. D.* 326-32; Allard, *P. D.* ii. 241-9, and Document No. 182.

¹⁴ Lact. *M. P.* xlviii, §§ 1-6 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 228-31).

¹⁵ A. C. M. Giffert, *Eusebius (N. and P.-N. F.* i. 379, n. 2).

and free exercise of their respective religions is granted to all others, as well as to the Christians ; for it befits the well-ordered state and the tranquillity of our times that each individual be allowed, according to his own choice, to worship the Divinity.' The Édict of Milan, therefore, is a landmark not only in the history of the persecutions of Christians but in the religious history of mankind. It was the first announcement of a doctrine, which all now accept, that complete religious freedom belongs as of right to every man ; and it substituted for the old Roman notion that ' a man's religion is the State's affair ',¹ the doctrine of the rights of the individual conscience. A man's religion is his own affair. But in this the Edict was premature. Many ages and much suffering had to come before liberty of conscience and worship won the day. The second part of the Edict² concerns the Christians only. It provided reparation for the past, and deals not with freedom but with property. The Church is now recognized as a corporate body ; its property is to be restored without price ; and those who surrendered it ' are to make application to the judge of the district, if they look on themselves as entitled to any equivalent from our beneficence. . . . And because it appears that, besides the places appropriated to religious worship, the Christians did possess other places, which belonged not to individuals but to their society in general, i.e. to their churches, . . . we will that you cause them all to be restored to the society or churches . . . provided always that the persons, making restitution without a price paid, shall be at liberty to seek indemnification from our bounty.'

The Edict did not establish Christianity as the religion of the State ; nor did the Emperors make a profession of Christianity. They simply trusted by it to obtain the favour of ' whatever divinity might reign on the throne of heaven '³ ; and so to promote the unity of the Empire or ' the common weal '.⁴

We now turn to the consequences of the persecution as they affected the inner life of the Church. They led to schism, and to synods.

§ 3. Meletianism is the first of the two schisms to which the Diocletian persecution gave birth.

¹ T. R. Glover, *Life and letters in the fourth century*, 49.

² Lact. *M. P.* xlvihi, §§ 7-10 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 231-3).

³ Lact. *M. P.* xlvihi, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 229).

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 11 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 233).

Our authorities for it are fourfold, and of varying value. First, come the three fragments¹ discovered in 1738 by Scipio, Marquis de Maffei, 1675-†1755, at Verona. The first is a letter of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, and three other bishops, in prison,² in which they rebuke Meletius for ignoring 'our great bishop and father Peter'³ by ordaining bishops outside the bounds of his own diocese⁴; and that, 'without necessity.'⁵ The second fragment is an anonymous note to the effect that Meletius, ignoring this remonstrance, went off to Alexandria, where he took up with Isidore and Arius, and excommunicated the commissaries of archbishop Peter,⁶ who was now, apparently, in hiding.⁷ The third is a letter from the archbishop requesting the faithful of Alexandria to have no communion with Meletius till an inquiry can be held.⁸ Second, among the sources, are some allusions in Athanasius and Socrates. Athanasius affirms that his predecessor Peter deposed Meletius for apostasy⁹; that the Meletians had been schismatics from the time of Peter, 300-†11, and under Achillas, 311-†12, and Alexander,¹⁰ 313-†26; and again, writing in 356, he asserts that they were declared to be in schism fifty-five years before¹¹; so that the date of the Meletian schism would, in that case, be 301. But Athanasius has been misled at this point; there was no persecution in 301; and the date of the schism must have been about five years later. The account of Socrates seems to follow that of Athanasius.¹² A third authority is the account in Epiphanius,¹³ according to which the origin of the schism was a difference, in regard to the treatment of the lapsed, between Peter inclined to laxity and Meletius to stricter measures. But the Epiphanian documents are Meletian,¹⁴ and

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 91-4.

² Ibid. 91-3; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 443-6, and Document No. 173.

³ Ibid. 92, l. 24.

⁴ 'In alienis paroeciis non licere alicui episcoporum ordinationes celebrare,'
ibid. 92, ll. 12 sq.

⁵ Ibid., ll. 33 sq.

⁶ 'Presbyteros quibus potestatem dederat B. Petrus de paroecia visitanda Alexandrina . . . separavit . . . et ordinavit ipse duos,' ibid. 94, ll. 12-16.

⁷ 'Pastore non subsistente,' ibid. 92, l. 31, and Document No. 174.

⁸ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 94; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 323, and Document No. 175.

⁹ *Ath. Apol. c. Ar.* [A. D. 350], § 59 (*Op. i.* 140; *P. G.* xxv. 356), and Document No. 194.

¹⁰ Ibid., and § 11 (*Op. i.* 105; *P. G.* xxv. 268 B).

¹¹ *Ath. Ad episc. Aegypt.* [A. D. 356], § 22 (*Op. i.* 232; *P. G.* xxv. 589 B).

¹² Socrates, *H. E.* i. vi, §§ 36-9.

¹³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxviii, §§ 1-4 (*Op. ii.* 716-20; *P. G.* xlii. 183-92);
Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 105-9.

¹⁴ Ibid. 105.

their account is inconsistent with well-ascertained facts. Thus, according to Epiphanius, Meletius and Peter were in prison together¹; whereas, according to the Verona fragments, neither was in prison at all. Again, according to Epiphanius, Peter was too 'considerate'²; but his own penitential canons³ show that he knew how to apportion the penance according to the sin. Fourth and last among the authorities are the two short accounts in Sozomen⁴ and Theodoret⁵; agreeing, in the main, with the account of the fragments.

Meletius, then, was bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebaid, now Assiut, c. 300. During the episcopate of Peter, 300-†11, and before the persecution was at an end, he originated a schism. And this was because he had been excommunicated by his archbishop, not as a zealot for discipline, but because he had been guilty of a breach of ecclesiastical order by ordaining in the dioceses of other bishops. For such proceedings, no doubt, he would make the persecution a pretext; they were 'necessary', as he appears to have said, under the circumstances. No doctrinal question, such as was bound up with the earlier schism of Montanism, was involved in this case. Meletianism thus was the first of Eastern schisms, pure and simple; and the alliance of Meletians and Arians was of later date.⁶ Athanasius was probably wrong in charging Meletius with apostasy in the persecution; for the Nicene Council allowed him to retain his episcopal office though forbidding him to exercise its powers,⁷ and would scarcely have dealt so leniently with him had he been a renegade. But Athanasius may be excused for bearing hard on Meletius. The schism had already become formidable⁸ in the days of his predecessor, and he himself had reason to deplore the lenity of the Council. Under Alexander there were twenty-nine Meletian bishops in

¹ Epiph. *Haer.* lxxviii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 717; *P. G.* xlii. 185 A).

² *Ibid.*, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 718; *P. G.* xlii. 187 A).

³ Text in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 23-45; tr. in *A.-N. C. L.* xiv. 292-322; comments of W. Bright in *D. C. B.* iv. 331-2.

⁴ Sozomen, *H. E.* i. xv, § 2.

⁵ Theodoret, *H. E.* i. ix, § 1.

⁶ Socrates puts it after Alexander's deposition of Arius and before the Nicene Council, *Socr. H. E.* i. vi, § 36; but Ath. says that Eusebius of Nicomedia 'bought' the Meletians under Ath.'s own episcopate, *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 59 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xxv. 357 A).

⁷ See the Letter of the Council in *Socr. H. E.* i. ix, § 6.

⁸ Ath. seems to allude to it when he says, in 318, that our Lord's body was not broken upon the Cross 'lest any excuse should be found for those who would rend the church', *De Inc.* xxiv, § 4 (*Op.* i. 54; *P. G.* xxv. 137 c).

Egypt¹: under Athanasius they were hand in glove with the Arians to effect his deposition; for Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, 325-39, 'bought them with large promises'. Socrates² and Theodoret,³ both of whom wrote toward the middle of the fifth century, attest their presence in Egypt down to their own day.

§ 4. Donatism⁴ is the second of the schisms that arose out of the great persecution. After a glance at the authorities for it, we will trace its origin and its history down to the sole supremacy of Constantine.

It was a Western, or rather, an African schism; and the authorities are mainly African: the *De schismate Donatistarum*,⁵ c. 370, of Optatus, bishop of Mileve in Numidia, with its appendix of documents⁶ on which he relied for his account, in Book I, of the origins of the schism; and the anti-Donatist works of Augustine⁷ who reproduces, or refers to, a large number of documents.⁸

The origin of Donatism is connected with the election of a successor to Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, 303-†11. Mensurius was a man of good sense, and gave offence to zealots in two ways. He condescended to the 'pious fraud' of hiding the Scriptures, and giving up, in their stead, some 'worthless writings of heretics' when, under the first edict of 24 February 303, Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, was searching for the Sacred Books.

¹ Catalogue in *Ath. Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op. i.* 148; *P. G.* xxv. 376 sq.).

² *Socr. H. E. i.* vi, § 38. Socrates wrote after A. D. 439.

³ *Thdt. H. E. i.* ix, § 14. Theodoret wrote c. 450.

⁴ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 1-193; the '*Historia Donatistarum*' and the '*Geographia sacra Africae*' prefixed to Optatus, *Op. i.* 1-48 (*P. L.* xi. 771-876); and W. Bright, *Waymarks*, &c., 5 sqq.; *Lessons*, &c., 148 sqq.; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 220-9.

⁵ Text in *P. L.* xi. 883-1104; and, better, in *C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 1-182; tr. O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The Work of St. Optatus against the Donatists*, 1917. The work was written against Parmenian, the third Donatist bishop of Carthage; and there was a second edition of it published c. 385, i. e. after the accession of Pope Siricius, who is mentioned in ii, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 37).

⁶ *C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 183-216 gives ten of the original collection used by Optatus or *Sylloge Optatiana* (*Mélanges*, x. 633, n. 1), as reconstituted by L. Duchesne, *Mélanges*, &c., x. 626. The whole series, with two more from Eusebius—sixteen in all—are tr. by Vassall-Phillips, app., 321-431.

⁷ *Aug. Op. ix* (*P. L.* xliii).

⁸ For Optatus and Augustine in this connexion see L. Duchesne, *Le dossier du Donatisme* in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, x. 589-650; and for the documents, see those of A. D. 303-50, appended to the works of Constantine in *P. L.* 673-784; a second series of A. D. 362-411, appended to Optatus, *Op.* 201-368 (*P. L.* xi. 1179-1506); and a third of A. D. 303-414, appended to *Aug. Op. ix* (*P. L.* xliii. 773-842).

He also discountenanced those who challenged martyrdom,¹ as by coming forward of their own accord and saying, 'We have books; but we won't give them up'. Many of these were men of no character, who either wanted to get whitewashed by 'martyrdom', or else to enjoy the good things which usually passed the prison-gates to brave confessors.² A storm was thus brewing when Mensurius, accused of having sheltered a seditious deacon, was sent for to Court. Before he went, he deposited with some officials of his church its sacred vessels; and he gave a list of them to an old woman with instructions that, if he did not return, they were to pass to his successor. He never did return; for, after clearing himself before Maxentius, 306-†12, he died on the way home.³ Caecilian, his archdeacon, succeeded him, and was bishop of Carthage, 311-? †45. Immediately the storm broke out. He had been 'elected by the support of the whole people, and consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga (Autumna)',⁴ one of the suffragans of Carthage. But his consecration was contested by the united forces of disappointed ambition, detected fraud, and personal pique.⁵ Two priests, Botrus and Celestius, had been ambitious of the dignity; and, in order to improve their own chances, had contrived to prevent the bishops of the neighbouring province of Numidia from being invited to assist.⁶ Next, though the old woman had been faithful and given Caecilian her inventory of the plate, the greed of the churchwardens had led them, in the meanwhile, to appropriate it. Finally, 'an influential and mischief-making woman', named Lucilla, had an account

¹ Catholics always condemned this practice, cf. *Mart. Pol.* iv, ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv. xv, §§ 7, 8; Cypriani *Acta Proconsularia*, § 1 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i, p. cxi); *Conc. Illib.*, c. lx (Mansi, ii. 15 D); Peter of Alexandria, *Epist. Canon.*, c. ix (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 32).

² Letter of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, metropolitan of 'Africa Proconsularis', and primate of all Africa to Secundus, bishop of Tigisis and primate of Numidia, now lost, but cited in Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 25 (*Op.* ix. 567 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 638); Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 6 (*Mélanges*, x. 629). The *Breviculus Collationis* was Augustine's summary of the proceedings held before Marcellinus at the Conference of Carthage, June 411, between Catholics and Donatists, by command of the Emperor Honorius, 395-†423.

³ Optatus, *De schism. Don.* i, § 17 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 19), and Document No. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, § 18 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 20), and Document No. 196.

⁵ 'Schisma igitur illo tempore confusae mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrit, avaritia roboravit,' *ibid.* i, § 19 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 20), and Document No. 196.

⁶ Numidia was next door to 'Africa'; the other provinces, east and west of these two, were far away, and probably availed themselves but rarely of their right to assist.

to settle with Caecilian¹; for, when archdeacon, he had rebuked her for kissing the bone of a dead man, whom she regarded as a martyr, before she made her Communion.² A party was thus formed against the new bishop in Carthage; and the local malcontents proceeded to enlarge it by calling in Secundus of Tigisis and some of his Numidian bishops.³ They were men who, at the Council of Cirta (afterwards Constantine⁴), 5 March 305,⁵ where they had met to consecrate a new bishop for that see, the ancient capital of Numidia, had given a foretaste of the savage temper which afterwards characterized their party; and then went on to hush up by mutual consent their own offence of having given up the Scriptures.⁶ They now made a grievance of having been allowed no share in the consecration of Caecilian. Then, in company with these new-found allies, the local malcontents preferred against him the charge, of which afterwards so much was heard in controversy with the Donatists that, as Felix who consecrated him was a *traditor*,⁷ the consecration of Caecilian was invalid. It was a charge, we may observe at the outset, which involved two questions⁸: (1) a question of fact: was Felix a *traditor*, or was he not?⁹ and (2) a question of doctrine: if he was, does the unworthiness of the minister hinder the effect of the Sacrament?¹⁰ To the discussion of these questions we shall recur later on. Meanwhile, the opponents of Caecilian, in a Council of some seventy bishops, assuming that the answer to each was in the affirmative, ignored him both as consecrated by a *traditor* and as having, when archdeacon, prevented food from being taken in to the Confessors in prison¹¹;

¹ Optatus, *De schism. Don.* i, § 18 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 20), and Document No. 196.

² Ibid. i, § 16 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 18), and Document No. 196.

³ Ibid. i, § 19 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 20), and Document No. 196.

⁴ Cirta took the name of Constantine after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge, i. e. toward the end of 312.

⁵ For this date, see Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 32 (*Op.* ix. 573 A; *P. L.* xliii. 643).

⁶ For this episode our authorities are (1) part of the *acta* of the Co. of Cirta preserved in Aug. *Contra Cresconium* (a Donatist layman who had intervened in the controversy, and to whom Aug. replied, A. D. 409), iii, § 30 (*Op.* ix. 449 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 510 sq.), tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. xi, and Document No. 216; and (2) Optatus, *De sch. Don.* i, §§ 13, 14 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 15-17); cf. Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 5 (*Mélanges*, x. 629); Mansi, i. 1247-8; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 209-11.

⁷ Aug. *Psalmus contra partem Donati* [A. D. 393] (*Op.* ix. 3 C; *P. L.* xliii. 26).

⁸ W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 150.

⁹ Ibid., app. xvi.

¹⁰ Ibid., app. xviii, and Art. xxvi.

¹¹ Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 26 (*Op.* ix. 569 A; *P. L.* xliii. 639).

and then consecrated in his place the chaplain of Lucilla, by name Majorinus. There was now a schism at Carthage, 312. Altar had been set up against altar¹ by 'the party of Majorinus', as the Donatists at this stage called themselves.² As yet they were in the minority in Africa, Caecilian being acknowledged by the majority there, and by the other churches of Christendom.

At this point occurred the intervention of Constantine, 313; and the interest of the matter is to see, first, how the case came before his notice, and, then, how he dealt with it.

Early in 313 some information about the feud reached him from a quarter friendly to Caecilian, to whom he wrote of 'some men of unsettled mind' who wished to turn the people from the most holy and catholic Church.³ About the same time he wrote two letters to Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, the one respecting the restitution of Church property⁴ in accordance with the Edict of Milan, and the other concerning the exemption of the Catholic clergy from civil office-bearing⁵; together with the letter, just quoted, to Caecilian⁶ making a grant of money to the Catholic clergy of Africa and Numidia. Anulinus signified the exemption to Caecilian's clergy, but took no notice of the other party. Naturally incensed, they presented him with two documents: a sealed *Libellus ecclesiae catholicae criminum Caeciliani, traditus a parte Maiorini*, and an unsealed statement attached to it, with a request that he would forward them to the Emperor. This he did, 15 April 313.⁷ The unsealed statement

¹ Optatus, *De sch. Don.* i, § 19 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 21), and Document No. 196.

² So their 'libellus' enclosed by Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, in his letter to Constantine, *ap. Aug. Ep.* lxxxviii [A. D. 406], § 2 (*Op.* ii. 214 B; *P. L.* xxxiii. 303), and Document No. 217; cf. Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 16, and tr. Vassall-Phillips, *op. cit.*, app. xii.

³ Constantine to Caecilian, *ap. Eus. H. E.* x. vi, § 4, and Document No. 192.

⁴ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* x. v, §§ 15-17; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 8 (*Mél.* x. 630), and Document, No. 190.

⁵ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* x. vii; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 9 (*Mél.* x. 630), and Document, No. 193.

⁶ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* x. vi; *Regesta*, No. 10 (*Mél.* x. 630). This is the earliest instance of the endowment of the Church by the State. The payment of the clergy, by salaries even, was objected to, as practised in the second century by Montanists (*Eus. H. E.* v. xviii, § 2), and, in the third, by Theodotians (*Eus. H. E.* v. xxviii, § 10). On the provision made for the maintenance of the clergy, see J. Bingham, *Ant.* v. iv.

⁷ *Aug. Ep.* lxxxviii [A. D. 406], § 2 (*Op.* ii. 213 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 302 sq.); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 276; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 16 (*Mél.* x. 632). The opening words of the letter of Anulinus, referring to Constantine's letter to Caecilian as 'Scripta caelestia maiestatis vestrae accepta atque adorata', should be noticed. This court language had its origin in the reforms of

asked the Emperor to appoint judges from Gaul, where the crime of giving up the Scriptures had been unknown. The signatures of five bishops were attached to the petition¹; and, though the name of Donatus, bishop of Casae Nigrae is not among them, he probably had to do with it.

The crime alleged was submitted to five investigations within the space of seven years, 313-20; so zealous was Constantine to do justice in the matter, if he could.

The first took place at the Council of Rome,² 2 October 313. On receipt of the documents from Anulinus, the Emperor summoned Caecilian, with ten of his suffragans and ten of the other side to Rome, where he bade Miltiades, bishop of Rome, 311-†14, in 'company with three Gallic bishops of Autun, Cologne, and Arles, to look into the question.'³ The synod met, to the number of nineteen bishops in all, at the Lateran⁴ palace, situate to the south-east of Rome on the Coelian hill and then belonging to the Empress Fausta: and sat for three days. The prosecution was conducted by Donatus of Casae Nigrae; but his witnesses 'confessed that they knew nothing against Caecilian'⁵; and the accuser was condemned instead of the accused.⁶ But Donatus only was put out of communion; for it was agreed that, where there were rival claimants for an African see, the senior was to retain it and the other to be provided for elsewhere.⁷ The effect, however, was not peace. Caecilian and Donatus, it is true, were Diocletian, and, with the court ceremonial, exercised a vast effect on the devotional and doctrinal system of the Church.

¹ The document is given in Optatus, *De sch. Don.* i, § 22 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 25 sq.); Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 18 (*Mél.* x. 632), and Document No. 197.

² Mansi, ii. 433-42; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 272-4; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 275-85; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 22 (*Mél.* x. 633), the authorities being (1) Optatus, *De sch. Don.* i, §§ 23-6 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 26-9); (2) Aug. *Ep.* xliii [A. D. 397-8], § 4 (*Op.* ii. 90 A, B; *P. L.* xxxiii. 161); (3) Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, §§ 24, 31 (*Op.* ix. 567 A-C, 572 C, D; *P. L.* xliii. 637, 643).

³ For Constantine's letter to Pope Miltiades, see Eus. *H. E.* x. v, §§ 18-20; and Document No. 191.

⁴ So called as having once belonged to the senatorial family of the Laterani, one of whom was put to death for conspiring against Nero, Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, § 60. Juvenal speaks of it as 'egregias Lateranorum . . . aedes', *Sat.* x. 17. It came into the hands of Maximian, and so of his daughter, Fausta, the wife of Constantine. This 'domum Faustae in Laterano' (Optatus, i, § 23) the Emperor gave to Silvester, bishop of Rome, 314-†35, by the true 'Donation of Constantine'; and the earliest basilica of 'Our Saviour in the Lateran' was founded by his munificence.

⁵ Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 24 (*Op.* ix. 567 B; *P. L.* xliii. 637).

⁶ 'Caecilianum absolutum atque purgatum: Donatum vero damnatum,' *ibid.* iii, § 31 (*Op.* ix. 572 D; *P. L.* xliii. 643).

⁷ Aug. *Ep.* xliii, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 95 D; *P. L.* xxxiii. 167).

both desired, in the interests of peace not to return for the present ; but the latter, at length, got leave, provided he did not go to Carthage. Meanwhile two bishops were sent thither, Eunomius and Olympius, to declare that that was the Catholic church in Africa for which ' the nineteen bishops ' at Rome had decided. They communicated with the clergy of Caecilian and returned home. But on the arrival of Donatus, followed by the restoration of Caecilian, further disturbances broke out¹; and, on fresh complaints that the Roman synod had never gone into the question which lay at the root of the matter, viz. the alleged offence of Felix,² the consecrator of Caecilian, Constantine ordered an inquiry on this point to be held.³

The second investigation was thus the inquiry at Carthage, before the proconsul Aelianus, 15 February 314, into the case of Felix. It resulted in completely clearing Felix of the imputation of being a *traditor*. We have the *Acta purgationis Felicis*⁴; and it was simply a question of fact. They show that Alfius Caecilianus, an old gentleman who, as a *duovir* in 303, had been charged with collecting the Sacred Books at Aptunga, now appeared as a witness before the proconsul and attested the innocence of Felix ; and, further, that Ingentius, an aedile's clerk, who out of malice against Felix had, years before, been guilty of forgery in order to ruin him, now confessed his guilt. Aelianus thereupon pronounced ' the most religious bishop Felix ' to be wholly innocent of the offence alleged⁵; he reported to the Emperor in accordance with this verdict⁶; and Constantine sent for the forger Ingentius.⁷

But a third investigation was held, 1 August 314, at the

¹ Optatus, i, § 26 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 28).

² ' Postquam ordinatus [*sc.* Caecilian] in Urbe purgatus est, et purgandus adhuc remanseratur ordinator [*sc.* Felix], ' Optatus, i, § 27 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 29).

³ Ibid., but Duchesne corrects ' Aelianum proconsulem ' to Aelius Paulinus, Vicar of Africa, *Regesta*, No. 52 (*Mél.* x. 638 sq.).

⁴ Text in Optatus, app. ii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 197-204), or Routh², iv. 288-94; tr. in Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. i.

⁵ *Acta purg. Felicis, ad fin.* (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 204), and Document No. 199.

⁶ The report is lost, but was produced by the Catholics at the Conference of Carthage in 411: see Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 42 (*Op.* ix. 578 E; *P. L.* xliii. 649); Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 57 (*Mél.* x. 639).

⁷ His letter to Probianus, proconsul of Africa, is preserved in Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 81 (*Op.* ix. 476; *P. L.* xliii. 540); and *Ep.* lxxxviii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 214 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 304); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 294 sq.; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 58; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. xiv, and Document No. 218.

Council of Arles.¹ Constantine wrote to Aelafius (Ablavius), now perhaps 'Vicar' of Africa, to send Caecilian, with some of his colleagues and some of his adversaries, and also some episcopal representatives of each of the African provinces, by the *cursus publicus* to Arles.² And he sent letters summoning other bishops, of which Eusebius has preserved a specimen addressed to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse.³ 'It was not, in his view, that the case needed rehearing; but that the malcontents might 'even now, at last, be recovered to brotherly unity'.⁴ The number of bishops present is uncertain: thirty-three, at any rate,⁵ perhaps two hundred.⁶ But, in any case, the synod was completely representative of the West; and this is what Augustine seems to mean by calling it a 'plenary council of the universal church'.⁷ Marinus, bishop of Arles, presided⁸; and among its members were three bishops of the British church, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius, perhaps of Lincoln⁹ or possibly of Caerleon-on-Usk.¹⁰ The first business of the Council was with the case of Caecilian. It was gone into again. He was once more cleared; and his accusers, as its Synodal Letter to Pope Silvester reports, 'were either condemned or repudiated'.¹¹ The Council then seems to have sanctioned some division of the episcopal authority in any African diocese between Catholic and Donatist

¹ Mansi, ii. 463-78; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 275-98; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 296-319.

² Optatus, *De sch. Don.*, app. iii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 204-6); Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 26; Routh, iv. 297-9; and tr. in Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. iii, and Document No. 200. For the 'evectio publica' or 'cursus publicus' see *Cod. Theod.* viii. v (ii. 506 sqq., Lugduni, 1665), and the notes of Godefroy *ad loc.* Councils, says a well-known passage in a pagan historian, were the ruin of the 'res vehicularia', Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, xxi. xvi, § 18.

³ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* x. v, §§ 21-4; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 300-3; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 24.

⁵ There are thirty-three names in the salutation of the Synodal Letter to Pope Silvester, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 303 sq.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 311, note †.

⁷ Aug. *Ep.* xliii, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 97 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 169); *De Baptismo*, ii, § 14 (*Op.* ix. 104; *P. L.* xliii. 135).

⁸ His name stands first in the salutation of the Synodal Letter, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 303.

⁹ 'De civitate Londinensium,' *ibid.* 313. Routh conjectures 'Lindi, Lincoln', *ibid.*, 296, 313.

¹⁰ 'Read, probably, Legionensium = Caerleon-on-Usk,' A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 7, note c.

¹¹ Optatus, *De sch. Don.*, app. iv (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 206-8); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 304; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. iv; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 27, and Document No. 201.

claimants of the see, for the sake of peace.¹ Two, or perhaps three, of its twenty-two canons, deal with Donatism; and some of the rest touched important questions. Thus No. 1 ordered that all should keep Easter on one and the same day, to be announced, as was customary, by the Roman church.² No. 8 definitely disallowed the African, or Cyprianic rule, of ignoring baptism by a heretic as invalid. Baptism in the name of the Trinity was enough³; and it is to this decision of 'a plenary council' that Augustine so often refers,⁴ in controversy with the Donatists, to show that the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament. On the same principle No. 13 recognizes the validity of ordination by a bishop who was a *traditor*.⁵ No. 14 denounces excommunication as the penalty of making false accusations, as that any one was guilty of *traditio*. There are also canons forbidding Christians to have anything to do, as gladiators, with the amphitheatre⁶; as charioteers, with the circus⁷; as actors, with the theatre.⁸ A Christian, however, might now serve as a magistrate⁹; for since this was forbidden by the Council of Elvira,¹⁰ Constantine had gone over to the Faith; and the reversal of Elvira by Arles is the measure of the change that had thus taken place. No. 10 lays it down that if the man is the innocent party in a divorce, he is not to marry again, so long as his adulterous wife is living; and urges that every effort should be made in the way of giving counsel to the effect that he is not to avail himself of his civil privileges to contract a fresh marriage.¹¹

¹ An arrangement, said the Catholics at the Conference of Carthage in 411, which was not new then, but dated 'ab ipsius separationis exordio', Aug. *Ep.* cxxviii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 378 D; *P. L.* xxxiii. 489).

² Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 307.

³ Ibid. 308. 'The theory that the Church *cannot* legitimize any baptism given outside the Church . . . ceased to prevail in any part of the Catholic West after the council of Arles, when the African Catholics sacrificed it as the price of the support given them by the other Western churches against the Donatists,' C. H. Turner in *Essays on the early history of the Church and the Ministry*, ed. H. B. Swete, 158 sq.

⁴ e. g. Aug. *De baptismo*, ii, § 14 (*Op.* ix. 104 B; *P. L.* xliii. 135), and the note of the Benedictine editors *ad loc.*

⁵ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 309 sq.

⁶ No. 3: for this interpretation, see Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 282.

⁷ No. 4.

⁸ No. 5; Routh,² iv. 308.

⁹ No. 7; *ibid.* 308.

¹⁰ *Conc. Illib.*, c. 56; *ibid.* 269; and Document No. 170.

¹¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 309, and see the comments of O. D. Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, 294 (ed. 1895). The 10th Canon runs: 'As to those who detect their wives in adultery, and the same are baptized young men, and [so] are forbidden to marry [again], it is decreed that so far as may be counsel be given them that, while their wives are living, though adulteresses, they do not marry others.'

The canon lies at the root of the present practice of Western Christendom, Roman and Anglican. No. 12 of Arles is at one with the twentieth canon of Elvira and the seventeenth of Nicaea in its disapproval of clerics lending money at interest. No difference was made, by the Bible or the Church, between usury and interest: it was assumed that only the poor¹ would borrow, and, therefore, that every lender must needs take advantage of his brother: not till the sixteenth century when commerce became oceanic and enterprise set in on a large scale was it found that a rich man might want to borrow in order to join his fellows in a venture beyond reach of private resources. But to return to the Council of Arles. Nos. 15 and 19 use the word 'offer', without qualification, of celebrating the Eucharist. No. 20, in order to guard against clandestine consecrations, requires three bishops, at least, for the ordination of a bishop. The bishops then reported their proceedings in a Synodal Letter² to Pope Silvester, paying him great deference as occupying 'those regions in which the apostles daily have their throne,' and observing that, as ruler of the 'maiores dioeceses', he has exceptional facilities for promulgating the decrees of the Council. They seem to use the word 'dioecesis' in the sense of 'district', and to be referring to the position of the bishop of Rome as chief over the ten suburbicarian provinces of Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica which, in civil affairs, were subject to the Vicar of the City—himself, be it noted, the subordinate not of the Prefect of the City but of the Praetorian Prefect of Italy. Silvester was thus the chief pastor 'of the most favoured and dignified portions of the Empire'.³ The Synod—or perhaps the editor of the dossier in which its letter is inserted—then concludes with the abrupt information that Constantine 'then became weary of the business, and ordered all to return to their sees. Amen'. To his extreme disgust the Donatists appealed from the Council to the Emperor. 'They demand judgment from me,' he wrote 'in his letter dismissing the bishops⁴ from Arles', 'who am myself awaiting the judg-

¹ Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19; while the Canon Law was simply an endeavour to apply the precept 'Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes' of Luke vi. 35. Cf. W. J. Ashley, *Economic History*³, i. i. 148.

² Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 303-6; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, 389-92, and Document No. 201.

³ W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 31.

⁴ Optatus, *De sch. Don.*, app. v (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 208-10); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 314-16; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 28; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. v, 395-8.

ment of Christ.’¹ It was ‘heathenish’, he said—this habit of lodging appeal after appeal.² But ‘wearied out by their importunity’³ he consented to receive their appeal; and, after some vacillation, as to the place of hearing,⁴ commanded both parties to appear before him in person.

A fourth investigation was accordingly held by Constantine himself at Milan, 10 November 316. Caecilian was in attendance; and the inquiry, which was conducted, says Augustine, ‘with all care and diligence’, ended, as before, in his favour.⁵ For in a letter of 10 November to Eumalius, Vicar of Africa, the Emperor wrote that he had found ‘Caecilian to be a man thoroughly blameless, and one who fulfilled the duties of his religion’.⁶ At first, he thought, in his indignation, of putting the Donatists to death⁷; but at the suggestion, probably, of Hosius, he relented,⁸ and punished them only with banishment and the confiscation of their churches.⁹ But they were not to be put down. They addressed a memorial to the Emperor, saying that they would never communicate with ‘that scoundrelly bishop of his’¹⁰; and Constantine, in weary disgust, recalled his sentence of exile and left the case ‘to the judgement of God’.¹¹ This was about 321; and among those who returned from exile would be the successor of Majorinus, who had died *c.* 315. He was by name Donatus, the leader from whom the party took its name. To distinguish him from Donatus, bishop of Black Huts, he became known as

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 315.

² Ibid. 315 sq.

³ Aug. *Sermo*, xix, § 8 (*P. L.* xlvi. 894); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² 319. This is the ninth of ‘xxv sermones admixtis quibusdam dubiis’.

⁴ See the letters of Constantine to the bishops of the Donatist party and to Celsus, the Vicar of Africa, both of 315-16, in Opt. *De sch. Don.*, app. vi, vii (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 210-12); Duchesne, *Regesta*, Nos. 31, 33; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. vi, viii.

⁵ Aug. *Ep.* xliii [A. D. 397-8], § 20 (*Op.* ii. 97 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 169 sq.).

⁶ Quoted in Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 82 (*Op.* ix. 476 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 541); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 317, and Document No. 219; Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 34.

⁷ Aug. *Ep.* cv [A. D. 409], § 9 (*Op.* ii. 299 F; *P. L.* xxxiii. 399).

⁸ Aug. *Contra epist. Parmeniani* [A. D. 400], i, § 13 (*Op.* ix. 19; *P. L.* xliii. 43).

⁹ Aug. *Contra litt. Petiliani* [A. D. 402], ii, § 205 (*Op.* ix. 278 E; *P. L.* xliii. 326); and *Ep.* lxxxviii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 114 D; *P. L.* xxxiii. 303).

¹⁰ ‘Antistiti ipsius nebuloni,’ Aug. *Brev. Coll.* iii, § 39 (*Op.* ix. 577 C; *P. L.* xliii. 648).

¹¹ Aug. *Ad Donatistas post Collationem*, § 54 (*Op.* ix. 613 C; *P. L.* xliii. 685); and see Constantine’s letter to the Bishops and people of Africa, allowing toleration to the Donatists—*Quod fides* of 321—*P. L.* viii. 491; Opt. *De sch. Don.*, app. ix (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 212-13); tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. ix; and Duchesne, *Regesta*, No. 48.

Donatus the Great.¹ Scarcely, however, was Majorinus dead than facts came to light about one of his consecrators, Silvanus, bishop of Cirta (or Constantine), which fastened upon the Donatist succession at Carthage the very offence that they had tried in vain to bring home to Caecilian.

A fifth and last investigation was conducted at Thamugada, now Timgad in Algiers, 13 December 320, at the Emperor's order, by the Consular Zenophilus, and disclosed what had happened.² It was shown that, during the persecution, in 303, 'Silvanus had been a *traditor*'.³ Afterwards, he had been consecrated bishop of Cirta by Secundus, bishop of Tigisis and primate of Numidia, and other members of a synod, 5 March 305, assembled there for the purpose.⁴ Here, after a scene of mutual recrimination, in which Purpurius, bishop of Limata, confessed to having murdered his nephews and stopped the mouth of Secundus, the president, who had charged him with the crime, by denouncing him for having given up the Scriptures, the bishops had agreed to say no more about the offence of being a *traditor*, for none of them could really clear themselves from it. Then, in 311, Silvanus had assisted in the consecration of Majorinus.⁵ And thus, with the very blot upon the bishops of their party which they had fruitlessly sought to affix to the Catholic Primate of Carthage, we may take leave of the Donatists for the present.

§ 5. Two Eastern Synods, of the years 314-15, must be mentioned in conclusion, in order to complete the account of the persecution under Diocletian and its effects.

The first is the Council of Ancyra⁶ in Galatia, held in 314. It was attended by eighteen prelates from Asia Minor and Syria, under the presidency of Vitalis, bishop of Antioch, †319; and among them Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, 314-36, who was

¹ Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, ii, § 2 (*Op.* ix. 410 c; *P. L.* xliii. 468).

² For the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* see Optatus, *De sch. Don.*, app. i (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 185-97); Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 321-35; tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. ii, 346-81, and Document No. 198.

³ 'Traditorem', said the judge, 'constat esse Silvanum,' *C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 192, line 19.

⁴ For the Acts of the Council of Cirta see Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 30 (*Op.* ix. 449 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 510 sq.); tr. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, app. xi, 417-19, and Document No. 216.

⁵ Optatus, *De sch. Don.* i, § 19 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 21).

⁶ Mansi, ii. 513-40; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 115-26; Hefele, *Conciles* i. 298-326; C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Anti-quissima*, II. i (Oxonii, 1907); *Studia Biblica*, iii. pp. 139-216, 'The text of the Canons of Ancyra,' by R. B. Rackham (Oxford, 1891).

afterwards famous in the Arian controversy. The main purpose of the Synod was to provide for the treatment of the lapsed, who are classified as Hearers, Kneelers, and Co-standers, and visited with penances classified too. Such were the questions with which the first category of the Ancyrene canons, Nos. 1-9, was concerned. A second category dealt with matters ecclesiastical, requiring regulation, cc. 10-15. Thus, by c. 10, deacons are permitted to marry, if they claim the concession at their Ordination; while c. 13 defines the powers of *chorepiscopi*, or country-bishops. '*Chorepiscopi* may not ordain (any) presbyters or deacons (of town or country)—but not even town presbyters (in their own parish) without the permission of their (town) bishop in writing—in another parish.'¹ Such is the meaning, expressed as obscurely in the original as in the translation,² of No. 13; and it is the less probable reading only³ that would leave a loophole for the possibility that presbyters could ordain. No. 14 warns the clergy against a Manichaean asceticism, and No. 15 provides for the recovery after alienation of the goods of the Church. A third series, No. 16-25, is concerned mainly with pagan vices which converts had carried with them into the Christian Church. Thus, Nos. 16 and 17 forbid sins against nature; Nos. 19 and 20 sins against the vows of virginity and of marriage; No. 21, the sins of prostitution, infanticide, and the procuring of abortion; No. 24, magic—all, of course, under varying degrees of penance. But one of this last category, No. 18, deals with an ecclesiastical offence, and safeguards the principle afterwards summed up in the maxim *Nemo invitis detur episcopus*.⁴

The second Council is that of Neocaesarea in Cappadocia.⁵ It was held in 315; or, perhaps, later (for its legislation makes no reference to the treatment of the lapsed), but, anyhow, before the Council of Nicaea. There were present some nineteen bishops, eleven of whom had already been in attendance at the Synod of

¹ 'Parish' = what we should now call 'diocese'. The text is *Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*, *St. Bibl.* iii. 149; and discussion, *ibid.* 187 sqq.; and W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 35 sq.

² *Ibid.* 192.

³ *Μηδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως*, i. e. it is not permitted to country bishops, nor even to city-presbyters, &c.

⁴ Coelestine, *Ep.* iv, § 7 (*P. L.* l. 434 B); Jaffé, No. 369, *Cuperemus quidem* of 26 July, 428.

⁵ Mansi, ii. 539-52; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*² iv. 181-5; Turner, *op. cit.* II. i; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 326-34.

Ancyra. The main interest of its fifteen canons is that they throw further light on the development of ascetic ideas. No. 1 forbids a priest to marry after ordination. No. 2 forbids a woman to be married to two brothers in succession. No. 4 proceeds on the principle that sins of thought, which do not issue in act, are not material for public penance. No. 5 recognizes but two classes of Catechumens, Hearers and Kneelers. By No. 7 a priest is not to accept an invitation to the wedding-feast of a man who has married a second time; that would be to make himself party to an act for which he might afterwards have to put his host to penance. No. 12 forbids ordination to the priesthood in the case of those who have put off their baptism till what they thought was going to be their death-bed, and so were called 'clinics'.¹ Christianity was now becoming fashionable, with Constantine's patronage of it. And it was well that the Church should make it clear betimes that she would not have for clergy men who were bent upon making the best of both worlds. That this should have now become possible is significant of the change that had taken place in the brief interval between the close of the persecution inaugurated by Diocletian and the supremacy of Constantine.

¹ On 'clinics' see J. Bingham, *Antiquities*, iv. iii, § 11; and F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, s.v. 'Cliniques', III. ii. 1942-4. The growth of the practice of putting off the responsibility of baptism is clear from the zeal with which the Fathers denounce it, e. g. Aug. *Sermo de Urbis excidio*, § 7 (*Op.* vi. 627 D; *P. L.* xl. 722); Chrysostom, *In Act. Hom.* xxiii, § 4 (*Op.* ix. 190; *P. G.* lx. 182); Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. eos qui differunt baptismum* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 424 sq.).

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